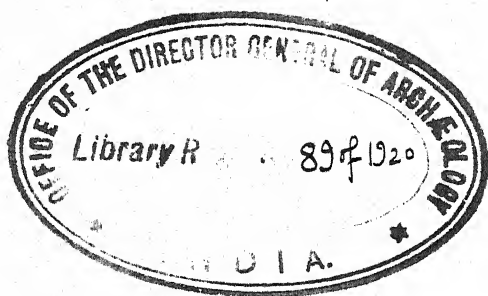


THE CASTLES AND FORTIFIED TOWERS
OF
CUMBERLAND, WESTMORLAND,
AND
LANCASHIRE NORTH-OF-THE-SANDS.



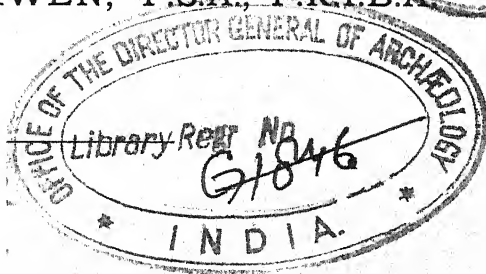
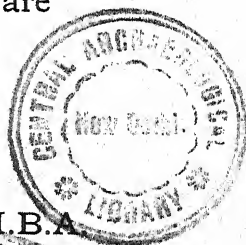
Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian
and Archaeological Society

EXTRA SERIES; VOL. XIII

The
Castles and Fortified Towers of
Cumberland, Westmorland, and
Lancashire North-of-the-Sands,
together with a brief
Historical Account of Border Warfare

By

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" Watch an old building with an anxious care ; guard it as best you may, and at *any* cost, from every influence of dilapidation. Count its stones as you would jewels of a crown ; set watches about it as if at the gates of a besieged city ; bind it together with iron where it loosens ; ~~say it~~ with timber where it declines, ~~do not~~ care about the unsightliness of the aid : better a crutch than a lost limb ; and do this tenderly, and reverently, and continually, and many a generation will still be born and pass away beneath its shadow."

Ruskin, *Seven Lamps of Architecture*, chapter vi., § 19.

PREFACE.

IT will be noticed that the scheme of the work before us is a very simple one. It does not attempt to dip deeply into the general subject of the origins of military architecture. There is no searching amid the ruined castles of France for obscure light, but it at once accepts the fact that the Normans brought to our country the result of the lessons they had learnt and were still learning on the Continent. The gradual development, brought about by the changing methods of attack and the inventions of offensive weapons, is dealt with only so far as the subject affects the castles of our own district. The scheme rather is to collect together the plain facts known about our ancient fortified dwellings, and to tabulate them under specified heads, so that by comparison each building may tend to throw light upon and in some measure explain the others.

What Sir James Y. Simpson said, in his University address to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in 1861, regarding archæological relics, is equally true regarding monuments :—"Single specimens are but mere matters of curiosity and wild conjecture ; while all of them become of use and sometimes of great moment, when placed in a collection beside their fellows. Like stray single words or letters that have dropped out of the Book of Time, they themselves individually reveal nothing, but when placed alongside of other words or letters from the same book, they gradually form, under the fingers of the antiquary, into lines and sentences which reveal secret and stirring legends of the workings of the human mind and human hand, in ages of long ago."

An earnest endeavour has been made to check and verify, as far as possible, all the data given, either by personal visits or by correspondence with the owners; yet, with such a mass of detail, there must almost certainly be some mistakes—errors of judgment as well as of measurement, or of too much reliance on the work of previous writers. A note to the author rectifying any such errors would be greatly esteemed.

The late dates given to certain Halls may also cause some disappointment, for there is a strange craving among dwellers in old houses to exaggerate their antiquity. Oh, how often has the Conqueror been made to sleep on a bed of Jacobean workmanship!

My very grateful acknowledgment is due to the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society for the great use which has been made of their splendid series of Transactions, and to the Council for their courteous and ready permission to reproduce so many of their illustrations. The historical portions are chiefly gathered from the State Papers and Patent Rolls; from Prof. Charles Oman's *History of England*, and his *Art of War*; from the *Scottish Historical Review*, and Sir Herbert Maxwell's *The Making of Scotland*. Dr. Horace Round's *Castles of the Conquest*, Mrs. Armitage's *Early Norman Castles*, and Mr. A. Hamilton Thompson's *Military Architecture in England*, have likewise been of inestimable value.

To Mr. W. G. Collingwood—for his careful reading of all the pages as they have passed through the press, for his innumerable suggestions, and for his untiring kindness throughout it all, for which no expression of thankfulness is adequate—I dedicate these pages.

Heversham,
Milnthorpe.

CONTENTS.

| <i>Chapter.</i> | <i>Page.</i> |
|--|--------------|
| Foreword | v. |
| I.—Introduction | i |
| II.—Feudalism and the Rise of the Private Castle during the Early Norman Period | 6 |
| III.—The Motte with Bailey | 20 |
| IV.—The Motte without the Bailey | 38 |
| V.—The Moated Grange | 42 |
| VI.—The struggle for Sovereignty over Cum- berland and Westmorland | 49 |
| VII.—The Norman Castle | 65 |
| VIII.—The Rectangular Keep | 75 |
| IX.—Keepless Castles | 125 |
| X.—The Scottish Wars of Independence | 154 |
| The Rise of the Pele Tower | 173 |
| Licences for Crenellation | 188 |
| Comparative table of Towers.. .. . | 191 |
| XI.—Protective Dykes | 192 |
| XII.—Fourteenth Century Pele Towers, with record of Licence to Crenellate | 202 |
| XIII.—Pele Towers, Fourteenth Century | 249 |
| XIV.—The Fortified Churches | 323 |
| XV.—The Development of the Tower | 332 |
| Fifteenth & Sixteenth Century Towers | 343 |
| Stone Houses | 407 |
| XVI.—The Continued Unrest on the Border | 412 |
| XVII.—The Transformation of the Pele Tower.. | 427 |
| XVIII.—The Lord Wardens of the Western March | 444 |
| XIX.—Appendix | 454 |
| Index | 504 |

ILLUSTRATIONS.

(Those in the Text are not separately mentioned.)

| | <i>Facing Page</i> |
|--|--------------------|
| Aldingham Motte | 36 |
| Arnside Tower | 249 |
| Bayeux Tapestry, illustrating Mottes ... | 13 |
| Bayeux Tapestry do. | 14 |
| Beetham Hall, showing Windows to the Hall ... | 251 |
| Beetham Hall, Curtain Wall | 252 |
| Beffroy, the | 71 |
| Bleaze Hall, Plaster Ceiling | 437 |
| Brough Castle Keep, etc. | 81 |
| Brough Castle, The Hall | 86 |
| Brougham Castle Oratory, print of 1807 ... | 68 |
| Brougham Castle, stone inserted over gate ... | 87 |
| Brougham Castle, print of 1804 | 88 |
| Brougham Castle, Keep and Gatehouse ... | 91 |
| Burton-in-Lonsdale Motte | 49 |
| Byzantine Triple Wall of Constantinople ... | 72 |
| Carlisle Castle in 1745 | 95 |
| Carlisle Castle, Long Hall and Chapel ... | 97 |
| Carlisle Castle, Inner Gate and Half-Moon Battery ... | 107 |
| Carlisle Castle, Plan of | 108 |
| Carlisle Castle, showing the Barbican, etc., T. Hearne, 1778 | 110 |
| Carlisle Citadel | 115 |
| Carlisle, The Scotch Gate | 118 |
| Carlisle, Initial Letter to Edward II.'s Charter ... | 162 |
| Carlisle Deanery, The Prior's Ceiling ... | 357 |
| Catterlen Hall | 358 |
| Catterlen Hall, Doorway Inscription ... | 442 |
| Clifton Hall | 360 |
| Cockermouth Castle from North-West ... | 127 |
| Cockermouth Castle, the Gatehouse ... | 130 |
| Cockermouth Castle (Plan) | 132 |
| Cockermouth Castle—T. Hearne's View, 1778 ... | 133 |
| Cunswick Hall Gateway | 365 |
| Dacre Castle, from Parker, "Domestic Architecture" ... | 269 |
| Dalton Castle in 1817 | 275 |
| Debatable Lands, Plan of Division ... | 416 |
| Diagram to illustrate the isolation of a Motte from a tongue of land | 15 |
| Egremont Castle from S. Buck's Print of 1739 ... | 134 |

| | <i>Facing Page</i> |
|---|--------------------|
| Egremont Castle, Wall showing herring bone work | ... 135 |
| Great Salkeld Church | ... 176 |
| Harby Brow, Plaster Cast of the Inscription ... | ... 371 |
| Hazleslack Tower | ... 375 |
| Highhead Castle, from Buck's view of 1739 ... | ... 209 |
| Highhead Castle, The Gateway | ... 210 |
| Howgill Castle, showing stepped trefoil Arches in the thickness of the North Wall | ... 281 |
| Hutton John Hall, Armorial Slab | ... 438 |
| Kendal, Castle How | ... 30 |
| Kendal Castle, Mural Turret | ... 148 |
| Kendal Castle, showing Entrenchment | ... 149 |
| Kentmere Hall | ... 290 |
| Killington Hall from East | ... 378 |
| Lammerside Castle | ... 291 |
| Levens Hall | ... 296 |
| Liddel Motte from inner Bailey | ... 24 |
| Liddel Motte from outer Bailey | ... 25 |
| Liddel Motte showing entrance to Inner Ditch, etc. | ... 28 |
| Meaburn Hall Gateway | ... 306 |
| Middleton Hall, Curtain and Gatehouse | ... 186 |
| Millom Castle, from Hutchinson, "Hist. Cumberland" | ... 211 |
| Millom Castle—Hangstone on the Marsh | ... 212 |
| Naworth Castle, Doorway to Dacre's Tower ... | ... 175 |
| Naworth Castle, Great Portal | ... 177 |
| Naworth Castle, Dacre's Tower | ... 213 |
| Newbiggin Hall, Inscribed Stone | ... 439 |
| Pendragon Castle | ... 124 |
| Penrith Castle in 1784 | ... 219 |
| Piel Castle from the North-West | ... 225 |
| Piel Castle (Plan) | ... 226 |
| Rose Castle | ... 234 |
| Scaleby Castle, Outer Gateway leading into quadrangle | ... 237 |
| Shank Castle from South-East | ... 394 |
| Shank Castle | ... 395 |
| Sizergh Hall | ... 316 |
| Ubarrow Hall, The Cellars | ... 180 |
| Ubarrow Hall from the South-West | ... 398 |
| Wharton Hall, Curtain Wall and Gatehouse ... | ... 187 |
| Workington Hall from the North-East | ... 244 |
| Workington Hall (Plan) | ... 246 |
| Workington Hall, entrance to Cellars | ... 247 |
| Wraysholme Tower from the North | ... 407 |
| Yanwath Hall from South-East | ... 322 |

ABBREVIATIONS TO REFERENCES.

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REFERENCES AFTER THE NAME.

C., Cumberland ; L., Lancashire ; W., Westmorland.
The figures refer to the 6-inch Ordnance Survey, divided into quarter sheets.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

- P. 53, line 13. After "there is" add *a*.
- P. 78, line 7. Insert *1648, 29 September*. "The castle was," etc.
- P. 84, line 19. Instead of "A great part of," read *The top of*.
- P. 104, line 12. Delete the final "l" in "Marshall."
- P. 105, line 5 of footnote. Instead of "Appendix iv.," read *Appendix III*.
- P. 175, line 21. Instead of "Bywell-on-Tweed," read *Broughton Tower in Furness*.
- P. 218, at foot of text. Insert *See Appendix XII*.
- P. 284, line 18. Instead of "Inigo Jones," read *the followers of Inigo Jones*.
- P. 294, line 24. Instead of "Vicountess" read *Viscountess*.
- P. 308, line 7. Delete the final "s" in "seats."
- P. 386, line 11. Instead of "Cranckanthorpe," read *Crakanthorpe*.
- P. 422, line 24. Insert *to* before "be thrown up."



I.

INTRODUCTION.

THE story of the early earthworks and fortresses of Cumberland and Westmorland is the story of that long drawn out struggle for sovereignty which in succeeding centuries tossed, as it were, the territory now covered by these two counties on the battledores of the northern and southern nations. And to understand this aright, perhaps it would be wise to lead up to our subject by briefly tabulating the ever-changing positions prior to the rise of the feudal castle.

C. 1000 B.C. ARYAN, perhaps GOIDELIC. The first Celtic wave, speaking a language like the modern Gaelic.¹

400-300 B.C. BRYTHONIC. The second Celtic wave, speaking a language like our Welsh. They gradually drove the Goidels westward to Ireland and to the Highlands of the North. Of the Brythonic people, the Brigantes may have dominated our district.

80 A.D. ROMAN. Conquered by Julius Agricola.

410. BRYTHONIC. After the departure of the Romans, Welsh tradition tells us that the district was under the sway of Cunedda, that he held his court at Carlisle, and that his retinue on the wall consisted of 900 horse.²

¹ Read and Smith, *Brit. Mus. Guide, Early Iron Age*, 83; Rhys, *Celtic Britain*, 3rd ed., 2.

² Skene, *Ancient Books of Wales*, ii., 200-2; Iolo MS., pp. 147, 120, 121, 126; Rhys, *Celtic Britain*, 119.

573. BRYTHONIC. For a long period Carlisle remained the capital, until the battle of Arthuret, when the Christian champion of Cumbria, Rhydderch Hael, overthrew the pagan Gwenddolew. Rhydderch then consolidated the petty principalities of Strathclyde into one powerful little kingdom, and, as king of the united realm, removed his capital to a rock on the Clyde, called by the Goidels *Alclyde*, but by the Brythons *Dún-brettan*, or the fortress of the Britons.³
603. KYMRIC. The Britons as they gathered themselves together in the western half of the island, although of different races, were so closely united in the face of a common enemy, that they took the name of Cumbri, meaning fellow countrymen.⁴ In this year, Æthelfrith, the grandson of Ida, by the battle of Dægsastan, separated the kingdom of Strathclyde from the kingdom of the Dalriad Scots.
616. KYMRIC. By the battle of Chester, Æthelfrith likewise cut off the kingdom of Strathclyde from Wales. With the fall of that city, Britain as a country ceased to exist; it was broken up into isolated districts which could oppose no common or national resistance to their assailants. The warfare of the Briton against the English henceforth died down into a warfare of separate states.
- c. 670. ANGLIAN. Conquered by Ecgrith, who "chased the Britons to the coast carrying his kingdom of Northumbria from sea to sea." From this date we find the English passing freely over the

³ Cf. Dunkeld, the *dún* of the Caledons, and Dumfries, the *dún* of the Fris or Frisian Saxons.

⁴ *Cym-bro* or compatriot, the rightful owners of the soil in contradistinction to *All-yr*o the devastating invader. Hence Cambria and Cumbria; Rhys, *Celtic Britain*, 140.

Pennine Chain and settling down as the dominating race.

876. DANISH. Carlisle is burnt by Halfdan and remains waste till 1092.⁵ Danes already settling on the east of the district.

NORSE. Vikings from the west, of Norse rather than Danish origin, advancing and spreading along the coast.⁶

926. CUMBRIAN. Constantine and Eugenius made submission to Æthelstan, on the 12th July, at Eamot or Dacor, near Ullswater.

937. The battle of Brunanburh,⁷ in consequence of the alliance between the Scotch and the Vikings, at which five kings, including Eugenius of Strathclyde, are said to have been slain. Egil's Saga describes the battle, and the Annals of Ulster and those of Clonmacnoise mention the frightful slaughter.

945. SCOTTISH under English suzerainty. Edmund the Magnificent "harried all Cumberland," and drove Dunmail from the country. Edmund granted the disputed territory to Malcolm, the successor of Constantine, "on condition that he should become his *midwyrhta*, or fellow worker, as well by land and sea," or, in other words, against Norse and Dane.⁸

966. SCOTTISH under English suzerainty. The English Edgar found it necessary to send Thored

⁵ Florence of Worcester, a. 1092.

⁶ *Scandinavian Britain*, 205.

⁷ Burnswark in Dumfriesshire. The border region of the Solway, historically known as the Scottiswath, was the inevitable meeting place for the mixed host of Irish, Norse, Cumbrian and Scot. See *Scottish Historical Review*, vii., pp. 38-55.

⁸ Engl. Chron., a, 945. These Vikings were politically and ethnologically distinct; the Norwegians being known to the Gaels as *Fingall* or white foreigners, and the Danes as *Dubhgall* or black foreigners. The Danes conquered Dublin, Waterford and Northumbria; the Norwegians ruled in Orkney, Caithness and the Western Isles.

Gunnarson on a punitive expedition into "Westmorlingaland."⁹

1000. SCOTTISH. Æthelred attempted to extract tribute from Kenneth for these provinces, but this the Scottish king refused, whereupon Æthelred marched from York through Appleby into Cumberland "and ravaged it well nigh all."¹⁰

c. 1031. SCOTTISH. North of the fells, Cumberland was in the hands of Duncan as heir to the Scottish crown,¹¹ which however acknowledged the suzerainty of Cnut, the Anglo-Danish King, for a time. In 1038 Eadulf, Earl of Northumbria, "devastated all Cumbria," which seems to show that Cumberland was not then in the Northern Earldom. In 1054 Siward invaded Scotland and put Malcolm, son of K. Duncan, in possession of Cumbria.¹² Meanwhile, in 1055, Tosti Godwinsson was Earl of Northumbria, under England, including the southern portion of our district.

From this period the Wars for Sovereignty over Cumberland and Westmorland will be referred to more particularly in the following pages, but to continue the summary to the final settlement may be useful.

1067. SCOTTISH. The northern part of the district, excluding the coast and the Barony of Kendal, was practically independent under Gospatric.

NORMAN. The Barony of Kendal formed part of Amounderness, and was granted by the Conqueror to Ivo de Tailbois.

1092. NORMAN. Conquest by William Rufus of the "land of Carlisle." The baronies of Coupland

⁹ Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, i., 65.

¹⁰ Engl. Chron., a, 1000.

¹¹ Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, i., 449.

¹² Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, i., 410.

and Gilsland still remained to the King of the Scots, who, in 1107, bequeathed them to his youngest brother, David.

1138. SCOTTISH. Cumberland granted to David by Stephen. It is uncertain whether Westmorland was likewise ceded, but if not it was captured by David in 1141.

1157. ENGLISH. Henry II. demanded the territory from the boy-king, Malcolm IV., who was obliged to relinquish it.

1216-1242. Constant warfare for sovereignty, until 1242 when, by a compromise, Cumberland became an English county with the exception of certain manors in the Forest of Inglewood, viz.:—Penrith, Scotby, Langwathby, Carleton, and Sowerby.

1293. ENGLISH. Edward I. seized Penrith and the other manors, which were never afterwards restored to Scotland.

II.

 FEUDALISM AND THE RISE OF THE PRIVATE
 CASTLE DURING THE EARLY
 NORMAN PERIOD.

THE first step towards the Norman Conquest, though none could foresee its issue, was taken in 1002, when Emma, "the gem of the Northmen," married our King Æthelred. Englishmen welcomed her with the sweet name of Ælfgifu, the elves' gift, but from this marriage came the gradual immigration of Normans into England and their struggle for power in the days of the Confessor. When at last Duke William came, no lack of valour caused the defeat of the English. Set in close array behind a palisade, shoulder to shoulder and shield to shield, the army of Harold presented what was considered an immovable front to the Normans. He and his men knew little of the special instruments of southern warfare—the bow and the arrow—and terrible as the axe was in their hands, no amount of hardihood could withstand the downward shower of these deadly shafts.¹³

During the first few years of the conquest Cumberland seems to have passed into a state of quasi-independence under the care of Gospatric, an Englishman, to whom also William entrusted the earldom of Northumberland. Now although Gospatric's grandmother was the daughter of Æthelred II., he was also allied to the throne of Scotland by the marriage of his paternal grandfather,

¹³ The first mention of this new equipment, which was destined to become England's peculiar glory, is found in the account of the battle of Varaville, fought only eight years previously. Freeman's *Norman Conquest*, iii., 175.

Crinan,¹⁴ with Bethoc, the heiress of her father Malcolm II.¹⁵ We can thus understand his very difficult position between the two nations. He was no turncoat. He and his people fought for their rights when the district was alternately harried by Malcolm the friend, and by William the enemy, of Eadgar Ætheling. For Malcolm III. had married the saintly sister of the Saxon King-elect, and there was danger that Scotland would take up the cause of the Ætheling.¹⁶ In 1072 William, therefore, thought it necessary to put an end to this state of affairs and brought Malcolm to terms, according to Florence of Worcester, at Abernethy.¹⁷ The practical result was that Malcolm received a grant of Cumberland, in consideration of his paying homage to William and consenting to the banishment of the Ætheling from Scotland. Perhaps one of William's greatest mistakes was his finding fault with Gospatric and finally depriving him of his earldom. Neither was Malcolm slow to perceive it, for we find that he at once granted his cousin the earldom of Dunbar, together with great possessions in Lothian and the Merse.¹⁸ From this time forward Gospatric and his kin joined the Scottish side and held Cumberland for Malcolm more completely than had been the case before Cnut's time. Considering the intimate relations of blood and of policy existing between them, we can well understand the placing of a man of such influence, and one who must have been more than ordinarily hostile to the Norman King, in close proximity to the Border. It was an act of sagacity as well as one of kindness to a relation.

¹⁴ Hereditary lay Abbot of Dunkeld, Thane of Dull in Athol, killed at Dunkeld 1045. Skene, *Chron. Picts and Scots*, 78, 369.

¹⁵ Skene, *Chron.*, 152, 175.

¹⁶ H. W. C. Davis, *England under the Normans*, 28.

¹⁷ *Chronicon ex Chronicis*, ii., 9.

¹⁸ Symeon of Durham, ii., p. 199.

During the stern work of conquering the island, William's chief object was to strengthen his position as speedily as possible. All over the kingdom such earth-works as were of any strategic value, whether Roman camp or Saxon burh, were taken possession of by William's regents—Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, and William fitz Osborn—during the king's absence in Normandy. Special orders were given for the construction of certain military strongholds, but every baron or chief tenant was permitted, nay indeed expected, to construct a citadel for the security of the lands allotted to him. It is recorded that they "oppressed the poor folk and wearied all England with their erections." The unpaid labour that was exacted for this purpose brought home the meaning of conquest to the minds of the English with a new and galling emphasis.¹⁹ Moreover the evils arising from such a number of fortifications, vested in those who might not always be obedient to the Crown, were to be felt at a future day; each of the first five kings who reigned after the Conquest had in turn to face revolt that found, in the development of these forts, its opportunity and its strength.

Now unlike the tribal settlements of the Teutons, which were erected for the protection of the community and not for the individual, the Baronial citadels were erected pre-eminently as private castles. They were the fortifications of the new feudal system in whose web all classes of society were more or less immeshed. Grants of land were made by the sovereign to the nobles and by them to an inferior class, on the condition that the possessor should take an oath of fealty and do military service²⁰ to him by whom the grant was made. They

¹⁹ Plummer and Earle, *Two of the Saxon Chronicles*, Oxford, 1892 and 1899, vol. i., 200.

²⁰ Before the introduction of military service proper, as instituted by Henry II., the general tenure of land in our border country was by *cornage*. The various terms of *noutgeld* (or *cow-geld*), *horngeld*, *geld* of animals or *cornage*

were built by barons and manorial tenants who were obliged to defend their new acquisitions whilst living amidst the rough and ever hostile native peasantry. They were not built by the army as military strongholds or designed to hold out against skilful and well-armed foes.

The need was for a defensive position that could not only be thrown up quickly but such as could be easily defended by a few men. Thus William and his Norman followers introduced into England the scheme of an artificially raised and entrenched mound, upon which a timber-built citadel could be erected, together with an enclosing bailey. In Normandy they were known as *Motte*²¹ and Bailey fortresses.

Some authorities have endeavoured to find a Teutonic origin to this type of fortress, claiming that both the Saxon and the Dane equally needed such earthworks during their invasions, and asking why they may not with equal reason be attributed to them. This argument forms the theme of Mrs. Armitage's excellent work on *Early Norman Castles*, and although the following gives the gist of her conclusions, the reader is referred to her book for the complete answer. Did the Anglo-Saxons build private castles, that is, fortifications for the individual apart from the community? Mrs. Armitage affirms that, as far as we know, they did not, and points

of animals, was a rent paid in kind, that is, in cattle, which continued in Cumberland to the middle of the twelfth century, when it was commuted for a payment in money. It is stated in the "*Testa de Nevill*" that all cornage tenants were obliged, at the King's precept, to go with the army against Scotland, serving in the vanguard in going and in the rear guard in returning. It was not a military tenure in the strict sense of the word, but a tenure solely connected with the defence of the border. *Vict. Hist. Cumberland*, i., 315-319. On the other hand, Mr. Hodgson-Hinde says that "Cornage would seem to be a natural contraction of Coronagium, and its significance simply a Crown-rent." See *Pipe Rolls, Cumb.* etc., xxvii.

²¹ Cotgrave's French Dictionary (1660) gives *Motte* as signifying "a clod, lump, round sodd or turf of earth; a little hill as a fit seat for a fort; the fort itself." Unfortunately the name has led to considerable confusion with the other two quite distinct terms of *moot* and *moat*, just as we have the parallel confusion between the terms *dyke* and *ditch*.

to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle which speaks of their fortifications as *burhs*, and always in reference to a town or village fortified by a wall of some kind, whether of earth, wood or stone. She has tabulated a list of thirty *burhs* mentioned in the Chronicle as having been made by Eadward the Elder and by his sister Æthelfled between the years 899 and 921. In only ten of these is a motte to be found, and in every case there is evidence that it was erected as a subsequent Norman fortress.

Moreover, when we are invited to believe that these entrenched mounds were the type of fortress adopted by the English during the Danish wars, we can see now that they were not at all the kind most needed by the Saxon. Eadward and Æthelfled wrought their *burhs*, not to protect a small detachment of their followers, but the whole of their townsfolk, against the assaults of the Danes. As they expressed it in their memorable charter to Worcester, the town wall was built or rebuilt not only for the defence of the bishop but "to shelter all the folk" at the time of a Danish inroad. *Hehtan bewyrcean tha burh at Weogernaceastre callum thæm folc to gebeorge.*²²

For such a purpose a small moated mound would be useless. Mr. Horace Round points out that "its summit could hold but a few defenders and their missiles could at most reach the bottom of the mound itself. Beyond that limit they had no power to afford protection. A town, lying at their feet, might be sacked and burned before their eyes."²³

It is true that the word *castellum* appears occasionally in Anglo-Saxon charters, but from Roman times both this word and *castrum* are used indifferently for a fortified town or a temporary camp.²⁴

²² Birch's *Cartularium*, ii., 222.

²³ *Castles of the Conquest*, *Archæologia*, vol. lviii.

²⁴ *Codex Diplomaticus*, i., 138; Birch's *Cartularium*, ii., 48, 86; *Villa Ælfredi*, 478; and Asser's "Castellum quod dicitur Werham."

Neither can we find the principle of a private castle adopted by the Danes. There are ten places where their *geweorcs* or fastnesses are mentioned in the Chronicle, to which we may add Reading, described in Stevenson's *Asser*, and thirteen other places where the Danes are known to have taken up their winter quarters. In all cases they were enclosures of large area similar in plan to the Roman castra. In five out of the twenty-four there are or were mottes, but in all cases they belonged to subsequent Norman occupation. Moreover, Herr Steenstrup's exhaustive inquiry into the Danish settlement in England has proved that the way in which they maintained their hold on the northern and eastern shires, was by planting fortified towns on which the soldiers and peasants dwelling around were dependent.²⁵ We hear of no small fort or castle, and this is understood when we learn from Steenstrup²⁶ that the Danish host was not a feudal host, but a voluntary association of equally powerful leaders, of whom one was chosen with only temporary authority as the head to be implicitly obeyed.²⁷

The word *castell* first makes its appearance in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle in the days of the Confessor, when his Norman favourites had already begun to build castles in England, but we can hear of no castle belonging to Earl Siward of Northumbria or to Earl Leofric of Mercia. Who among English nobles, asks Mrs. Armitage, was more likely to possess a castle than the powerful Earl Godwine, and yet when he was driven from the Court, in 1051, we do not hear that he retired to his castle, or that his sons fortified their castles against the King, or that on his restoration to favour any castles

²⁵ Steenstrup, *Normannerne*, iv., *Danelag*, p. 40.

²⁶ Steenstrup, *Normannerne*, i., 282.

²⁷ A story is told how, when the crews of the Northmen were rowing up the Seine in 867, they were challenged to tell their names and the name of their lord. "We have no lord," was the proud answer, "for we share the command." Dudo, 76 [Duchesne]. The grant of the *Terra Northmannorum*, in 911, was made to Rolf and his companions.

were restored to him. Freeman says²⁸ that in the eleventh century the word *castel* was introduced into our language to mark something which was evidently quite distinct from the familiar *burh* of ancient times, whilst Ordericus speaks of the thing and its name as something distinctly French.

If we ask why the Anglo-Saxons did not build private castles, the answer is to be found in the researches of Dr. Stubbs and others²⁹ who state that the institutions of the Anglo-Saxons were tribal ; that the history of the ninth and tenth centuries is the history of the gradual break up of the Carlovingian Empire and the rise of feudalism on its ruins, whilst the victory of feudalism was the victory of the private castle ; and lastly that the system of military tenure, which is the backbone of feudalism, was introduced into England by William the Conqueror.

Mrs. Armitage cites the Chronicle of St. Florent le Vieil as giving the first historical mention of a castle of the motte and bailey type, where, at a date which the modern biographer of Fulk Nerra fixes at 1010, we learn that the same Count of Anjou built a castle on the western side of Mont-Glonne and threw up an *agger* on which he built a wooden tower.³⁰ Although the date of their origin must be left uncertain, there is no doubt but they were the product of feudalism, and could not have existed earlier than the tenth century. They are to be found throughout feudal Europe, but they are not to be found among non-feudal Slavonic nations, nor are there any in Norway and Sweden. Dr. Sophus Müller when dealing with specimens in Denmark says that " the fortresses of prehistoric times are the defences of the *community*,

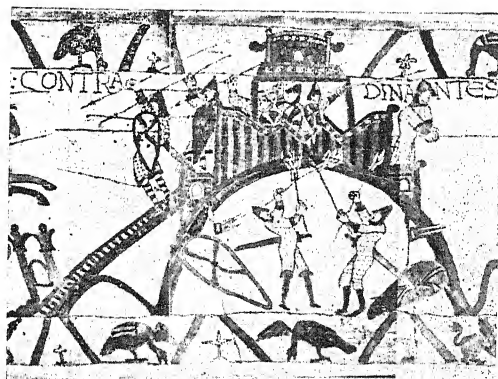
²⁸ *Norman Conquest*, ii., 606.

²⁹ Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, i., 251 ; Maitland's *Domesday Book and Beyond*, p. 157 ; Round's *Feudal England*, p. 261 ; Vinogradoff's *English Society in the 11th Century*, p. 41.

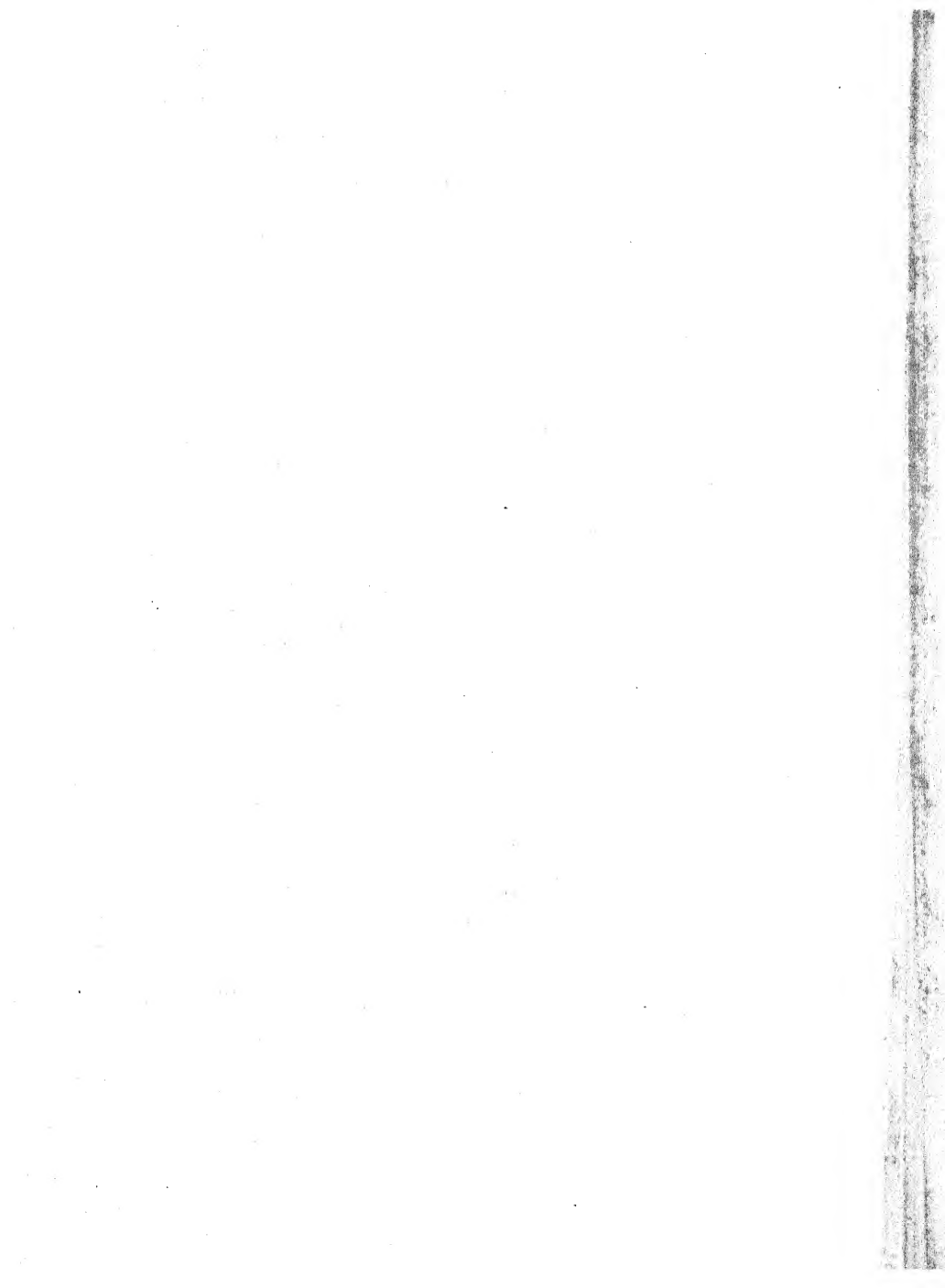
³⁰ Lobineau's *Bretagne*, ii., 87.



HASTINGS.



DINAN.



north of the Alps as in the old classical lands. Small castles for an individual and his warrior band belong to the mediæval period and to a more or less developed feudal system."³¹ That they are of Norman introduction into England is gathered from the fact that out of a list of eighty-four castles, which are known to have been built in the reigns of the Conqueror and his son Rufus, no less than seventy-one have, or have had, mottes with appendant earthworks. Again Dr. Christison, in his *Early Fortifications in Scotland*, points out that the motte and bailey type abounds in the south-western lowlands of Scotland, in Kirkcudbright and Dumfriesshire, or in those very parts to which it is known that a steady immigration of Norman adventurers took place, from the time of the Conquest until the thirteenth century. From Ireland, also, we obtain evidence of the same kind, for the motte and bailey castles are only to be found in the north-eastern provinces which were conquered by the Normans during the twelfth century.

And we have also direct evidence. In that most trustworthy record of the Norman conquest, the Bayeux Tapestry, there is a picture of William's troops engaged in throwing up a motte at Hastings, after the battle, whilst the inscription says:—"ISTE . IVSSIT . VT . FODERETVR . CASTELLVM . AT . HESTENGA . CEASTRA ."

He commands that they *dig* a castle. The same tapestry also depicts sieges at Bayeux, Rennes, Dol and Dinan. At the latter place the motte, with the trench and earthen rampart at its foot, the wooden material of the tower, with its enclosing palisade and the ladder-like bridge, the gate at the foot and a platform at the top, are clearly seen. The tapestry depicts the attacking soldiers with flaming brands endeavouring to fire the wooden tower, whilst the garrison are hurling their spears from the top,

³¹ Vor Oldtid, pp. 629, 642.

as Conan delivers the keys on the point of a lance to an approaching horseman.

Again, in a life of St. John of Warneton, Bishop of Terouenne, written by Archdeacon Colmieu in 1130,³² there is a contemporary description of a motte which the good bishop visited at Merchem, near Dixmûde. George T. Clark gives the following translation of the passage, thus:—"Near the churchyard was an exceedingly high fortification built according to the fashion of that country by the lord of the manor many years ago. For it was customary for the rich men and nobles of those parts—because their chief occupation is the carrying on of feuds and slaughters, in order that they may have the greater power for either conquering their equals or keeping down their inferiors—to heap up a mound of earth as high as they were able and to dig round it a broad, open and deep ditch, and to girdle the whole upper edge of the mound with a strong wall of hewn logs stoutly fixed together. Within was constructed a house or rather a citadel (*arcem*), commanding the whole, so that the gate of entry could only be approached by a bridge, which springing from the outer lip of the ditch was gradually raised as it advanced, supported by sets of piers so as with a managed ascent to reach the upper level of the mound, landing on its edge on a level at the threshold of the enclosure." It appears that the bishop had come to hold a confirmation in Merchem church, and that after the ceremony was over he went back to the citadel to change his vestments. As he recrossed the sloping bridge, then crowded with people waiting to see such a holy man, the structure broke beneath their weight, when, amid a terrible noise of falling timber, they were all thrown a distance of thirty-five feet to the bottom of the ditch.

³² *Acta Sanctorum*, Bolland., iii., 414.



DOL.



BAYEUX.



RENNES.

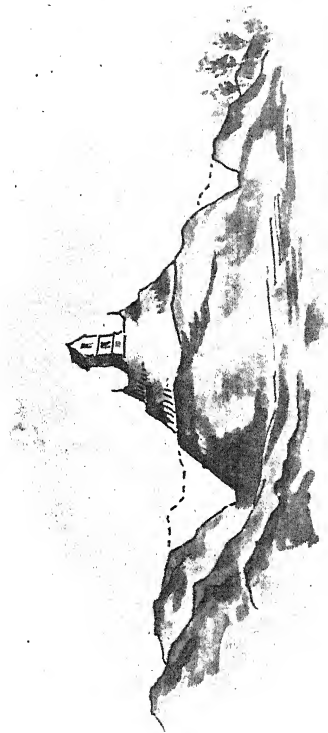


DIAGRAM TO ILLUSTRATE THE ISOLATION OF A MOTTE
FROM A TONGUE OF LAND.

TO FACE P. 15.

We are therefore bound to accept, with such an accumulation of testimony, that the Saxon burh was essentially a defensive township, that the Norman motte was a citadel for a feudal chieftain, and that its intention was at once to protect and to keep the burh in subjection.

In erecting one of these mottes, the most usual plan was to dig two wide and deep trenches across an elevated tongue of land, and to still heighten the mound thus formed, by throwing up all the excavated earth upon the top. Then encircling round both the base and the summit of this steep cone would be erected, upon a rampart of earth, a close paling of strong interlaced oak-work. The only means of ingress to the central platform, upon which stood the timber-built tower, was by a flying bridge across the ditch and as steeply inclined upward as foothold would allow of. In many cases terraces were cut on the sides of the cone, sometimes ramparted but more generally just defended by a palisade.

The tower was no mere shed for temporary occupation, but a carefully built dwelling in which the owners rivalled one another. Lambert of Ardres, writing about 1194, gives us a minute description of the one at Ardres, built about the year 1117. "Arnold, lord of Ardres, built on the motte at Ardres a wooden house, excelling all the houses of Flanders of that period both in material and in carpenter's work. The first storey was on the ground, where were cellars and great boxes, tuns, casks and other domestic utensils. In the storey above were the dwelling rooms, and the great chamber in which the lord and his wife slept. In the inner part of the great chamber was a certain private room, where at early dawn or in the evening or during sickness or at time of blood-letting, or for warming the maids and weaned children, they used to have a fire. Adjoining this was a private room, the dormitory of the waiting maids and children. In the upper storey were garret rooms, in which on the one side

the sons, on the other side the daughters used to sleep. In this storey also the watchmen appointed to keep guard took their sleep at some time or other. There were stairs and passages from room to room, from house to kitchen, an adjoining building of two floors, and from the house to the loggia where they used to sit in conversation, and from the loggia to the oratory."³³

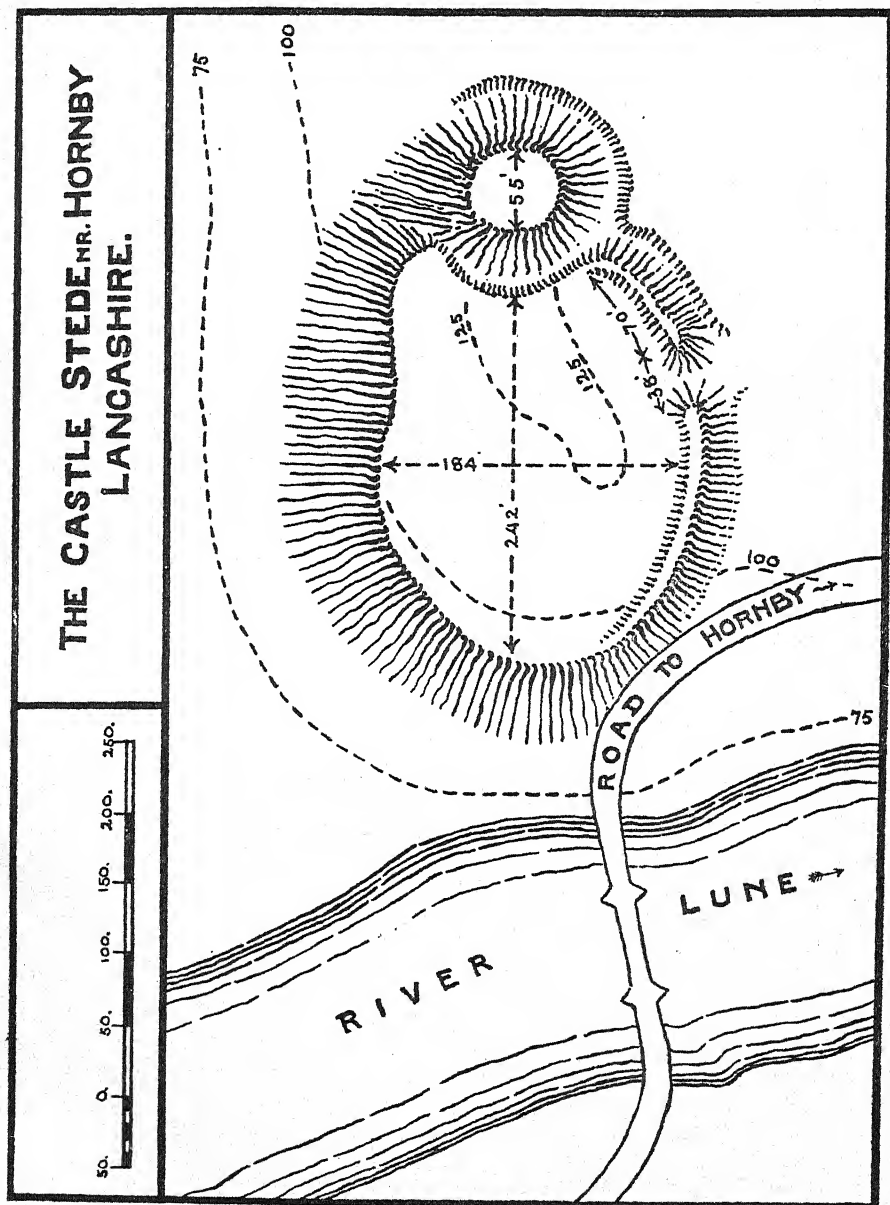
Below was the bailey containing shelters for the garrison, stables for their horses, kitchens, workshops, and other necessary appurtenances. This bailey was inclined, on the whole, to be oval or bean-shaped in form and was likewise defended by a ditch. The ballast was thrown up inside the area so as to form a rampart for the outer stockade, whilst on the counterscarp, or outer lip of the ditch, there was a special defence known as the *hericio*,³⁴ from the bristling nature of the thorns and brambles employed in its construction, like the barbed wire entanglement of modern warfare.

From examples in other parts of England, such as at Brinklow near Rugby, we learn that the bailey was frequently divided transversely into equal parts by a cross ditch, but beside the twin bailey at Liddel we can find no other example in the district. Such a plan must have added materially to the power of defence, as each division would cause a separate obstacle to the assailants and a separate rallying point to the defenders.

There are two distinct varieties; in one the motte forms a part of the general enceinte, while in the other it stands free within the bailey. In either case we find the area small, suitable for the personal defence of the owner

³³ *Historia Ardensium* of Walter de Clusa, which is interpolated in the work of Lambert, Bouquet, pp. 13, 624.

³⁴ Fr. Hérisson, a hedge-hog. Jordan Fantosme, describing the siege of Wark by the Scots in 1174, says that they attacked and carried the *herigon* (line 1220) and got into the ditch, but they could not take the *bayle*, i.e., they could not get over the palicium. "Montreuil il a bien clos, esforce e ferme de pel e herigon." Wace, 107.



with a few followers, and absolutely unsuited for the defence of a community.

Mrs. Armitage⁸⁵ advances the theory that the Norman, by constructing the inner ditch at the foot of his motte and thus isolating it from his own bailey, shewed suspicion not only of his neighbours but also of his own garrison. She assumes that the force which followed him were mercenaries and not men of his own blood in whom he could repose absolute trust.

The strength of such a fortress and the ability to defend it by a few resolute men lay, first of all, in the depth of the outer ditch. Men with their blood up will surmount almost incredible difficulties, but human flesh and blood stagger at the thought of tumbling down a thirty-foot ditch in the face of hurling missiles. After clearing the barbed entanglement the assailants would thus have to throw themselves into the ditch and scramble up again as best they could, in order to climb the stockade, before gaining victory over the bailey. For one or two to succeed prematurely in this was of no avail, as they would be at once overpowered by the defenders. It was necessary that a concerted rush should be made with equal success, and in such numbers as to be able to withstand the defence of the bailey. Even if this were accomplished the advantage, unless the siege could be prolonged, was distinctly on the side of the defenders. The assailants would still be open to a plunging fire from the motte as they crossed the bailey, to a raking discharge when endeavouring to ascend the mound without some artificial means of foothold, and finally be entirely devoid of cover when surmounting the inner stockade upon its summit. If, under modern conditions, the stockade is a formidable barrier to well-armed troops, the difficulty which it afforded to the early mediæval warrior is obvious. Weakness

⁸⁵ *Early Norman Castles*, p. 7.

lay in the possibility of a long siege, such as overtook the gallant defenders of Liddel Motte, and also in the inflammable nature of its construction. Arrows tipped with burning tow might set alight the palisade or tower, but wet hides were ready to diminish this risk as far as possible. It is a great question whether or not the stockade was ever daubed over with clay.

It is in these stockaded enclosures that we have the first meaning of the term "pele,"—a name which has become familiar to us in connection with the fourteenth century towers, but which in its derivation from the old French *pel*, simply denoted a stake or a palisade of which the stake formed the unit.

Fortunately we still possess one or two motte and bailey fortresses in their original earthwork form, which appear to-day as mere green hillocks beneath a clump of trees, clear indeed in their simple shape, though having lost by time the sharpness of their profile and more or less of their height.

III.

THE MOTTE WITH BAILEY.

BURGH-BY-SANDS. C. 16, S.W.

SITE :—Just within the Roman Wall. Its position is indicated by Camden :—" The [Roman] Station has been a little east of the church near what is called the Old Castle." Hutchinson³⁶ says :—" In a field called Hall-Walls an ancient castle has stood " ; whilst Whellan³⁷ adds :—" Near to Burgh is the site on which the castle of Sir Hugh de Morville formerly stood, the adjoining field is called Hang-man tree . . . a neighbouring enclosure bears a designation not less ominous, Spill-blood Holme." There is an extensive view in every direction.

FOUNDATION HISTORY :—Practically nothing is known of this stronghold, probably of the motte and bailey type, to which the dying Edward I. was removed and upon which a stone building was afterwards developed.

1539 :—" Burgh yn the Sand, longid sumtime to the Morvilles, stondeth a myle of frō the hyther Banke of Edon. Yt is a village by the which remayne the Ruines of a greate Place, now clene desolated, wher King Edward the fyrst dyed. Burgh stondeth from Bolness iii myles, and a iiii myles or v frō Cair Luel."³⁸

1610 :—" Where the barons of Burgh had a capital messuage, the ruins whereof are yet seen at the east end of the town."³⁹

³⁶ Hist. Cumberland, ii. 510

³⁷ Hist. Cumberland, p. 153.

³⁸ Leland, vol. vii., fol. 69.

³⁹ John Denton's Accompt, p. 79.

CAERNARVON CASTLE, BECKERMET. C. 72, S.E.

Caer-n-ar-mhon, the castle over against Mona ; *Bekkjar-môt*, the meeting of the becks.

SITE :—On the “ High Street,” or Roman way. It has an extensive view even as far as Ravenglass.

FOUNDATION HISTORY :—A stronghold of the le Fleming family from the time when Sir Michael received the grant of the manor from William Meschin. He died in 1153. His second son, Sir Richard, “ was seated at Caernarvon Castle, Beckermets,” and died about 1207. Sir Richard, the grandson of the last, Sir D. Fleming says, married Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Adam de Urswick, and that he abandoned this motte about the year 1250, when he built the first Coniston Hall. Denton further adds that after this marriage “ the castle was allowed to fall into decay and at last was demolished.”

The motte has been cut away to fill up the trenches and level the ground for cultivation. It has now all but disappeared.

VARIETY :—B. In which the motte stands free within the bailey.

NATURAL DEFENCES :—Naturally strong on the east, south and west, and as weak on the north where the ground is more level.

ARTIFICIAL EARTHWORK :—Sir Daniel Fleming,⁴⁰ writing in 1671, describes the place thus :—“ In this manor is a mount or hill whereon there is yet to be seen the ruins of a notable fort or castle of an oblong square, the dimensions of it are now much less than at first by reason the ground is shrunk by plowing, yet the length may be discovered to be an hundred yards [presumably on the extreme top within the

⁴⁰ *Description of the County of Cumberland*, ed. R. S. Ferguson, p. 6.

ditch from east to west] and the breadth about eighty-five yards. The ditch is yet visible, about twelve yards broad and four yards deep, the main entrance into it has been at the east end of it, there being yet to be seen a deep broad way leading from the high road, there was also an entrance at the west end, opposite to which there is a round artificial hill now called Coney Garth Cop . . . now about twelve yards high, the top is about six yards broad, it seems to have been intended for a keep or watch tower."

MOTTE :—More or less separated from the rest of the bailey by a depression.

REFERENCE :—*Transactions*, N.S., iii., 214.

DENTON HALL. C. 18, N.E.

"*Dentun*" before 1180.⁴¹ ? A.-S. *Denatún*, Danes' farm, or *denetún*, valley farm.

SITE :—Less than a mile south from the Roman Wall, in a deep secluded valley.

VARIETY :—B. The motte stands on the western side free within the bailey.

ARTIFICIAL EARTHWORK :—A bailey about 85 yards in length enclosed within a ditch $8\frac{1}{2}$ yards in breadth. On the south and east sides the bailey is further strengthened by a low rampart and outer ditch.

REFERENCE :—*Transactions*, O.S., vi., 194.

⁴¹ Prescott, *Wetherhal*, 198.

EGREMONT. C. 72, N.E.

The motte by the Ehen, with the Norse genitive —*er*, hence *Egen-er-mont*, *Eger-mond*.

SITE:—At the northern end of Egremont Castle there is a lofty mound, evidently the motte of the first barons of Egremont, on which was erected a stone tower at a later period, clearly depicted in Buck's print of 1739. There is an extensive view both up and down the valley.

VARIETY:—A. In which the motte forms a part of the general enceinte.

ARTIFICIAL EARTHWORK:—The mound has been artificially scarped and is in height some 47 feet above the level of the ditch that surrounds the whole fortress. The stone castle has been erected upon the site of the ancient bailey.

MOTTE:—The plateau now measures about 50 feet in diameter on the summit.

REFERENCES:—Collingwood, 100 ; Hutchinson, ii., 19-20.

IRTHINGTON. C. 17, N.E.

"*Irthinton*," 1169. ? farm by the Irthing.

The caput of Gilsland, where there is a motte whose summit is surrounded by a breastwork. The ditch is absent, but local tradition says that it was filled in when the garden was constructed on the summit. It is also asserted that on the side, which faces the river Irthing, the outline of an attached bailey could be traced some years ago, and that the filled-in ditch surrounding it was discovered when certain drainage work was recently carried out.

LIDDEL STRENGTH. C. 6, N.E.

Piel of Ledel, 1310; Pele of Lidell, 1319;⁴² Fortalice of Lidelle, 1346;⁴³ a manor-place;⁴⁴ Municipium de Lidallis.⁴⁵

EARLY FORTIFICATION :—Such a bold bluff as this—facing northward to the land of the Picts, and situated on the southern bank of that river which now forms the boundary between the two nations—is likely to have been fortified by each succeeding race. The vestige of a Roman road, the 2nd iter of Antoninus, passes the entrance.

SITE :—Commanding an extensive view in every direction.

FOUNDATION HISTORY :—Whether the motte was thrown up on some existing earthwork by a Norman who settled here under the Scottish Crown and before the conquest of Carlisle in 1092, or whether it was the work of Turgis Brundis who, after the conquest, received a grant of the district from Ranulph le Meschin⁴⁶ is uncertain.

1174. Ranulph de Soulis, butler to William the Lion,⁴⁷ was in possession in 1174,⁴⁸ and was assassinated here in 1207 by his own domestics.⁴⁹

1217, 18th December. Henry III. directs the sheriff of Cumberland to take into the king's hands the "castle and ville of Lidelle" and guard it till further instructions.⁵⁰

1281-2. In the Chancery Records we find Baldwin Wake seised in the demesne. "Lydel, the site of a castle,

⁴² Bain, iii., 219, 675.

⁴³ Lanercost Chronicle, 345.

⁴⁴ Galfridus le Baker, ed. Giles, 170.

⁴⁵ Bower, ii., 340.

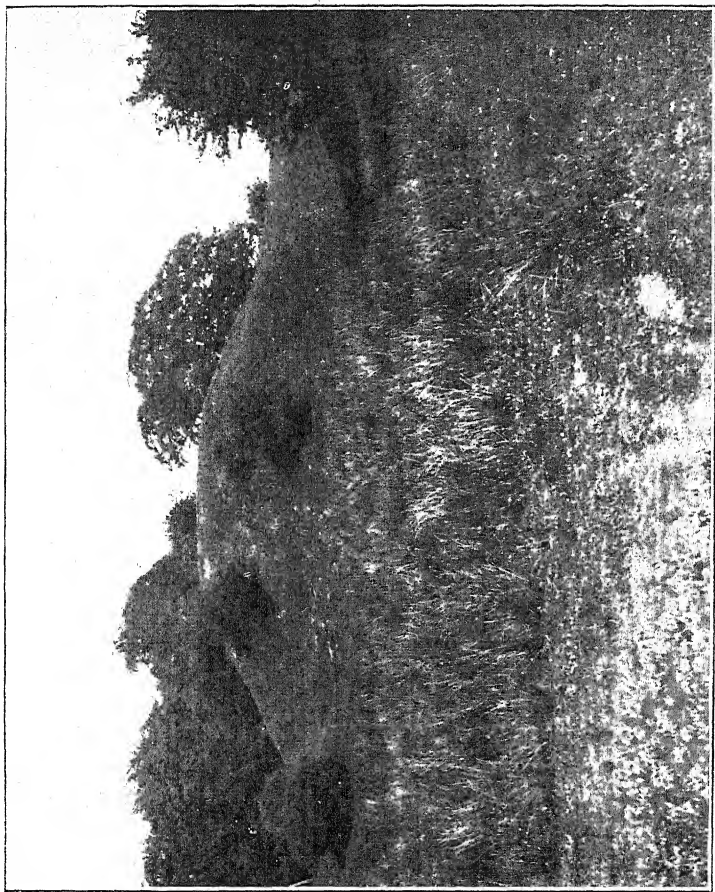
⁴⁶ *Pipe Rolls of Cumberland*, ed. Hodgson, lxi.; *Testa de Nevill*.

⁴⁷ *Registrum de Neubottle*, pp. 29-30.

⁴⁸ *Benedictus Abbas*, r.s., i., 65; Bain, *Cal. Doc. relating to Scotland*, 685.

⁴⁹ *Chronica de Mailros*, 106.

⁵⁰ *Close Rolls*, 2 Hen. III., pt. 2, m. 13.

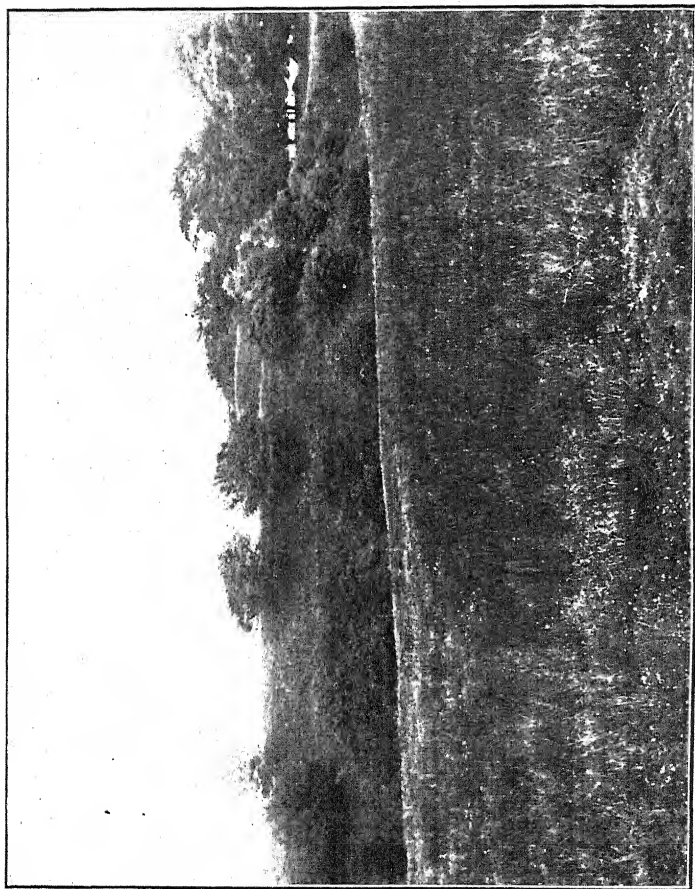


LIDDEL MOTTE

From the inner bailey.

From C. & W. A. & A. S. Transactions.

TO FACE P. 24.



LIDDEL MOTTE

From the outer bailey, showing the main ditch, rampart and motte beyond.

From the C. & W. A. & A. S. Transactions.

TO FACE P. 25.

containing these domiciles, viz. :—a wooden hall, with two solars, cellars and a chapel; also a kitchen, a byre, a grange and a wooden granary which threatens ruin but might now be repaired for five marks. Not extended as they need more yearly keeping up than they can be let for.”⁵¹

1300. Sir Simon de Lindesaye was “gardein des forteleses de Lydel et del Eremitage Soulis,”⁵² and was required to repair the motte and the fosses around it, strengthening and redressing the same as also the pele and the palisades, and making lodges within if necessary for the safety of the men-at-arms of the garrison; he was also required to remain in defence of the place and country, etc.⁵³

1346. The motte was held by Sir Walter Selby and a garrison of 200 men-at-arms, when David II. invested it for four days and, conquering by starvation, caused the brave knight with his two sons to be murdered.⁵⁴ Of this atrocious incident Leland says:⁵⁵—“Lithel was a moted Place of a Gentilman cawled Syr Water Seleby, the which was Killyd there and the Place destroyed yn King Edward the thyrde, when the Scottes whent to Dyrham.” To which Packington adds:—“David, King of Scottes, caused the noble Knight, Walter Selby, capitayne of the Pyle of Lydelle, to be slayne afore his owne face, not suffering him so much as to be confessed.”

1348. The motte was held by Sir Thomas Wake of Lydell,⁵⁶ who probably erected a stone tower in the middle of the inner bailey, to which the Graham family afterwards added a hall and chapel. Stow⁵⁷

⁵¹ Chancery Records, 10 Edward I., No. 26; Bain, ii., 208.

⁵² Palgrave's *Documents*, 249.

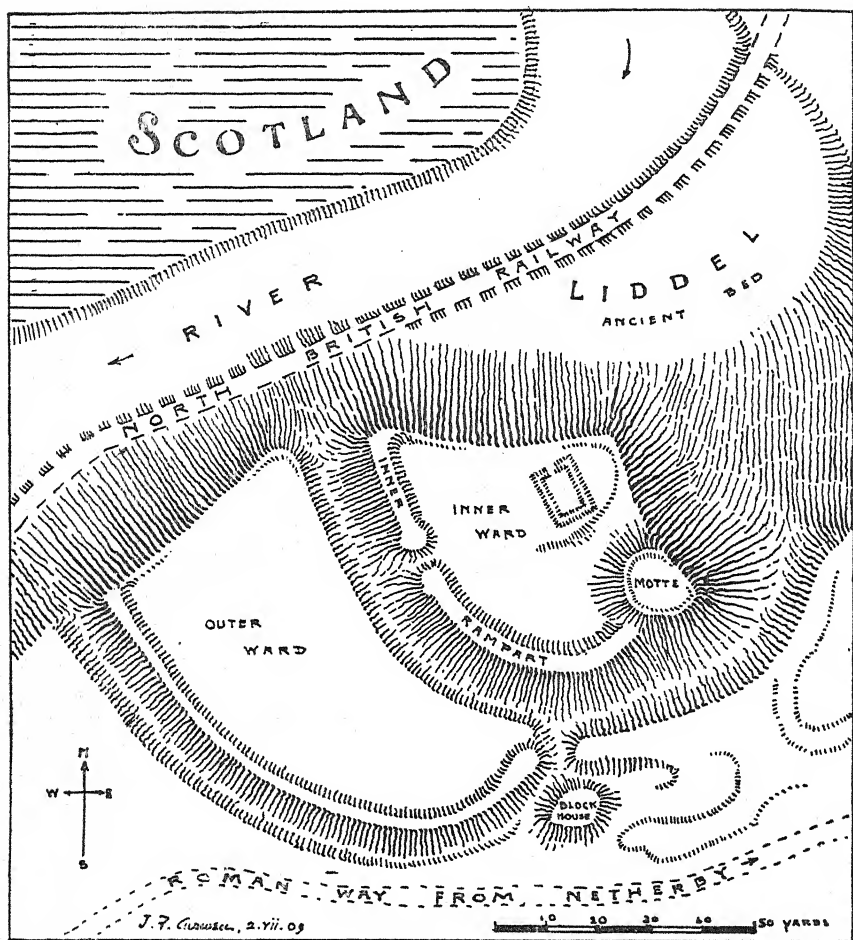
⁵³ Carlisle Exchequer, Q.R. Miscellanea Army, No. 31; Bain, ii., 1173.

⁵⁴ Bain, iii., 1670; Holinshed's Chronicle, v. 383; Redpath, 336.

⁵⁵ Vol. vii., fol. 69.

⁵⁶ Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1348-50, p. 111.

⁵⁷ Chronicles, 243.



PLAN OF LIDDEL MOTTE.

mentions the foundations of a square building, and Hutchinson, in 1794,⁵⁸ speaks of "a square tower of excellent masonry."

1553. "Fergus Græme of the Mote of Lydysdale" received a grant of arms and Thomas Musgrave, writing to Lord Burghley in 1583, mentions the river "Lydall at the Mote Skore, where Fargus Grayme his howse standes."⁵⁹

VARIETY :—A. In which the motte, standing on the rampart at the south-east angle, forms a part of the general enceinte.

NATURAL DEFENCES :—The ancient bed of the river Liddel sweeps round the northern faces, 160 feet beneath the precipitous escarpment.

ARTIFICIAL EARTHWORK :—The inner bailey has been entrenched by a semicircular ditch, dug some 25 feet below the natural surface, with the earth thrown up on the inside, so as to form an enormous rampart. To the west is an outer bailey, in the shape of a semi-lunette, likewise defended by a deep ditch with the earth thrown up as a rampart on the inside, but of slighter construction. Passing a block-house, the way led through a narrow defile between the raised-up ends of the outer ramparts into the great ditch. From here it swept round a quadrant to the west, along the bottom of the ditch and in full view of the defenders, until it passed through another narrow defile between the raised ends of the inner ramparts, into the central court.

AREA ENCLOSED :—Some three and a half to four acres. The inner bailey measures 48 yards north to south by 38 yards east to west. The outer bailey 85 yards north-west to south-east, and on an average 35 yards east to west.

⁵⁸ Hutchinson, ii., 529.

⁵⁹ *Transactions*, N.S., viii., 62.

MOTTE :—The plateau measured about 34 feet in diameter, but on the north-east side a landslip has carried away about 10 feet.

REFERENCES :—*Transactions*, O.S., ix., 406; N.S., x., 91-101; Gen. Roy's *Mil. Antiq. of Romans in Britain*, plate xxiii.; Old Statistical Account, xvi., 82; Hutchinson, ii., 529; Whellan, 682; Br. and Br., 112.

OVER DENTON. C. 12, S.E.

SITE :—Just half-a-mile south of the Roman Wall, and on the southern bank of the Irthing, close to the church, is a small bailey to a much decayed motte.

ARTIFICIAL EARTHWORK :—The artificially raised mound is surrounded by a ditch measuring about 14 yards in diameter.

REFERENCE :—*Transactions*, O.S., vi., 194.

ROSE. C. 30, S.W.

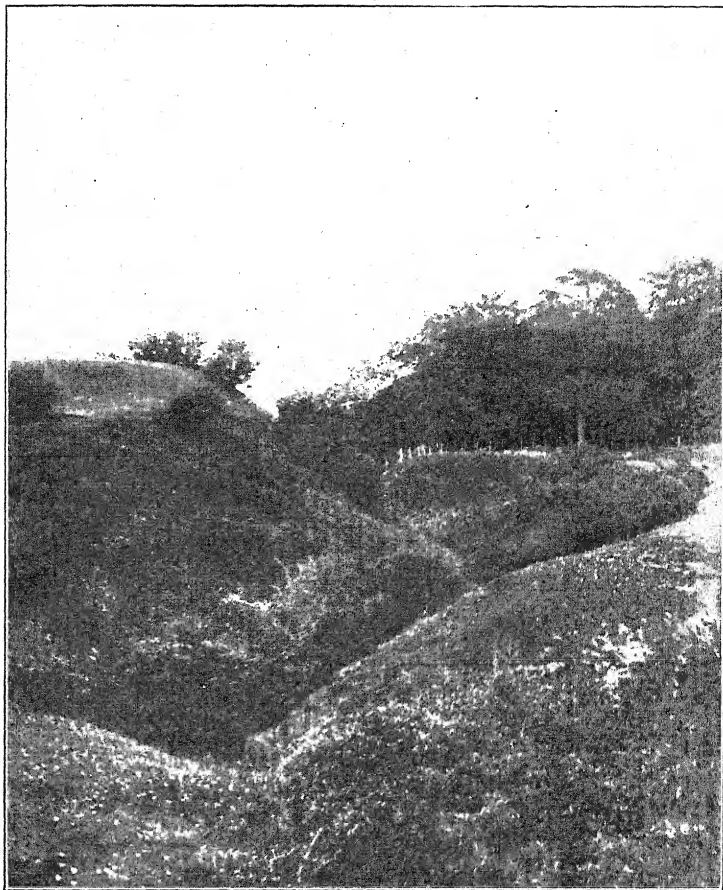
"Descriptive of the attractive situation." Cf. *Castellum de Rosa*, Kent.⁶⁰

SITE :—Dr. James Wilson points out that there was a motte in the Hop-garth just outside Kite's Tower, and that the present Rose Castle occupies the site of the ancient bailey, of half an acre, encompassed by its bank and entrenchment. It would have an extensive view.

DESTROYED :—Among Bishop Law's expenses for improvements in and about the castle we find an outlay of £33 18s. 1d. "to labourers carrying away rubbish and removing a mount, filling up and levelling the ground in the Hop-garth and converting the same into meadow."

REFERENCE :—Dr. James Wilson's *Rose Castle*, p. 65.

⁶⁰ Wilson, *Rose Castle*, 34.

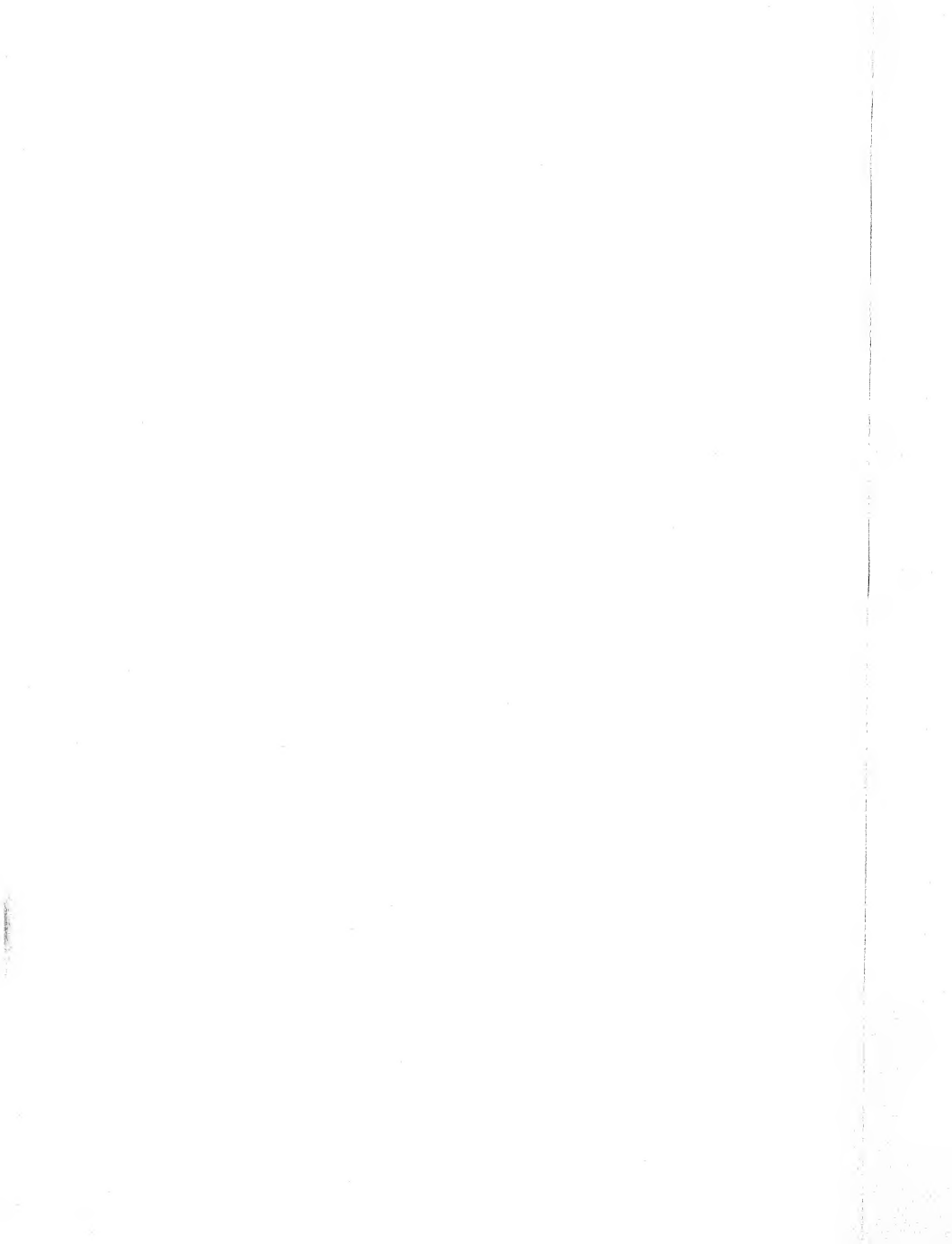


LIDDEL MOTTE

Showing entrance into the inner ditch and the motte surmounting
the main rampart.

From C. & W. A. & A. S. Transactions.

TO FACE P. 28.



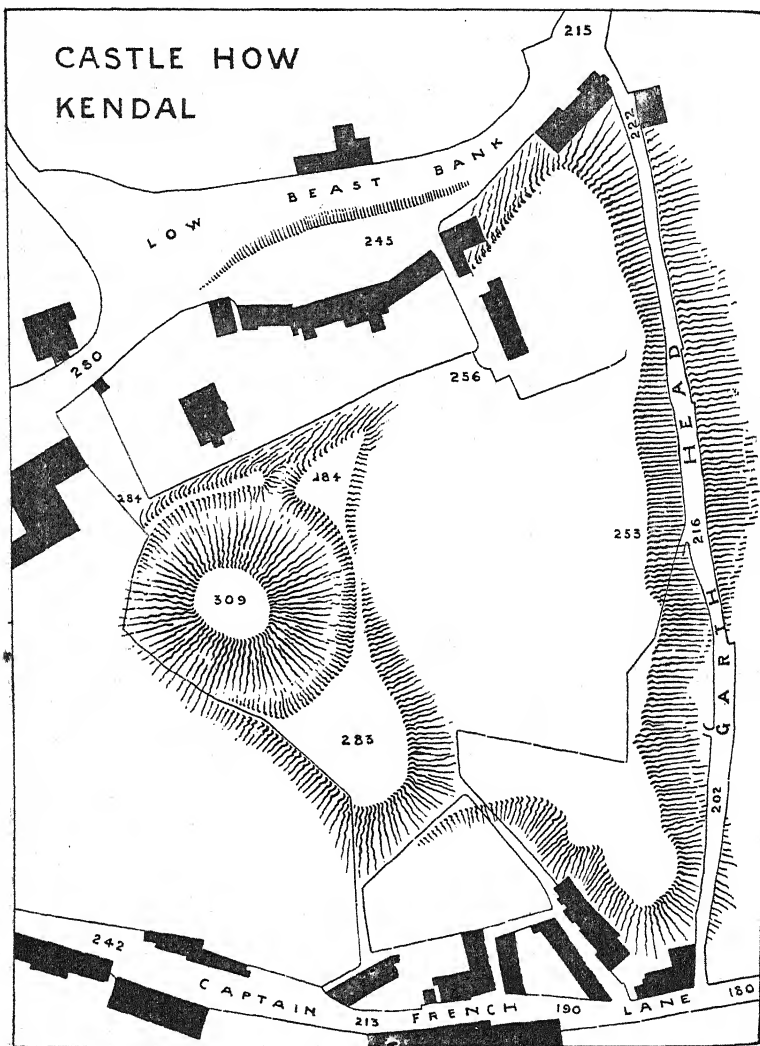
GREENHOLME, CASTLE HOWE. W. 28, N.E.

SITE :—The name is significant, and the site has the appearance of having been once a motte and bailey fortress ; but the remains are not sufficient to justify any positive conclusion.

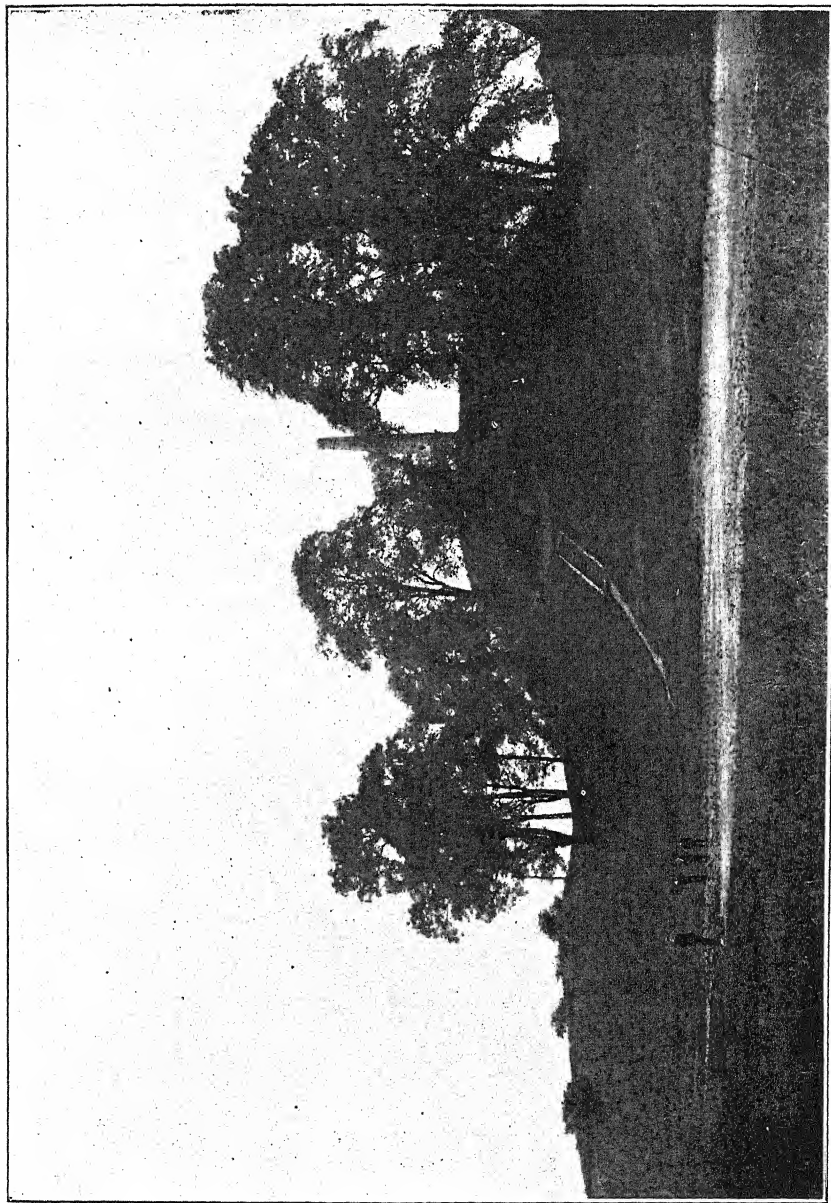
It lies in the angle formed by the confluence of the Dorothy beck on the west with the Birk beck on the north. On both these sides the area rises some 25 feet with very precipitous escarpments. The motte would appear to have been situated in the angle formed by these two sides, where the western bank boldly projects outward in a semicircular form. This corner is also the highest portion of the area, but the inner half of the mound is not defined by any intervening ditch. Has the motte been cut away to fill up this ditch and make cultivation easier ?

The eastern side slopes gently away, whilst the southern side seems to have been bounded by a gullet running between the area and rising ground further to the south.

The area measures some 90 yards north and south by some 47 yards east and west.

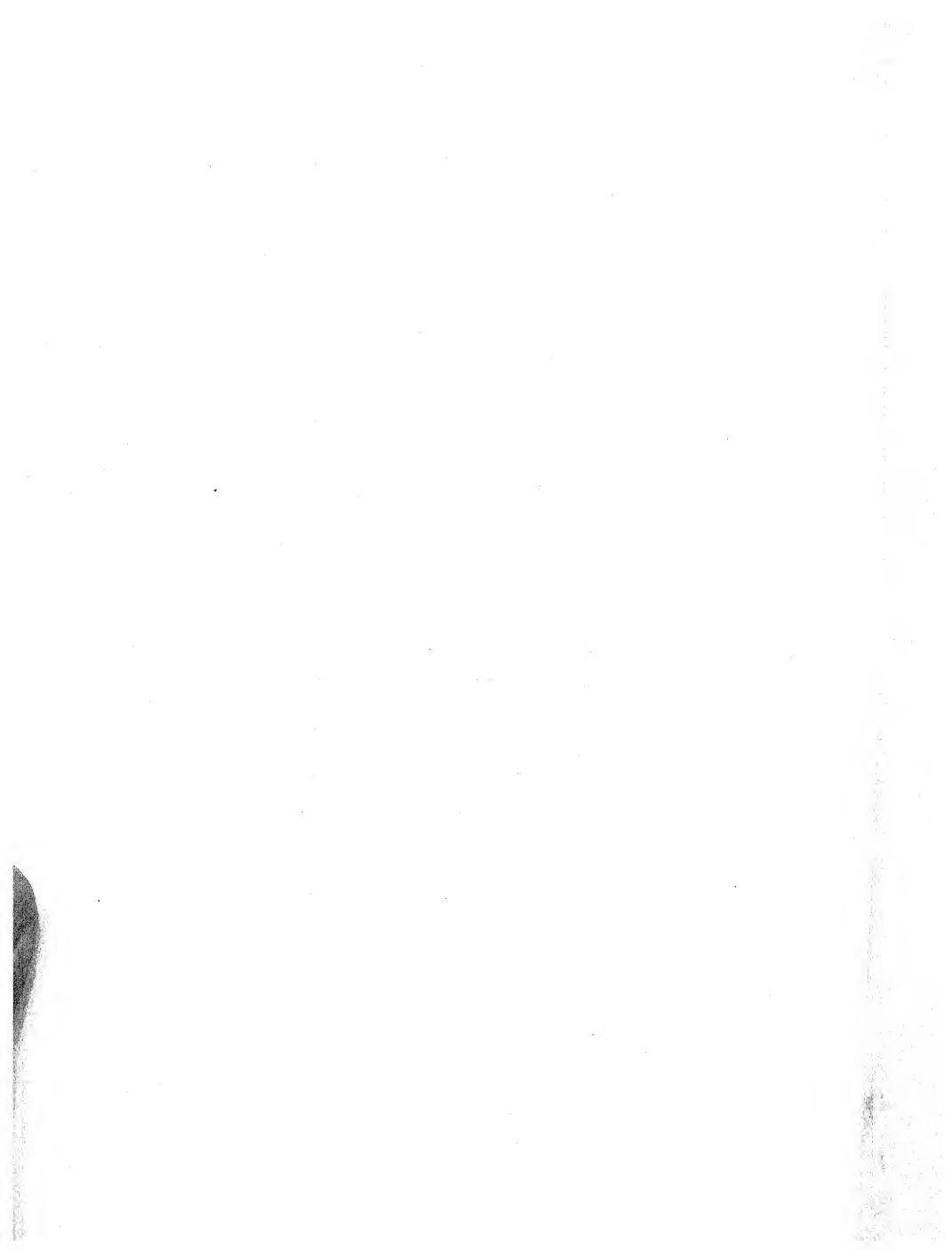


The figures show the altitude above the Ordnance datum. It will be seen that 280, 284, and 283 is the tongue of land running in a south-easterly direction, above which the motte has been artificially raised to 309 feet. From the eastern hypotenuse of the triangular bailey at 253, the ground falls precipitously, to a terrace at 216 feet, to the town main street at 152 feet, and to the river at 137 feet above sea level.



KENDAL CASTLE HOW, from the bailey.

From C. & W. A. & A. S. Transactions.



KENDAL, CASTLE HOW. W. 38, N.E.

Norse, *haugr*, a mound.

SITE :—Commanding the entire valley of the Kent.

FOUNDATION HISTORY :—The caput of the barony of Kendal, where it is quite likely Ketel, the son of Eldred, dwelt, A.D. 1092.

Probably deserted when the stone castle on the opposite hill was built, circa 1184.

VARIETY :—A. In which the motte, situated at the western apex of a triangular area, forms a part of the general enceinte.

NATURAL DEFENCES :—The bailey, known as "Battle Place," is very strongly protected by nature along the east and south sides, where the ground falls away in precipitous slopes down to the town.

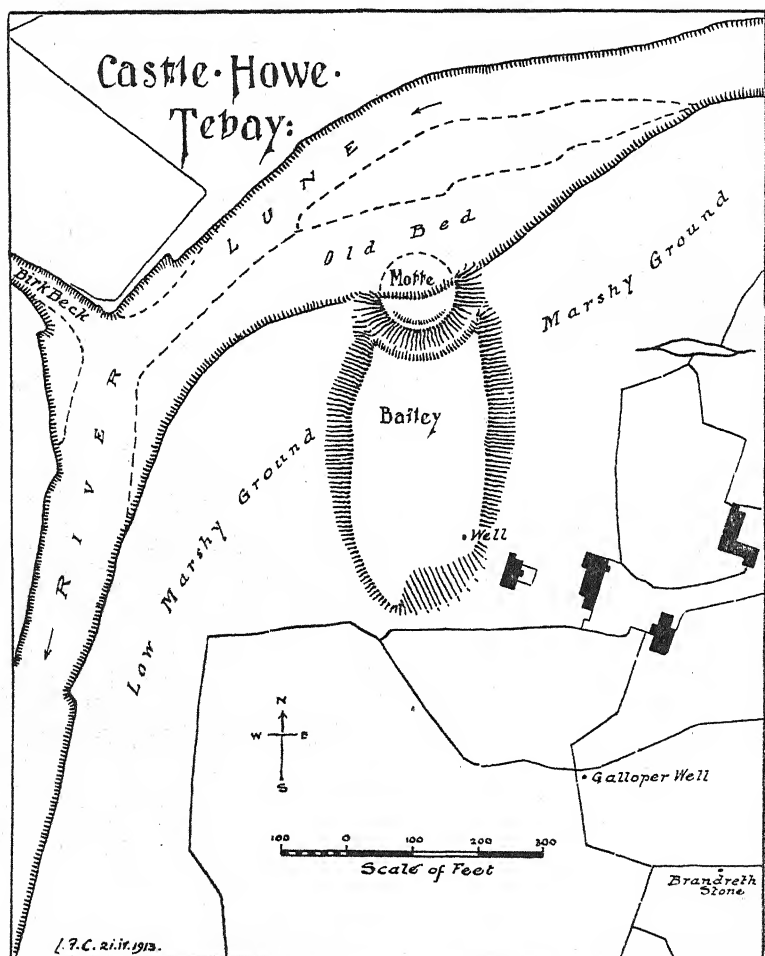
ARTIFICIAL EARTHWORK :—The motte has been formed by cutting two deep semicircular trenches across a sharp tongue of limestone rock; the rock and earth being mostly thrown up into the centre, so as to raise it 20 feet above the spur and 50 feet above the level of the bailey. Some of the earth, however, was thrown to the outside of the trenches so as to form a rampart.

As an additional protection to the bailey a terrace was cut, some 40 feet below the level, along the steep slope to the east. This terrace has now become a lane called "Garth Head," and where it debouches into Captain French Lane the field was described, in title deeds of 1767, as "all that close commonly called 'Catcastle.'"

AREA ENCLOSED :—Three and a half acres.

MOTTE :—The plateau measured about 60 feet in diameter and was surrounded by a breastwork that has now almost entirely disappeared.

REFERENCES :—*Transactions*, N.S., viii., 97; N. and B., i., 83; Hodgson, 197; West, 183; Whellan, 839.



TEBAY, CASTLE HOWE. W. 28, N.E.

SITE :—A long isolated hillock sloping gently from north to south. At the northern end it rises abruptly some 30 feet above the meadow and slopes away to only some 5 feet at the southern end.

FOUNDATION HISTORY :—The seat of the ancient family of Tybai or Tibbay. The last of whom we have any record were Herbert de Tibbay and Robert his son, living in 1201.

VARIETY :—A. In which the motte, situated at the northern end, forms a part of the general enceinte.

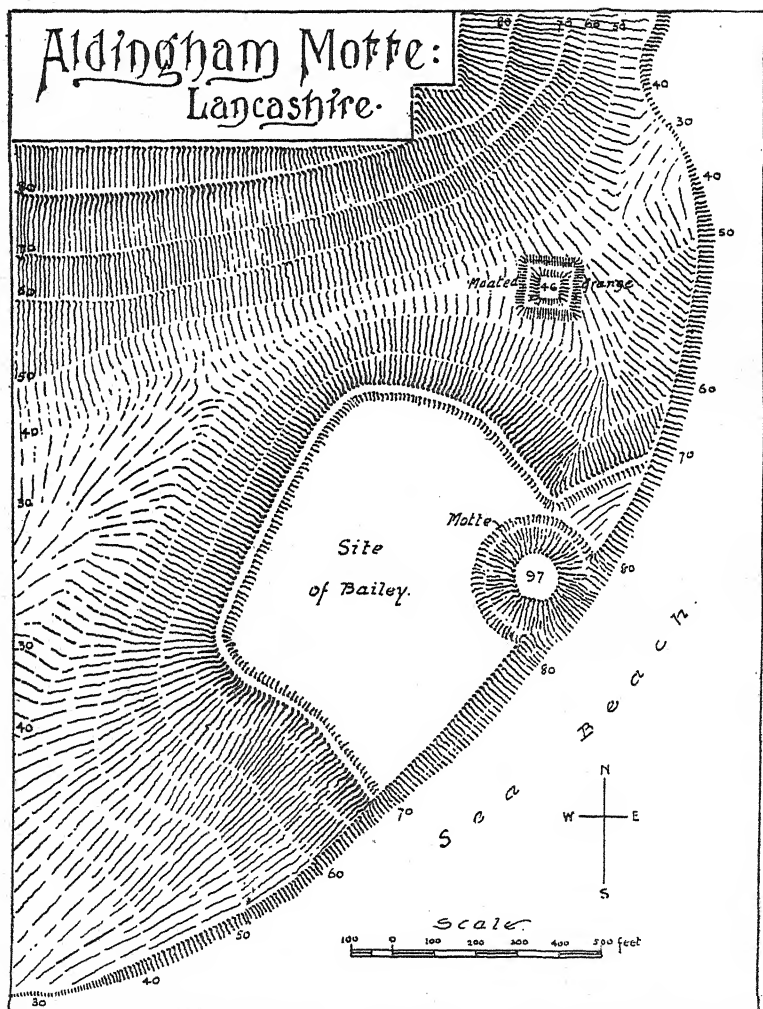
NATURAL DEFENCES :—Swept on the north and west sides by the river Lune, with low, marshy ground on the east and south sides.

ARTIFICIAL EARTHWORK :—The motte has been isolated by a semicircular ditch, 20 feet wide and at present some 6 feet below the bailey level. Doubtless it was originally much deeper, the earth being thrown up, not so much to raise the height of the motte, as to form a high rampart around its summit. The remaining sides of the hillock have been artificially scarped to protect the bailey.

AREA ENCLOSED :—Nearly two acres. The bailey is oval in form and measures some 120 yards in length by a width of 54 yards at either end and 63 yards in the centre. The south-eastern corner has been cut into and carted away.

MOTTE :—Some two-thirds of the motte have been washed away by the concave sweep of the old bed of the river. The arc remaining has a chord of 86 feet with a perpendicular of 19 feet, which gives the size of the completed plateau as having been some 114 feet in diameter. It has been dishd by the formation of a high rampart surrounding the outer edge.

REFERENCES :—*Transactions*, O.S., xi., 305 ; Whellan, 765 ; Hodgson, 150.



KIRKBY LONSDALE. W. 47, N.E.

SITE :—To the north of the Vicarage, commanding a wide sweep of the Lune dale.

NATURAL DEFENCES :—On the steep western brink of the Lune.

ARTIFICIAL EARTHWORK :—The motte has been formed by cutting deep trenches, 19 paces broad, across the high end of a ridge, the earth being thrown up into the centre so as to raise it considerably above the general level. The eastern portion appears to have been eaten away by erosion owing to the concave sweep of the river at this point.

MOTTE :—It has a comparatively flat plateau of about 30 paces in diameter.

REFERENCES :—*Transactions*, N.S., v., 278 ; Whellan, 887.

ALDINGHAM, FURNESS. L. 22, N.E.

EARLY FORTIFICATION :—From the name of this village it has been supposed that, at some early time, the Angles landed here and that the Aldings, or descendants of Ald, made it their homestead. At a later period the Norse likewise came and settled down to till the ground, for we find that one Ernulf or Örnulf held it at the time of the Domesday survey.

SITE :—Commanding an extensive view.

FOUNDATION HISTORY :—Here also Michael of Flanders, le Fleming, sent by the Red King to take charge as overlord of the district, did what he could to colonize among the rough Norse farmers, who naturally must have been very hostile to him and his master.

1127. A Michael le Fleming was holding the manor here. The stronghold is likely to have been deserted when

the Moated Grange was constructed some short distance to the north, which in its turn gave way to the stone building of Gleaston Castle in the fourteenth century.

By comparing the notes published by W. Close in his edition of West's *Antiquities of Furness*,⁶¹ it is very evident that during the last century the sea has swept away some 20 to 30 feet of the coast, taking a part of the motte and a considerable portion of the bailey with it.

VARIETY :—B. In which the motte stands free within the bailey.

NATURAL DEFENCES :—Protected on the east by a cliff which rises 80 feet above the sea shore and by a marsh that encircles the bailey on the land sides.

ARTIFICIAL EARTHWORK :—At present the motte stands some 17 feet above the surrounding hill side and about 27 feet from the bottom of the encircling ditch. This ditch is 15 to 20 feet broad at the bottom, and about 210 feet in diameter. To the north can still be traced another ditch which seems to have formed a portion of the enclosing stockade to the bailey. It is quite straight, about 250 feet long, 18 feet wide at the bottom and abuts on to the cliff edge where the eastern portion of the bailey has been washed away. There is a diagonal entrance across it.

MOTTE :—The flat plateau on the summit must have been originally about 100 feet in diameter, affording ample space for a large wooden tower.

REFERENCES :—W. G. Collingwood in the *Antiquary*, N.S., vol. v., No. 7, p. 252 ; and Mr. W. B. Kendall in the *Transactions of the Barrow Naturalists' Field Club*, vol. iii., No. 2, p. 119.

⁶¹ Edition of 1804, pp. 21, 389, 391.



ALDINGHAM MOTTE.

The scarp on the southern side.

TO FACE P. 36.

PENNINGTON, CASTLE HILL. L. 16, N.W.

EARLY FORTIFICATION :—This site has undoubtedly an early fortified history. It has been regarded by some as a promontory fortress of the Romano-British period. Here perhaps the Anglian family of the Pennings made their tun or homestead. It is mentioned in the Domesday Book.

FOUNDATION HISTORY :—The “capital messuage” of Sir William Pennington is mentioned as late as 1318, in an agreement concerning a dispute between the Abbot of Furness and the family. This must have been a wooden tower as, notwithstanding what Whitaker says, there has never been a stone castle upon this earthwork.

VARIETY :—B. In which the motte seems to have stood free within the bailey.

NATURAL DEFENCES :—The fortress is situated on a promontory jutting out into the Pennington beck, which here runs with great swiftness in a deep ravine, with precipitous banks, on the west and north-west sides.

ARTIFICIAL EARTHWORK :—The root of the promontory is cut off from the main land by a semicircular ditch 30 feet wide, and by a rampart which, on the north-east side, is still 12 to 15 feet in height with a base 21 to 24 feet in thickness. There is only one entrance which slopes up diagonally from right to left through the rampart on the south-east side, where there is a spring of water.

AREA ENCLOSED :—The quadrant-shaped area measures 156 by 132 feet.

REFERENCES :—Whitaker's *Richmondshire*, ii., 404 ; Baines, iv., 669 ; West's *Antiquities*, 407 ; *Archæologia*, liii. ; *Transactions*, N.S., vi., 316 ; *Vict. Hist. of Lancashire*, ii., 555.

IV.

THE MOTTE WITHOUT THE BAILEY.

THERE are many cases where the motte is found by itself. In such instances the bailey may have disappeared under cultivation, but it is also possible that, in the absence of a garrison, the fortified mount with its accommodation on the summit was all-sufficient for the need.

BEAUMONT-ON-EDEN, CASTLE GREEN. C. 16, S.W.

SITE :—Situated on the site of a Roman Milecastle.

FOUNDATION HISTORY :—The motte of the le Brun family.

1296. Robert de la Ferete was lord of Beaumont.

1306. Sir Richard le Brun was lord of Beaumont, but removed his residence to Drumburgh Castle, for which he received a crenellation licence in 1307. It is probable that the motte was abandoned soon after this date.

1339. Matilda le Brun was lady of Beaumont.

c. 1376. Sir William de Curwen married Elyn the sister and coheir of Sir Robert le Brun of Drumburgh and Beaumont.

REFERENCE :—Maclauchlan's Memoir, 80 ; Curwen Pedigree, 26.

BECKERMET, WOTOBANK. C. 72, S.E.

REFERENCES :—Jefferson's *Allerdale*, 15 ; *Antiq. of West Cumberland*, 1849.

BRAMPTON, CASTLE HILL. C. 18, N.W.

SITE:—To the east of the town there is a very steep conical mound which commands a most extensive view to the west, north and east.

ARTIFICIAL EARTHWORK:—The motte is artificially cut out of the higher end of a long ridge, and stands 136 feet above the surrounding level. About 40 feet down the slope there is a ditch, 20 feet wide, cut all round the sides, with an outer rampart 900 feet in length and 8 feet in height. There are no traces of any bailey, but there may well have been such an enclosure on the green ridge to the north.

MOTTE:—The plateau is oval in shape and measures about 120 feet in length and 60 feet in breadth. It is levelled and dished with a breastwork.

REFERENCES:—Hutchinson, i., 127; *Transactions*, N.S., v., 290; N. and B., ii., 493; Br. and Br., 128.

BRAYSTONES, BROUGH HILL. C. 77, N.E.

SITE:—Commanding an extensive view.

FOUNDATION HISTORY:—The motte of the de Braithestanes. The "Braystones Tower" now stands upon it. c. 1310. Reginal, son of Adam de Braithestanes, broke up the waste land round about.

1390. A deed of this date mentions Richard de Braystones, son of William, son of Luke.

REFERENCE:—Parker, 117, 153.

FRIZINGTON. C. 68, N.W.

SITE:—On the Roman road from Egremont to Cocker-mouth.

HAYTON (NEAR BRAMPTON), CASTLE HILL.

C. 17, S.E.

"*Haiton*," 1240-50. Norman-French, *haie*, hedged, fenced or stockaded, *tún*.

SITE :—On the extremity of a narrow ridge, just to the north of the village, from which it is separated by a deep ravine. It commands a most extensive view to the west, south and north.

ARTIFICIAL EARTHWORK :—The motte is artificially cut out of the higher end of the ridge, and stands 270 feet above the Ordnance datum. It has a double rampart; the intervening ditch varies from 6 to 12 feet in depth. On the south-west side there is a broad terrace, 15 feet wide, overlooking the ravine, the artificially scarped sides of which are about 50 feet high.

MOTTE :—The plateau is levelled and dished with a breastwork, 3 to 4 feet high on the west side, and 8 feet on the east side. It is about 40 yards in diameter within the ramparts.

WATER SUPPLY :—A plentiful spring of water, and a perennial stream runs beneath the great southern escarpment.

REFERENCES :—Hutchinson, i., 150; *Transactions*, O.S., vi., 466; Whellan, 677.

HEADSWOOD, NEAR NEWTON. C. 17, N.E.

SITE :—Near to the Roman Wall.

REFERENCE :—Maclauchlan's Memoir.

HOLM CULTRAM. C. 28, N.W.

SITE :—On the north side of the Abbey, a mound remains with a broad ditch at its foot.

MARYPORT, CASTLE HILL. C. 44, N.E.

SITE :—At the south end of the town is an entrenched mound, the base of which is 160 yards in circumference.

ARTIFICIAL EARTHWORK :—A deep ditch almost surrounds it, ceasing only where the steepness of the motte renders such an additional defence unnecessary.

REFERENCE :—Br. and Br., 207.

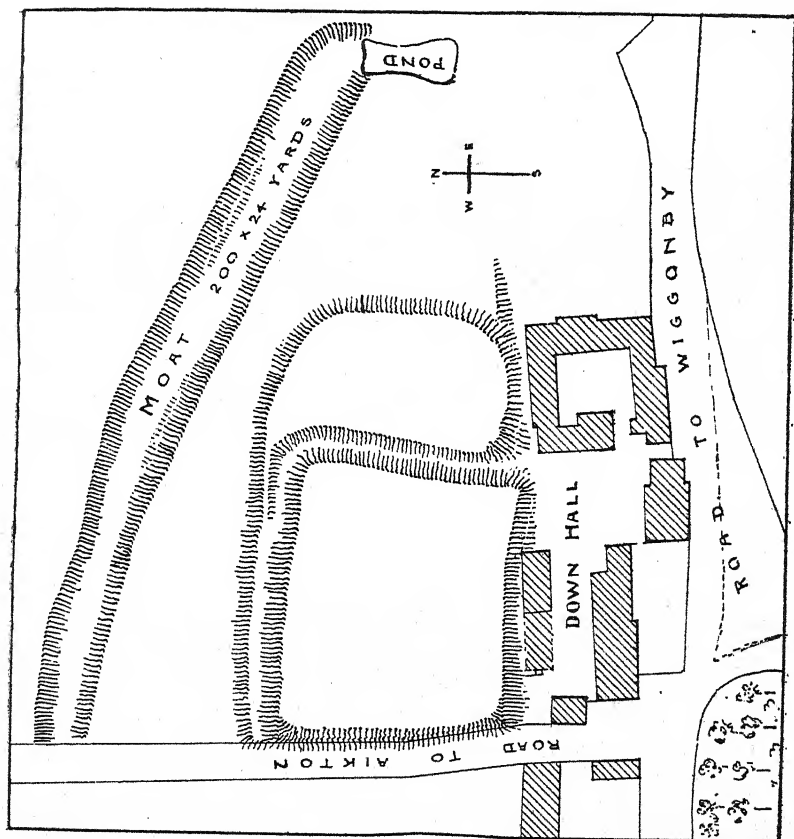
V.

THE MOATED GRANGE.

IT is almost certain that these square entrenched areas were not coeval with, but subsequent developments of, the motte and bailey. They were probably formed at a period when the native farmers had become accustomed to the Norman rule, and when the tight conquering hand could be relaxed with greater safety. Certainly they were not so defensible as the motte, but they possessed the great advantage of affording larger and more comfortable accommodation.

These square entrenched places must be distinguished from the square dyked *curiae* which used to be called Roman camps, but are now thought to be early mediæval garths: such as those at Netherhall, Bromfield, etc., which were perhaps the fences round the homefield of farms, erected rather for defence against wild beasts than for military purposes. The present chapter deals with sites surrounded with a fosse; and on examining them it will be found that almost invariably they have been raised above the general level of the ground, by the addition of the earth dug out from the trenches.

The wooden buildings erected thereon consisted chiefly of one big common room, and so overmastering was its importance that the house itself became known as "The Hall"—a designation which to this day is applied to the principal house in a parish. A few side cabins probably were attached for private use, but this hall was where everybody congregated, where everybody ate, and where mostly everybody slept. Truly it



PLAN OF MOATED GRANGE AT DOWN HALL, AIKTON.

was an elementary state of things, but the whole story of domestic architecture is made up of timid efforts to obtain greater privacy and more comfort. We shall find it a long story of gradual development.

DOWN HALL, AIKTON. C. 22, S.E.

SITE :—A narrow kidney-shaped ridge, running east and west, behind the present farm buildings.

FOUNDATION HISTORY :—Tradition says that this is the site of the ancient manor house of Joan, daughter of Hugh de Morville.

ARTIFICIAL EARTHWORK :—The area has been divided unequally into two enclosures by a deep ditch. This ditch, which forms the eastern side of the larger enclosure, as also that one on the north, remains in a fresh and perfect condition; that on the west is now converted into a deep cut roadway leading to the church, whilst the southern ditch has more or less been obliterated in the buildings of the present farm house.

At a short distance to the north there is an outlying trench or moat, about 200 yards long by 24 yards broad from crest to crest. Whellan says that "when the present buildings were being erected in the year 1826, a portion of an old drawbridge was found."

AREA ENCLOSED :—The western or larger portion forms a platform of about 60 yards square, but the whole site covers an area of $3\frac{1}{2}$ acres.

WATER SUPPLY :—A stream of water runs close beside the earthworks.

REFERENCES :—*Transactions*, O.S., vi., 194; Whellan, 201; Hutchinson, ii., 482.

EMBLETON. C. 55, N.W.

Some six or seven hundred yards south-west of Embleton Vicarage. Here only the western side remains with short return lengths at either end. Elsewhere the moat has been filled in and the area turned into ploughed land. The north-west and south-west corners, however, are sharply defined and show the western side of the raised plateau to have been 126 feet in length. The moat is some 7 feet below the plateau, the earth from which has partly been thrown up on the outside to form a rampart, whose crest is some 30 feet from the plateau's edge and 10 feet above the bottom of the ditch.

PEEL, Crummock Water. C. 63, S.W.

Probably the early residence of the de Lindsay family. The name at once suggests a palisaded enclosure.

SNITTLEGARTH, IREBY. C. 46, N.E.

Well sheltered on three sides by rising ground and with a lovely view towards the south. We find here a rectangular plateau measuring 88 feet by 31 feet, isolated by a moat 23 feet wide from crest to crest, and, at the present time, 5 feet deep. There is no trace of any entrance, so that the only way of crossing to it was by a wooden bridge.

REFERENCES:—*Transactions*, O.S., vi., 193, 511; xvi., 49.

WEARY HALL, BOLTON. C. 36, N.E.

Near to Weary Hall is a raised field, containing about an acre and a half of land which appears to have been moated around. There are no remains of any buildings.

REFERENCES:—Hutchinson, ii., 364.

WHITEHALL. C. 36, S.E.

On the east side of the turnpike road from Wigton to Cockermouth, and nearly opposite to the entrance lodge at Whitehall, there is an artificially raised area measuring some 70 feet square. It is surrounded by a deep moat, 44 to 50 feet wide, from which the earth has been thrown out partly on the inside to increase the height of the plateau, and partly on the outside to form a rampart. The rampart on the eastern side has been levelled by the plough.

Hutchinson says that "near this square are the ruins of extensive buildings," but these have now entirely disappeared.

REFERENCES :—Hutchinson, ii., 361.

CROSBY RAVENSWORTH HALL. W. 14, S.E.

A moat probably surrounding the Grange of Henry de Threlkeld (1304), of which the circuit is still visible.

William de Threlkeld had licence to impark his woods at Crosby Ravensworth in 1336-7.

Subsequently a pele tower was erected, of which there are now no remains.

By 1513 Sir Lancelot Threlkeld was dead and Crosby fell to the share of Elizabeth, one of his co-heirs, who married James Pickering. Sir Lancelot was wont to say that he had "three noble houses ; one for pleasure, Crosby in Westmorland, where he had a park full of deer ; one for profit and warmth, wherein to reside in winter, viz., Yanwith, nigh Penrith ; and the third, Threlkeld, well stocked with tenants to go to wars."

The courtyard of the present Hall occupies the site of the ancient Grange, and over the entrance are eight coats of arms.

REFERENCES :—Jackson's *Papers and Pedigrees*, ii., 134 ; *Transactions*, N.S., viii., 212.

TROSTERMONT-ON-ULLSWATER. W. 7, S.W.

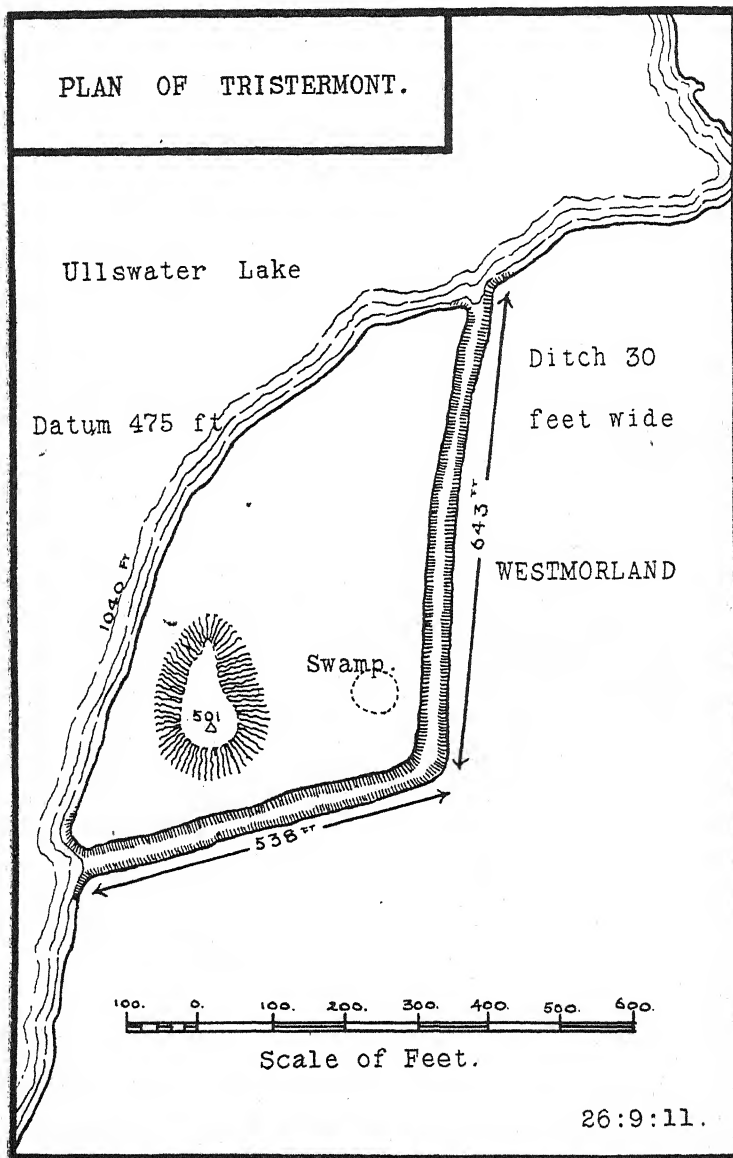
A triangular area of 5 acres with its base on the lake facing north-west and its two sides isolated from the main land by an obtuse-angled ditch, 10 yards wide and 394 yards long, with the ends entering the lake. The excavated earth seems to have been thrown up into a mound, in the southern angle, whose summit is 501 feet above sea level or 26 feet above the lake. [For plan see next page.]

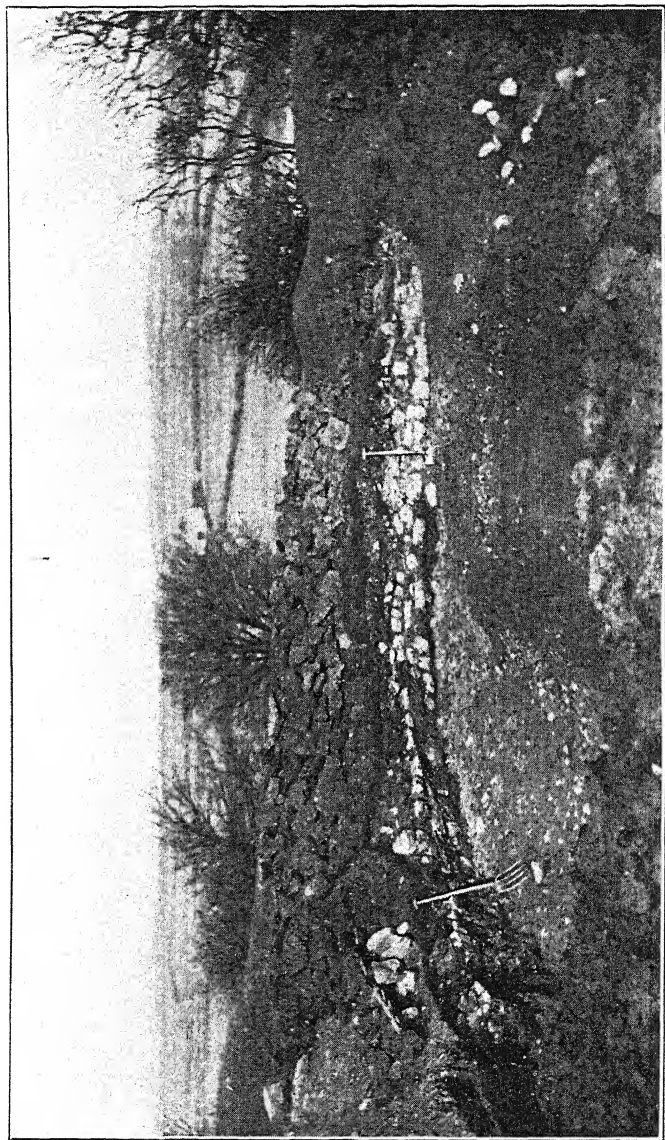
REFERENCE :—*Transactions*, O.S., i., 160 ; N.S., xii., 99.

ALDINGHAM. L. 22, N.E.

A short distance to the north of Aldingham Motte is the later Moated Grange, a raised square about 90 feet each way. The moat has been originally 38 feet wide at the top and 20 feet at the bottom with a depth from 6 to 8 feet. It still retains water on the north and west sides and is marshy elsewhere. Michael le Fleming was holding the manor here in 1127 and until the building of Gleaston Castle in the fourteenth century, his descendants would probably prefer this larger accommodation to that obtained in the tower on the motte.

REFERENCES :—*The Antiquary*, N.S., v., No. 7, p. 252 ; *Victoria History, Lancashire*, ii., 557.





BURTON-IN-LONSDALE MOTTE.

From C. & W. A. & A. S. Transactions.

TO FACE P. 49.

VI.

 THE STRUGGLE FOR SOVEREIGNTY OVER
CUMBERLAND AND WESTMORLAND.

WHERE strongholds remained a necessity the motte and bailey structures were retained, as being very defensible, until by slow degrees the stone castle was evolved out by them.⁶² Their weakness lay in the inflammable nature of the stockade, so that the substitution of masonry was a natural and logical sequence. At Burton-in-Lonsdale we find an example of perhaps the first advancement, where a circular stone breast-wall surrounds the summit of the motte. And, just as the necessarily light breast-wall found its birth on the artificially raised mottes, so the weightier "shell keep" was evolved on the solid ground. This was a cylindrical wall of stone, some 10 feet thick and at least 20 feet high, surrounding a court open to the sky, with timber dwellings ranging around and with steps of wood or stone giving access to the rampart. It was a form of construction that became universally adopted, but one that, being exposed to the weather, both from without and within, has perished by degrees as a type.

We have not time to stop and enquire into the revival of stone masonry in England, which seems so completely to have gone out with the Romans. Suffice it to say that it very slowly revived, and then, almost entirely, in the interests of the Church. At first the stones that were used were comparatively small, owing no doubt to

⁶² So late as the reign of Edward I., towers of timber were in use, as we find mention made of "*unus magnus turris ligneus qui edificatur in castro Salop.*"

the fact that, with bad roads, they would have to be carried to the buildings by pack-horses. They seem to have been dressed with the axe rather than with the chisel, and purposely laid with wide joints so that the grouting of the inner core might not "blow" and rend the work. To the slow drying of this liquid mortar may be attributed the great tenacity of the walls.⁶³ The improvement made in masonry, as we pass to the late Norman period and to the consideration of the roofed-in keep⁶⁴ and to the great curtain enclosing the bailey, is very marked.

It is necessary, however, for us first of all to look at the political and local history that led up to these great developments.

One of the earliest of those foolish acts which characterised the reign of William Rufus was the expulsion of the harmless Eadgar Ætheling from his brother's court in Normandy. The Saxon King-elect had lived quietly, since the Conqueror had expelled him from Scotland, as the guest and boon companion of Duke Robert; but now he was forced again to seek shelter, and this he did by boldly returning to Malcolm, his brother-in-law. Naturally this meant war. The Scotch King crossed the border, in May, 1091, at the head of a considerable force, and Rufus replied by invading the Lothians in the autumn. Again, in the following summer [1092] Rufus marched against Carlisle, then held of Malcolm by Dolfin, the son of Earl Gospatric, whom he drove from his jurisdiction.⁶⁵

That bold promontory of rock, jutting out defiantly to the north, swept on three sides by the confluence of the Caldew and Eden, and commanding the only military way on the western march from Scotland, must have at

⁶³ Not so long ago it took six weeks to pierce a doorway through a wall in the Tower of London, although the builders were aided by all the resources of modern implements.

⁶⁴ This word is not earlier than Q. Elizabeth. To the mediæval castle builders it was the donjon, dungeon or great tower.

⁶⁵ Anglo-Saxon Chron., Plummer, i., 227.



once appealed to the Red King or his advisers. We, therefore, find that he did much to strengthen this strategic position and erected thereon a wooden tower, *turris fortissima*, for his garrison.⁶⁶ He also strengthened the Roman walls of the city, or, as the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle puts it, "he re-fortified⁶⁷ the *burh* and ordered the castle to be built."

With his conquest Rufus took possession of what became known as the "Land of Carlisle," which he placed under a sheriff⁶⁸ and colonised. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle describes the event thus:—"The King returned south and sent a great number of peasant folk thither with their wives and cattle that they might settle there and till the land." What are known as the great baronies of Copeland and Gilsland, however, still remained under the Scottish King. Eadgar, on his death-bed in 1107, bequeathed this territory to his youngest brother David, but the second brother, Alexander the Fierce, on ascending the throne objected to the loss of so much revenue and disputed the validity of the bequest: the English barons at once took the part of David, and Alexander found himself obliged to submit.⁶⁹

David lived as an affluent Anglo-Norman noble. His tastes and sympathies were entirely Norman, and his main policy, on succeeding to the throne, seems to have been to unite the various factions in his realm by the introduction of the Anglo-Norman form of feudal government. To this end Norman, English, Flemish and Norse adventurers were all received at his court and endowed with lands. Mrs. Armitage tells us that the de Bailleul family had their seat at Barnard Castle, that David

⁶⁶ With the four exceptions of London, Colchester, Pevensey and Bramber, the castles first built by the Normans in England were of wood and not of stone.

⁶⁷ W. H. Stevenson's translation.

⁶⁸ *Monasticon*, i., 241.

⁶⁹ *Historian's History of the World*, xxi., 36.

granted them lands in Galloway, and that they had their motte and bailey fortresses at Buittle and Kenmure in Kirkcudbright; that the de Brus family held lands in north Yorkshire, that David granted them the barony of Annan in Dumfriesshire, and that they had motte and bailey fortresses at Annan and Lochmaben. Comyn came to Scotland as David's chancellor and was first seated at Linton Roderick, where there is an earthwork which seems to suggest a motte. Graham came from England and received lands of David in Lothian. Maccus, son of Unwin, of Scandinavian origin, received lands on the Tweed from David, and called his seat near Kelso, where there is motte, Maccusville, since corrupted into Maxwell. Freskin, the Fleming, received from David lands in Moray; he built himself a motte and bailey castle at Duffus, in Elgin, and his posterity took the name of de Moray or Murray. De Soulis followed David from Northamptonshire and received Liddesdale; Liddel motte is familiar to us. Finally, Richard Walensis, or Wallace, acquired lands in Ayrshire, and his motte at Riccardton still exists.

But in the meantime the English Crown still held "The Land of Carlisle," and we find it for a short period in the possession of Ranulph de Briscasard, a scion of the house of Bayeux, or, as he is better known, Ranulph Meschin I., signifying the younger or junior. He founded Wetheral Priory. Succeeding, however, to his cousin's Earldom of Chester, in 1120, Ranulph surrendered back to Henry I. this great fief, whereupon the King visited Carlisle in person and ordered the city to be fortified with a castle and towers.⁷⁰

On the death of Henry I., and during the anarchy which resulted, Stephen of Blois boldly usurped the throne of England against the Empress Maud.

⁷⁰ Symeon of Durham, *Historia Regum*, i., 119.

Whereupon David I., ostensibly in observance of his engagement with the deceased monarch, led an army into England and compelled the northern barons to swear fealty to Maud. Stephen met him at Newcastle and ultimately granted what was probably his principal object, viz., the old fief of English Cumbria, as the price of his acquiescence in the usurpation.⁷¹ By this compromise the whole district of Copeland, Gilsland and the "Land of Carlisle" was thrown into the crucible, and the sovereignty of the Scottish Crown again extended along the mountain range to the Rey Cross on the east and to the Duddon on the west.

The paramountcy of David over this area is authenticated by the many official acts and charters which were dated from Carlisle⁷² and his Normanizing influence must have been very great. What Henry I. did to Carlisle Castle is not very clear. The keep is known to have been built by David at this period [1136],⁷³ and there can be little doubt but that he required all his followers, within this disputed district, to re-strengthen their motte and bailey strongholds. For was not Ranulph II., Earl of Chester, cherishing the hope of recovering the Honor of Carlisle, which his father had been forced to surrender? Having failed in a plot to assassinate Prince Henry of Scotland, and afterwards in overtures to Stephen to help him conquer Carlisle by force of arms, the Earl threw in his lot with his half-brother, William de Romara, against the King, and it is probable that David took advantage of this occasion to extend his frontier by laying violent hands upon Westmorland and the Honor of Lancaster. The Records tell us that he actually disposed of lands at Bispham and Kirkham.⁷⁴

⁷¹ John of Hexham, 287.

⁷² Cf. Harleian MS., 434.

⁷³ Bower's *Scotichronicon*, v., xlii; *Notes and Queries*, viii., 321. See also Palgrave, *Documents and Records*, i., 103. The Scotch King probably levelled down Rufus' motte at the same time.

⁷⁴ Laurie, pp. 105, 106.

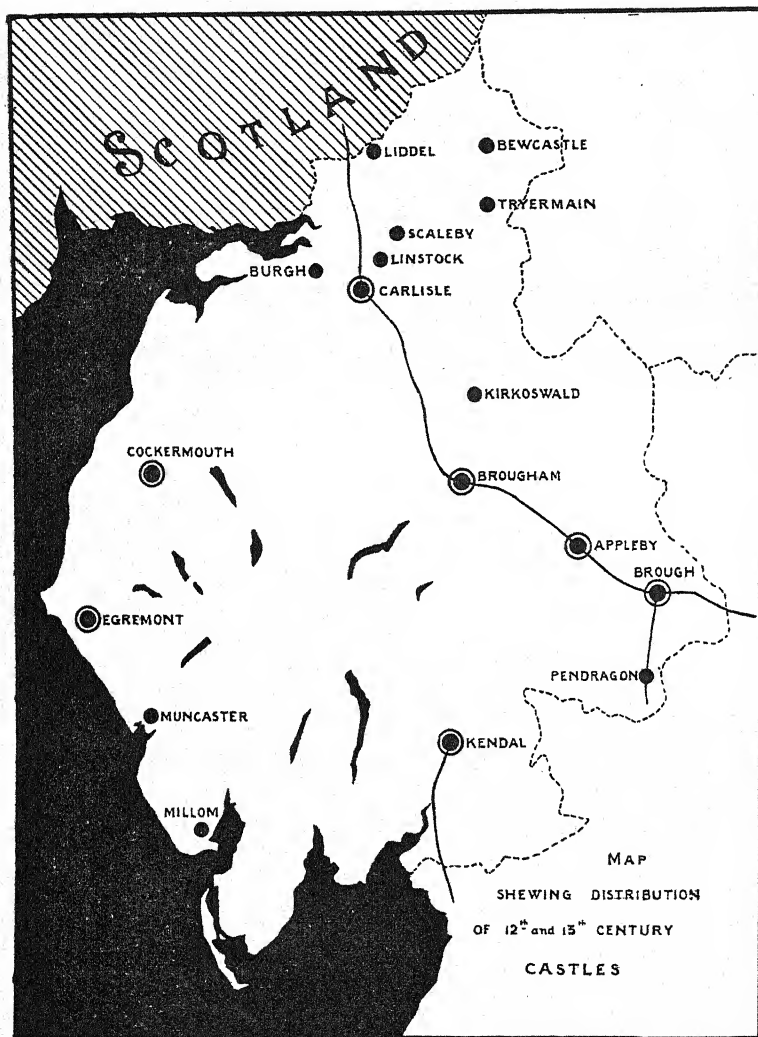
Eight years later [1149] we find David conspiring with the Earl and Prince Henry of Anjou against Stephen. It was at this meeting in Carlisle that David knighted the Prince, and obtained from him the solemn oath that when he came to the throne of England he would confirm this territory to David and his heirs for ever.⁷⁵ Soon afterwards the great civilizer of Scotland died at Carlisle. Fortunately he did not live long enough to witness that Henry the King was a very different person from Henry the Prince, and capable of lightly breaking his oath with him. For no sooner had the English monarch ascended the throne than he repudiated all promises made to Scotland and demanded back the territory from David's heir, Malcolm IV. The boy-King finding himself not strong enough to risk a battle therefore made submission, and surrendered Cumberland and Westmorland [1157] as the price of friendship with so powerful a neighbour. Then it was that Gilsland, or the land that up to this had been held by the great Scotie landowner Bueth and his son Gilles, passed for the first time into Norman hands. Henry formed it into a barony, committed it to Hubert de Vallibus, and included it in the county or sheriffdom of Carlisle.⁷⁶

A fresh set of documentary evidences now comes to our aid. These are the sheriffs' accounts, contained in what are known as the "Pipe" Rolls,⁷⁷ for money spent on the building or repair of the King's castles. They are simply invaluable for the history of castle architecture. Unfortunately the greater part of these Rolls is still unpublished, but I have no doubt that in them we shall

⁷⁵ Diceto, i., 376; Newburgh, i., c. 22; R. de Monte, 192; Hoveden.

⁷⁶ Chancery, Cartæ Antiquæ, D.D., No. 7.

⁷⁷ The "Pipe" Roll was an annual compilation registering the Revenue that passed through the Treasury. The earliest one extant is for 31 Henry I. Then there is a gap till the 5 Henry II., from which point there is an almost unbroken series as far as Cumberland is concerned; the accounts for Westmorland are less ample, because the revenues were in the hands of the Veteripont family. Parker, *The Pipe Rolls of Cumberland and Westmorland*.



find that, however well the Royal castle of Carlisle protected the great gateway between the two nations, it was this king who determined to establish a strong chain of fortification along the Roman military way, up the Eden valley, and over Stainmore Pass into the plains of York. We shall find how that the earlier earthworks along the route, which had been gradually developing, were suddenly transformed into stone castles by royal order ; at Brougham commanding the ford across the Eamont, at Appleby commanding the ford across the Eden, and at Brough defending the entrance to the pass over Stainmore.

But the Scots were not satisfied, and no amount of castle building seems to have daunted their determination to regain Cumberland for a Scottish province. William the Lion⁷⁸ made a vigorous attempt in the year 1173, capturing the strengths of Liddel and Burgh and Appleby Castle. Carlisle, however, withstood him, so that he came again the following year and invested the city for several months, a siege that was only raised by the capture of "The Lion" in a fog near Alnwick.⁷⁹ By the treaty of Falaise in Normandy,⁸⁰ the Scots purchased his liberty on paying a ransom of £40,000⁸¹ and surrendering the captured castles. Moreover, with the consent of the clergy, the Scottish Church was made subject to York and Canterbury, and William with all his people became vassals and liegemen of the English crown. For fifteen years Scotland remained an English province.

Great uneasiness, however, prevailed on either side of the Border. Therefore, about this time, we find the baronies of Cockermouth and Egremont protected by

⁷⁸ He was the first to adopt the Lion as the armorial bearing of Scotland. Chivalry was fast gaining ground in Scotland at this time.

⁷⁹ 13th June, 1174.

⁸⁰ 10th August, 1175.

⁸¹ Scalacronica.

stone-built castles ; Gilbert de Lancaster abandoned his motte and bailey to erect a new castle in the centre of the broad valley of the Kent ; whilst Hugh de Morville strengthened the Eden valley by his castle of Kirkoswald.

And yet all this endeavour to protect the country from the Scots must have seemed fruitless when, a few years later, the English Lion ascended the throne. Richard, whose hurried visits to his kingdom were mainly occupied in turning every available asset into cash for his Oriental adventures, had little care for English interests. Northumberland and Cumberland were too far off to be of any profitable use to him, and gladly he renounced all the special conditions, which his father had imposed by the Treaty of Falaise, for the sake of peace. Moreover, he offered to give up the two counties with their castles if only William would grant his daughter, Margaret, in marriage to Otto of Saxony⁸² and consider him as heir to the Scottish throne. Queen Ermengarde, however, soon after gave birth to a Scottish Prince, so that the scheme fell through.

On the death of Richard Cœur-de-Lion, in 1199, King William sent envoys immediately to demand of John the restoration of what he considered his patrimony in Northumberland and Cumberland, but the English King responded by appointing William de Stuteville as sheriff over the two counties. Next year they met at Lincoln, and William again demanded the territory, together with Westmorland, as his rightful heritage, when John put him off by asking for a postponement of the claim until the following Michaelmas. But before this term arrived the sense of advancing years and the lack of allies induced the King of Scots to give in and sign a treaty of peace at Norham. The Border now enjoyed a season of comparative tranquillity. In a charter, dated 1212, we find that William, King of Scots granted to "his dearest

⁸² Richard's nephew.

lord, John, King of England," the right to arrange a marriage for Alexander his son, wherever he wished, so long as the said Alexander was not disparaged thereby. Further, that whatsoever should happen to King John, the said King William and his son Alexander would keep faith and loyalty to his son Henry, as to their liege lord, against all mortals and would help to hold the kingdom for him according to their powers.⁸⁸

The year 1216, however, witnessed a sudden break in the harmony, owing to the Baron's War. William the Lion had died in December, 1214, and his son Alexander II., a youth of seventeen years, reigned in his stead. To this young King the barons of Northumberland and Yorkshire paid homage for protection against John, who, being greatly incensed, at once marched northward declaring that "he would hunt that red fox from his lair." He burned the towns of Morpeth, Alnwick, Wark, Berwick and Roxburgh on his way. Poor Durham, Westmorland and Cumberland had to bear the brunt of the inevitable revenge. The Chroniclers of Melrose and Lanercost describe the terrible visitation in almost the same words. It was a wholesale spoliation. Even the Abbey of Holm Cultram was not spared, for from its rich treasures the Scots took everything that they could lay their hands upon—the holy books, vestments, chalices, horses and cattle, utensils and garments, even going to the length of stripping a monk who was on the point of death. But, as the Chroniclers rejoice, their impiety did not pass unpunished, for nearly two thousand of them were drowned in the tide of the Eden, as they passed homewards.

However, the Barons' War continued. Recognising that with John upon the throne their safety would never be assured, they finally joined in pressing Louis, the son and heir of Philip II. of France, to take up their

⁸⁸ Rymer's *Fœdera*.

cause and vindicate his claim to the English throne. The invitation was accepted, French troops were quickly sent to reinforce the nobles, and Louis himself, sailing on 20th May, 1216, summoned all the English prelates and barons to assemble and meet him in London. In compliance with this call Alexander also marched to meet him at the head of a considerable army. On 8th August he took the city of Carlisle, a town always more or less inclined towards the Scottish connection, and, after a protracted investment of the castle, received the surrender of the garrison on promise of their lives. John's utter impotence and armyless condition is amazingly proved by the fact that Alexander actually marched right through to Dover and paid homage to Louis there. For such devotion both Louis and the English barons recognised Alexander's right to the three northern counties.⁸⁴ Henry III. was little more than nine years old when his father died, but, to the good fortune of England, the barons at once returned to their allegiance. A total defeat given to Louis' army at Lincoln, in the ensuing May, forced him to abandon all claim to the English Crown, and on 23rd September, 1217, Henry III. issued a summons to "the nobleman" Alexander, commanding him without delay to deliver up to Robert de Veteripont the castle of Carlisle together with all his possessions taken in the war and the lands seized by him.⁸⁵

In 1236 Alexander renewed his demand for Northumberland, Cumberland and Westmorland; but on the 25th September, 1237, he resigned his hereditary claim to them, receiving in consideration two hundred librates of land within the counties, where such land could be found "lying without the towns where castles stood," for which he had to do homage and render yearly a goshawk to the captain of Carlisle Castle. The Forest

⁸⁴ Rymer, ii., 217.

⁸⁵ Pat. Rolls, 1 Henry III., m. 6.

of Inglewood was chosen as the likeliest place *lying without where castles stood*, and so we find the manors of Penrith, Scotby, Langwathby, Carleton and Sowerby handed over to the King of Scots.⁸⁶

Though these five manors were in the hands of the King of Scots, Cumberland now became an English county.⁸⁷

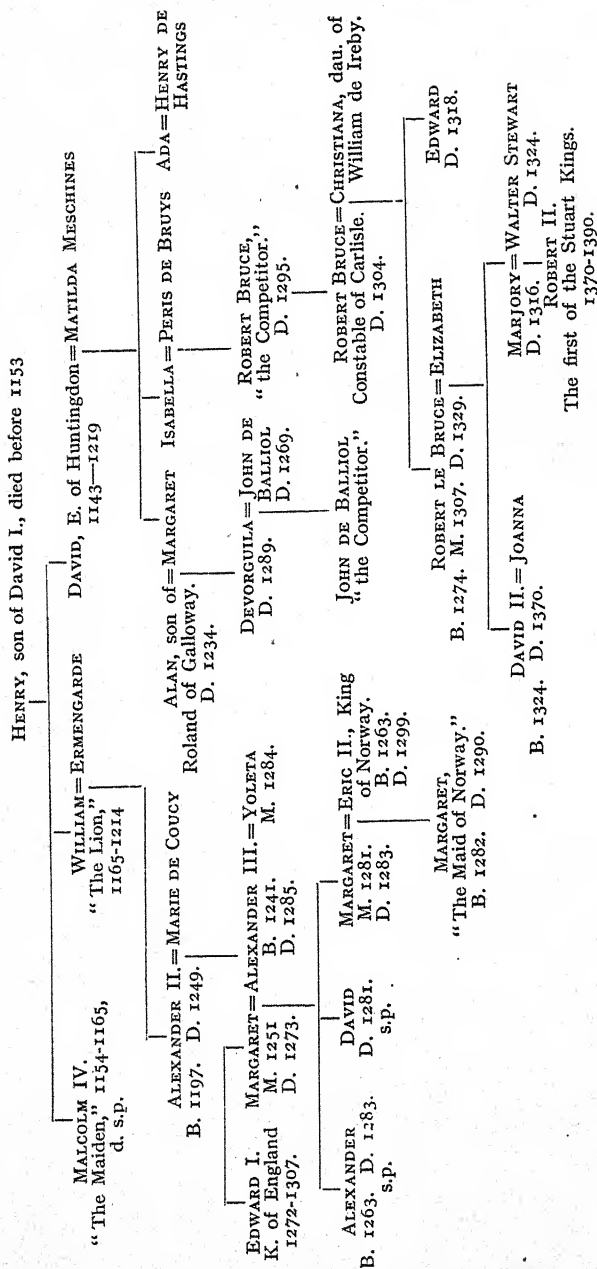
Under date, August 27th, 1274, a commission was appointed to Geoffrey de Neville and Guychard de Curwen to make enquiry whether or no Alexander, King of Scots, and his men of Penrith and Salukeld ought to have . . . common of pasture in any part of the Park of Plumpton, which was enclosed in the time of Henry III., and, if so, within what bounds; and also whether or no the said King and his said men ought to have . . . housebote and heybote in Englewood forest.⁸⁸

For forty years peace was maintained until Alexander III. died childless in the year 1286, when, owing to the extinction of the dynasty, a violent scramble for the throne took place. Edward I. had recently completed the conquest of Wales, and his policy was set upon securing an amicable union of the three countries. To his mind the "Maiden of Norway" was the rightful

⁸⁶ Ridpath says, "The reasons that may be assigned for Alexander's quitting his claim to the three northern counties, for so unequal and trivial a consideration, are the formidable power of the See of Rome exerted on behalf of the Kingdom of England, which the Pope did at that time claim and treat as his own; the influence of Alexander's English queen, and of his great relations and friends in England; and perhaps the failure of these English nobles, on whose aid Alexander had depended, but who, when the matter was brought to a crisis, were unwilling that their native country should be dismembered of so large a territory."

⁸⁷ The Rev. James Wilson in the *Victoria History of Cumberland*, i., 310, says that "the old phrase of the 'County of Carlisle' was abandoned in the Pipe Rolls in 1175, and the new designation of the 'County of Cumberland' was introduced in 1177. About the same time the barony of Appleby was severed from the Honour of Carlisle and thrown in with the conterminous barony of Kendal, part of the great county of York, in order to form the 'County of Westmorland.' This new fiscal area appears in the Pipe Rolls of Yorkshire in 1176, under the name of 'Westmarieland.'"

⁸⁸ Cal. Pat. Rolls, Edw. I., 1272-1281, p. 69. "Housebote" signifies timber for repairing the dwellings, and "Heybote" for repairing the fences around about the same.



heir, and to attain his end he keenly desired to cement such an alliance by granting his son, Edward of Carnarvon, in marriage to the youthful queen. However, as she crossed over from her father's court to assume the crown, she died. The Norman ascendancy in Scotland was too powerful to allow of her acceptance, but, on the other hand, it was hopelessly rent by the ambitions of the various nobles.

Robert Bruce and John de Balliol proved to be the two principal claimants, and civil war became imminent between them. It must be noted that Edward did not interfere in the dispute before he was invited by both parties to do so, but after being called in to arbitrate, he made it a *sine qua non* that, if he accepted, he should be proclaimed, by each claimant individually and by the nation collectively, as Lord Paramount of Scotland. And this was agreed to. By the 24th June, 1291, nine competitors were in the field, each claiming by virtue of their descent from the daughters or sisters of Scottish kings; yet so complete was the Norman ascendancy in this ancient land of the Pict and the Gael that only one of them was found to be of true Scottish blood.

Now this intervention by Edward and his award in favour of John de Balliol, not only arrested civil strife and the disintegration of Scotland, but it also had the curious result of cementing the nation together in hatred of England. Edward's assumption of supremacy rekindled afresh the national jealousy, and this flamed up into another long and heroic struggle, not as formerly for sovereignty over Cumberland, but for Scottish independence. Few crises seem so pregnant of incalculable results. For if the marriage had been consummated, if Edward had lived a little longer than he did, or left a son worthy of his name, or if Edward III. had not been diverted by other schemes of conquest, the union of the crowns might yet have been attained. But then

we should have had none of those devastating campaigns of unprecedented hatred and alienation which have made the Western March such as it is, and given to her people that chief characteristic of self-reliance. We should have had no pele towers, no character-forming history, or indeed any of those gallant deeds preserved in ballads, which have thrown such a glamour over this northern district.

VII.

THE NORMAN CASTLE.

THE few examples that we possess of military castles of this period have been so constantly battered and restored, allowed to fall into ruin and to be built up again, that there is little of the original work left about them. George T. Clark⁸⁹ well describes the solid rectangular keep as being "of all military structures the simplest in form, the grandest in outline and dimensions, the sternest in passive strength, and the most durable in design and workmanship." Mr. J. H. Round speaks of them as "those grim survivors of an age when a conquered people trembled in impotence, at their sight." Truly they are a memorial of feudal power and tyranny, helping one more than any amount of study to realize the enormous gulf which, in those days, lay between the noble and his serf, and the utterly slavish dependence which he exacted.

Their construction was essentially a new feature in the art of fortification, and they became the earliest kind of English house built in a permanent form. What, then, was the accommodation of these keeps, these homes of the Norman nobility? Their size varied according to the wealth or requirements of the owner. For instance, the greatest of all Norman keeps, Colchester, has an internal measurement of 152 by 111 feet. The "White Tower" of London, erected during the latter years of the eleventh century, measures externally 118 by 107 feet. The keep of Rochester, built about 1130,

⁸⁹ Mediæval Military Architecture in England.

measures 70 feet square. The keep of Dover, circa 1154, is 98 by 96 feet ; whilst that at Kenilworth, dating from the third quarter of the century, measures 87 by 54 feet. Of our own castles :—

| | |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------|
| The keep at Carlisle, built in 1136, | is 66 by 61 feet. |
| „ Pendragon, circa 1180, | is 64 by 64 feet. |
| „ Brough, circa 1160-70, | is 51 by 41 feet. |
| „ Appleby, circa 1160-70, | is 46 by 33 feet. |
| „ Brougham, circa 1160-70, | is 44 by 44 feet. |

These are all outside measurements, and as the walls were very thick, the available space within was greatly reduced. But then each floor contained, as a rule, only one room. The masonry was erected as inner and outer shells, with a considerable cavity between. What passages and mural chambers were required, were then vaulted over, and subsequently the remaining spaces were filled in with stones grouted with liquid mortar, which had the effect of binding the two thicknesses of wall solidly together.

The keep at Carlisle has walls 15 to 11½ feet in thickness.

| | | |
|-------------|-----------------|---|
| „ Pendragon | „ 12 to 10 feet | „ |
| „ Brougham | „ 11 feet | „ |
| „ Brough | „ 10 feet | „ |
| „ Appleby | „ 6½ feet | „ |

In its typical form the keep was raised upon a solid platform of masonry, with a talus or battering sides, which not only gave the walls a sure foundation but raised them out of reach of the miner's pick or the strokes of the assailant's ram. We have no such example in our district, but all our castles possess the other chief distinguishing feature, viz., the broad and flat angle pilasters. These were continued up some 8 or 10 feet higher than the parapet as the outer faces of square turrets, now usually found destroyed.

Pilasters on the keep at :—

Pendragon, 19½ feet broad by 12 inches projection.

Carlisle, 12 feet ,, 12 inches ,,

Brougham, 12 feet ,, 6 inches ,,

Appleby, 8 feet ,, 8 inches ,,

Brough, 7 feet ,, 7 inches ,,

Internally the lowest apartment was used for storage purposes. In most cases it had no external doorway but was entered by means of a trap door and ladder from the floor above. It was aired by narrow loops, deeply recessed and broadly splayed on the inside. At Brough Castle there is a loop so skilfully constructed as to enable an archer to shoot from within while virtually excluding the enemy's missile or dreaded firebrand from without. In later days when the keep was abandoned as a residence for the more sumptuous apartments of the Hall, then we find these store rooms converted into dungeons to which prisoners of war were committed or where malefactors were forgotten.

The common room above was raised on massive timber balks, for it was thought impossible, at this period, to throw a stone vault across a space greater than 20 feet. Here the walls became a foot less in thickness, the loops a trifle wider and less sparingly bestowed. Here also was the main entrance, either from off the rampart-walk or else by means of a sloping gangway which could be drawn up when required. During the greater part of the day the men, at any rate, were occupied with outdoor pursuits, but here they all gathered for their meals, and here at night-time they slept.

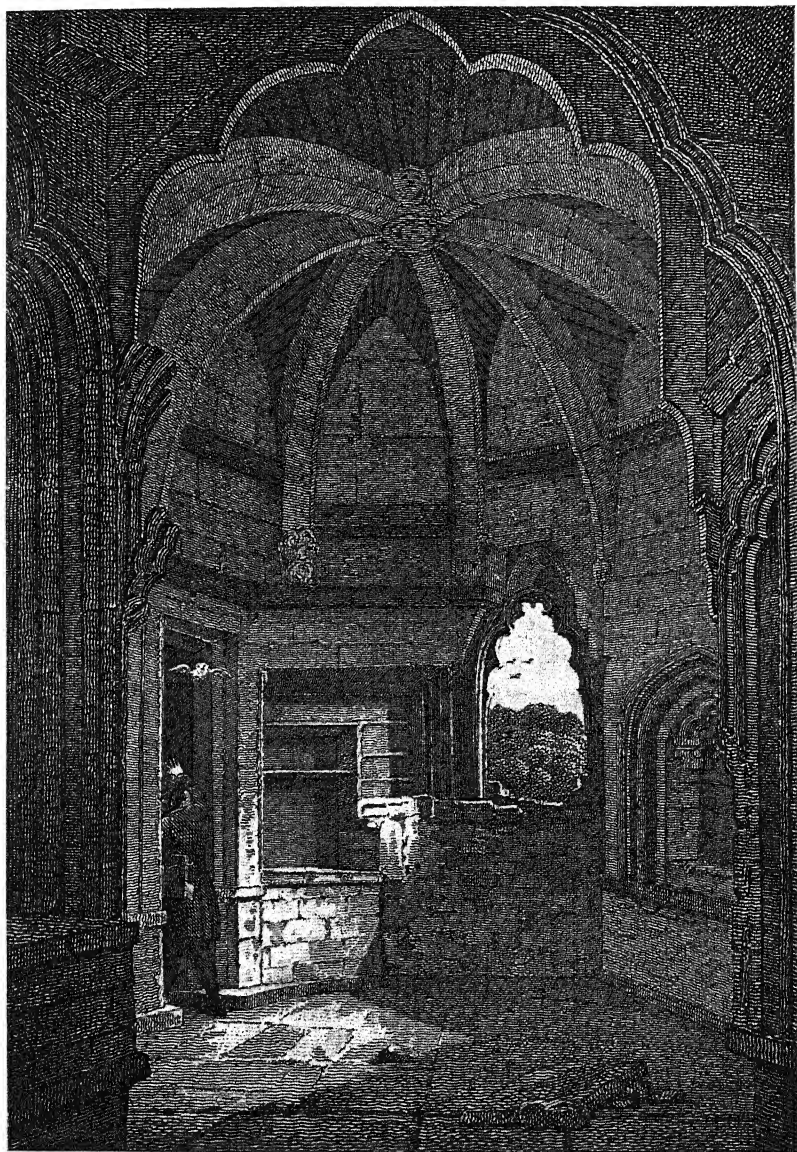
Above this usually came the state or principal floor tenanted by the commander, whilst her ladyship and maids occupied the top floor. In these two upper floors windows became possible, whilst mural sleeping-chambers, about the size of a ship's cabin, and garderobes honey-combed the walls. The fireplaces were of generous size,

as indeed they well might be considering the glassless condition of the windows. It is true that there were shutters, but in spite of these there was every inducement to maintain a large fire of wood. At Bewcastle, Millom and Piel we have excellent examples of an ancient form of flue. The hearths were set against, but not recessed into, an external wall, and they were furnished with wooden hoods smeared over with daub or plaster. From this gathering-ground the smoke was carried backward as it ascended by a short flue that contracted rapidly, until it emerged on the outer face of the wall through a small loop, cleverly concealed in the angle of some buttress. A mural stairway, which rose in spiral form in the thickness of one of the great angles, connected these floors together. Most usually it continued its unbroken course from the bottom to the rampart-walk on the top of the walls; but, in the more carefully planned towers and so as to keep the approach to the roof under direct observation, the stair ends at each floor, when, in order to ascend higher, the room has to be crossed diagonally to the foot of the next one.

A great house in the mediæval period without an *oratorium* was inconceivable; such a place set apart exclusively for prayer must necessarily have been small, space was too valuable for it to be otherwise, therefore we generally find the consecrated yard or so likewise hollowed out from another of the great angles, or otherwise contrived within the thickness of the solar wall.⁹⁰

Lastly came the gabled roof with an alure between it and the parapet wall, that, at regular intervals, was lowered to form embrasures. The four or more angle turrets rose above the general mass of the building, and afforded a greater command of the enemy in the field.

⁹⁰ *Solarium*, a terrace exposed to the sun—a term applied to a well-lighted room facing south, hence to the lowest floor of the tower that could, with due regard to safety, be lighted with proper windows instead of loopholes.



BROUGHAM CASTLE ORATORY.

TO FACE P. 68.



Such a vast quadrangular building stood at first by its own strength, with only a ditch and palisade to surround it. The erection of even a tower-less curtain was an expensive luxury. Against walls 15 to 10 feet thick the torsion and tension⁹¹ artillery of the day had little effect; the few narrow loopholes presented but small opportunity for the successful admission of the *falarica* or arrow, and with no exposed woodwork to be set on fire the keep was difficult to reduce except by famine. If only the ditch could be crossed the assailants might batter at the walls with a ram, but this cumbrous engine required at least forty to sixty men to swing it back before it could dash its enormous head against the masonry. There was also the bore⁹² which worked at the vulnerable square angles of the keep. It was, however, far less effective, but then it required fewer men to work it and had the not inconsiderable advantage of being much lighter and easier to transport.

To meet these destructive weapons the besieged erected timber galleries, or brattices, overhanging the walls and entered through the embrasures, through the floors of which they could discharge a deadly hail of stones and shafts, pitch and boiling lead, upon those working the engines beneath. An inherent fault lay in their feeble resistance to attack and the inflammable nature of their material. But they were the prototype of the *mâchecoulis*⁹³

⁹¹ By *torsion* is meant an engine that is worked by the twisting of rope or chain, such as the mangon, whose sudden release cast the missile with a high parabolic curve into a given area, but without definite aim. By *tension* is meant an engine worked by the stretching of cord, as in the ballista, the parent of the cross-bow of later centuries, which discharged javelins point-blank at a given object.

⁹² The *terebra*, a heavy pole with a sharp iron point, which slowly disjoined and broke up the stonework. It was sometimes called the Cat because it clawed its way into walls, at other times the Mouse because it gnawed a round hole, but more frequently it was called the Sow, as it worked its tusks like a boar. Black Agnes, Countess of Dunbar, when during her famous defence she smashed a pent-house over one of these engines and witnessed its occupants scampering away from beneath it, cried, "Beware, Montague, the English sow has farrowed."

⁹³ *Mâcher*, to break or crush, to mash; *coulis*, a groove.

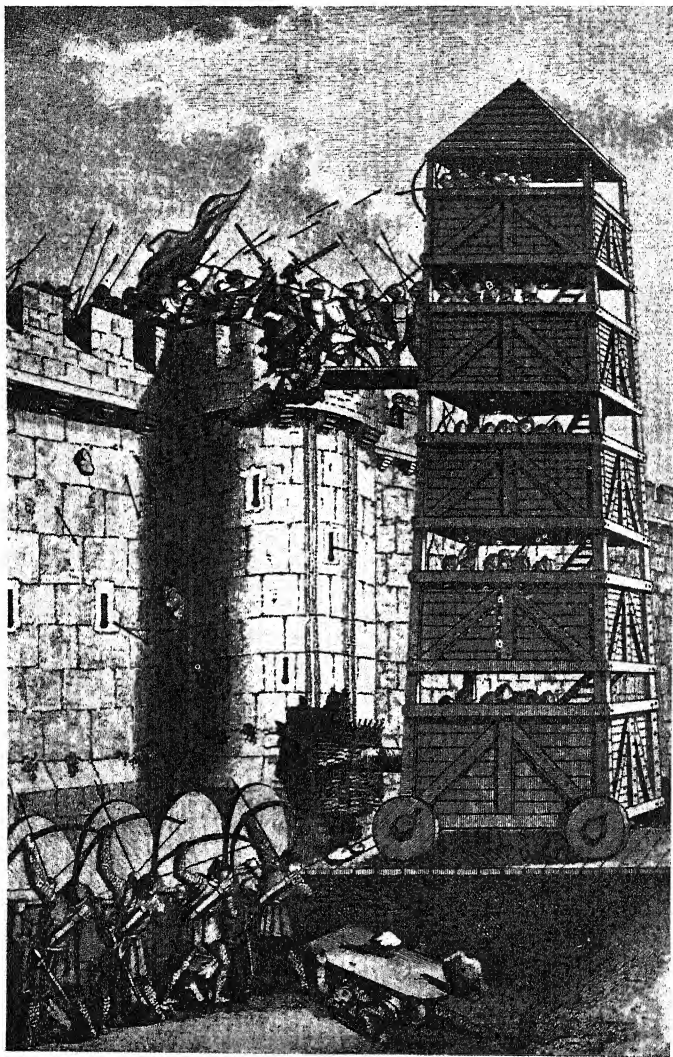
of a later date, wherein the crenellated parapet, supported on long overhanging corbels, projected out sufficiently to leave open spaces between its back and the front face of the main wall.

The thirteenth century witnessed the erection of many of those gigantic curtain walls, about 8 to 10 feet thick and from 20 to 30 feet high, that excite our admiration to-day by the power displayed in the collection of such a vast quantity of material and by the almost superhuman effort needed in its building together. They became in fact the principal strength of the castle, relegating the keep to a place of secondary importance.

Before the principal entrance an outwork was erected called the barbican, which was to the gateway what the fore-building was to the keep,—a high wall surmounted by battlements to defend the drawbridge across the moat. The bridge, by means of chains and weights, could be so pulled up against it as effectually to block the portal. We have an excellent illustration of this at Cockermouth Castle. The gatehouse was a building of great strength, having one or two chambers above the vaulted passage for the Constable's lodging. The gate itself was of two leaves, made of wood cased with iron, and, when closed, held by one or two stout bars of oak which slid back into cavities in the wall. A massive iron portcullis⁹⁴ that could be let down in front of it rendered the gate doubly secure. On the least frequented side of the castle-ward a postern, or sally-port, pierced the curtain. This was generally raised a considerable distance above the ground level and was used for the egress of messengers during a siege.

With such strength more powerful siege-weapons became necessary, and thus, toward the end of the thirteenth century, we arrive at the invention of a machine worked

⁹⁴ *Porte-coulis*, a sliding door.



THE BEFFROY.

Showing the ram in use on the lowest level and the drawbridge on
an upper stage.

From Grose.

TO FACE P. 71.

by counterpoise. There was a limit to the application of torsion and tension, but the power of the Trebuchet was much greater. It was a long pole pivoted between uprights, with a weighted chest at one end and a long sling at the other, capable of hurling, when the weight was released, much larger and heavier stones, and that with a more accurate aim. It was also employed in throwing pots of combustible material, or balls of Greek Fire⁹⁵ destined to set light to the brattices or roofs. It was a weapon, however, that could be used by both besiegers and defenders, so that we find the very important change in the roof of the keep now made, when the high pitched shingled gable gave place to the flat and lead-covered roof upon which such engines could be placed. And very instructive are the Pipe Rolls of the period on this point, showing the various payments made for lead.

Another contrivance used against the castle, and such as was used against Carlisle in the siege of 1315, was the *belfroy* or high movable tower, which, when it could be brought close up to the ramparts so as to overtop them, had a double use. Men posted behind a shelter on the summit could with greater ease shoot downward at the defenders of the wall, and, once having cleared a section, could lower a sort of drawbridge across the intervening space so as to gain a footing on the walls themselves. It had, however, the disadvantages of being combustible and stopped by the slightest ditch. Even should the ditch be filled up to form a level way for its advancement, the great weight of the tower made it sink into the débris, and when once stuck fast it could not be moved again.

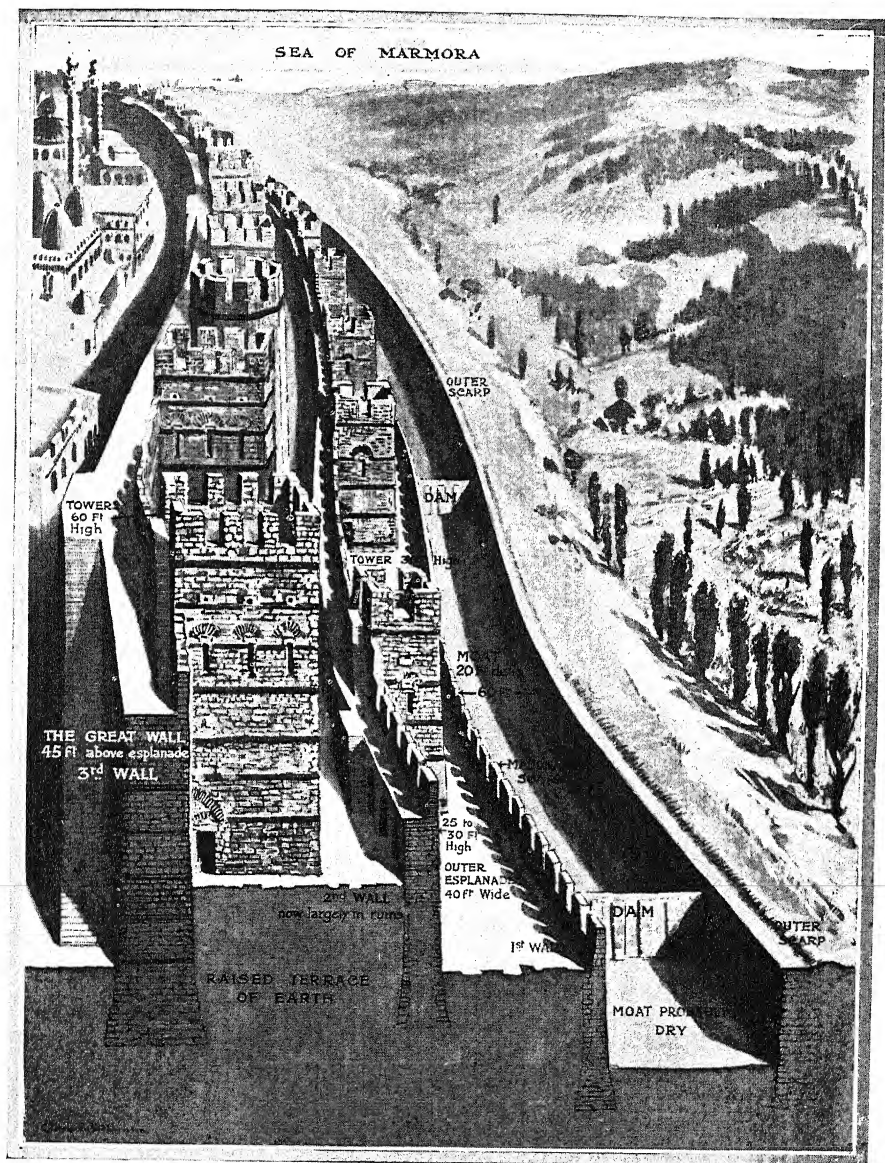
One of the chief lessons learnt by the Crusaders from

⁹⁵ Greek Fire was a semi-liquid substance composed of sulphur, pitch, dissolved nitre and petroleum, boiled together and mixed with less important substances, which when ejected caught the woodwork on which it fell and set it so thoroughly on fire that only vinegar, wine or sand could extinguish it.

Byzantine military architecture was the power of the triple curtain, one wall within the other, which they found around Constantinople. Each was higher than the one outside it, so that all three could be used simultaneously, whilst the narrow lists between them were broken up by obstacle cross-walls. The application of this lesson is found in the remarkable development known as the concentric plan in castellation, so indelibly associated with the reign of the Great Edward. The keep, made of secondary importance by the single curtain, at last entirely disappears. Another lesson learnt was the important use of the enfilading position, so that the foot of the walls, where the attack was always concentrated, could be kept under constant observation. Mural towers were therefore greatly multiplied; drum-shaped ones projecting and rectangular ones astride the great curtains, and all so placed that the exterior base of one part could be seen and commanded from the summit of another. The city walls of Antioch had fifty such towers,⁹⁶ and it will be seen at once how greatly superior this plan was over the machicolation device. Moreover, each tower was the key to a section of the wall, so that by the closing of the strong doors which opened on to the ramparts each section could be effectually isolated; and as there was no way down excepting by stairs within the towers, the capture of one section did not mean the loss of the fortress.

From this time forward there was no great change in military architecture till the introduction of gunpowder, in the first half of the fourteenth century, which brought an entirely new factor into the art of war. Of the consequent widening of the parapet ways, the lowering of the battlements, the formation of platforms to receive cannon, and the consequent vibration that rendered the

⁹⁶ Oman's *Art of War*, pp. 526-9. Antioch was only taken by treachery.



THE BYZANTINE TRIPLE WALL OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

As it appeared during its prime.



tower unsafe ; of the piercing of the lower stories with further loopholes to facilitate point-blank firing ; of bastions, redans, and the demilune with their retiring angles and salient angles ; of the covered way and of many other features of the last days of the stone castle—the limits of these pages will not permit of a fuller description.

In conclusion one word must be said about body armour and weapons. By the end of the eleventh century the supremacy of the mailed horseman, with his long shirt of steel, conical helmet furnished with a nasal, kite-shaped narrow shield, and lance, was firmly established. The infantry, if employed at all, were supplied with the short-bow drawn to the breast ; but nothing can be more conclusive as to the comparative insignificance of this weapon in warfare than the fact that it is not even mentioned in the " Assize of Arms " of 1181. Richard I. introduced the essentially foreign arbalest, or cross-bow, on account of its greater range and penetrating power—a weapon which rose to occupy a place of importance among infantry till the campaigns of 1264 and 1265. With its introduction the knightly class took to wearing gambesons below their mailed shirts, composed of layers of cloth quilted on a foundation of leather ; also the nasal of the helmet was expanded so as to cover the whole of the face, the casque thus formed was further made to come down upon the shoulders so as to relieve the neck of its great weight. The shield, however, became of less importance and began to diminish in size. The long-bow drawn to the ear, although known for some time to the Welsh, did not come to the front as the national weapon before the wars of Edward I. With this powerful weapon the infantry became a much more important factor in war, and were no longer a mere minor auxiliary to the mailed horsemen. It was Edward who learned the judicious combination of the two arms.

During the next 250 years we shall witness the gradual overcoming of mail by the long-bow, the baffling in turn of the bow by plate armour, and finally, between the years 1500 and 1550, despite the desperate attempts of plate to hold out by increasing its strength, its eventual discomfiture by fire-arms.

VIII.

THE RECTANGULAR KEEP.

APPLEBY CASTLE. W. 15, N.E.

EARLY FORTIFICATION :—Extensive earthworks. More-over it is not likely that the town would have been made the county town, unless it had been in some measure fortified.

FOUNDATION HISTORY :—1174. The keep existed in this year, when it was besieged by William the Lion.

“The Castle, too, King William took with speed,
For there was none to guard it, in its need;
Gospatrick, son of Orme, with years grown grey,
An Englishman, was constable.”⁹⁷

William of Newburgh [1136-1201] called the town and castle a “Princely Hold.”

1200. In 2nd K. John, the sheriffs of Westmorland in their account mention the repair of Appleby Castle, and the viewing and approving of the repairs by Thomas de Wyrkington, son of Gospatrick.⁹⁸

1203. Granted by John to Robert de Veteripont I.⁹⁹
“in consideration of the singular good service done by him to that King and kingdom.”

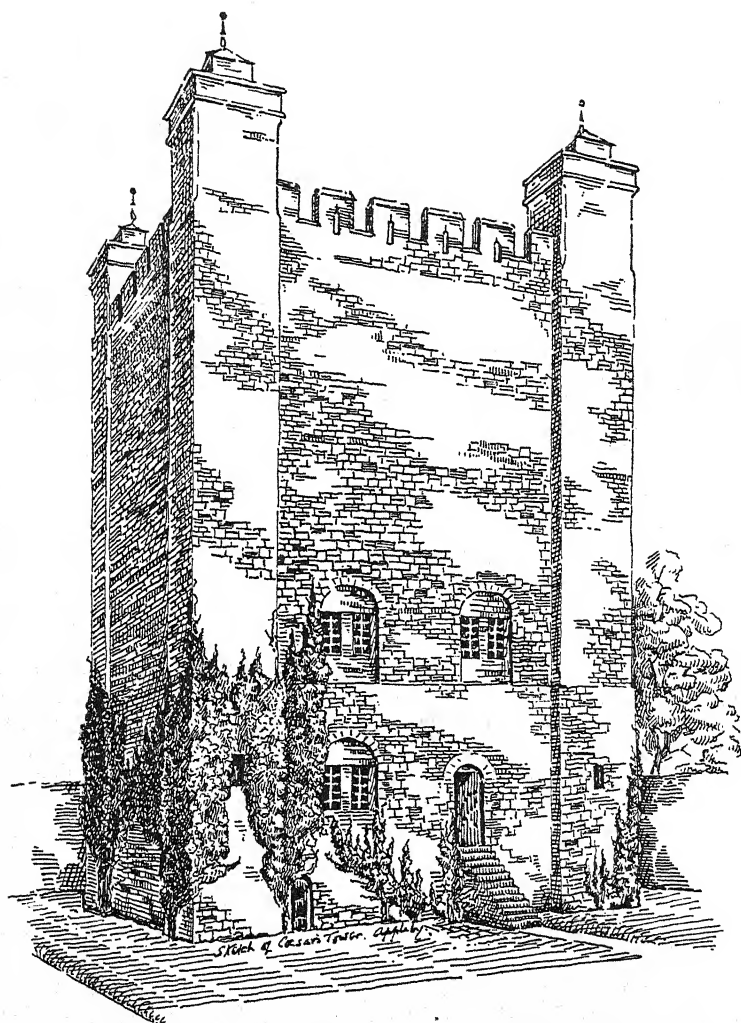
1228. During the minority of John de Veteripont the castle was delivered to his guardian, Hubert de Burgo.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁷ Jordan Fantosme's Chronicles. Gospatrick was subjected to a fine of 500 marks [Scottish Record Publications, vol. i., No. 145] for this surrender, but briefly let it be said to his excuse that Cumberland had only ceased to be part of Scotland in 1157, and that the Scottish monarch together with William fitz Duncan were his own relatives. The inhabitants, too, were more likely to lean towards their own fellow-subjects of Strathclyde than to a southern and alien king, by whom they were regarded as barbarians.

⁹⁸ Denton, from the Red Book in the Exchequer, N. and B., i., 27.

⁹⁹ Pat. Rolls, 4 John, m. 2; Dugdale, *Baronage*, i., 347.

¹⁰⁰ Pat. Rolls, 12 Henry III., m. 6.



APPLEBY KEEP.

- c. 1245. During the minority of Robert, the son of John, the castle fell out of repair.
1314. The town of Appleby was burned by the Scots.
- 1383, 3rd December. "Appointment of the sheriffs of Cumberland and Westmorland to take stone cutters, masons and other labourers for the repair of certain castles and fortlets of Roger de Clifford, Kt., near the March of Scotland, which are useful as a refuge for the King's subjects."
1388. Besieged by the Scots.
1422. Prior to this year we are told that John, Lord Clifford, built "that strong and fine artificial gate-house all arched with stone, and decorated with the arms of the Veteriponts, Cliffords and Percys."¹⁰¹
1454. Rebuilt by Thomas, Lord Clifford. "His successor built the chiefest part of the castle towards the east, as the hall, the chapel, and the great chamber, which were then fallen into great decay."¹⁰² The chapel windows were charged with family arms, and in one of them was the following inscription:—"This Chapell was built by Thomas, Lord Clifford, in anno domini one thousand four hundred and fifty four." Portions of this fifteenth century building still remain.
1539. "Appleby is the Shire Towne, but now yt is but a poore village, having a ruinus Castel wherein the prisoners be kept."¹⁰³
1569. The roofs were pulled down during the Rebellion or the "Rising of the North," leaving "no one chamber habitable."¹⁰⁴
1641. The Countess "fortified the castle for the King, and putting as great a number of soldiers in

¹⁰¹ Countess of Pembroke's Diary.

¹⁰² Countess of Pembroke's Diary.

¹⁰³ Leland, vol. vii., fol. 62.

¹⁰⁴ Countess of Pembroke's Diary.

it as it could contain, gave the government of it to Sir Philip Musgrave, who held it out till after the battle of Marston Moor."¹⁰⁵

1645. The army of the Scottish Covenanters, under Lord General Alexander Leslie, was at Appleby during the last days of May.

The castle was occupied by the Royalists, with the regiments that had blockaded Cockermouth, and which had retreated to this town on the approach of Ashton.¹⁰⁶

- 1648, 16th October. Surrendered to Parliamentary forces under Lieut.-General Ashton, when it was dismantled.

- 1648, 24th November. The Committee of both Houses of Parliament wrote to the Committee of Westmorland desiring them to take care that upon the disbanding of the forces lately raised in Lancashire, a portion of whom are now at Appleby, that no harm be done to the castle and goods therein, and no spoil made upon the country when they shall march out of it. Further, upon the withdrawal, to take vigilant care that the castle be not again surprised and kept by the enemy.¹⁰⁷

1651. Restored by Anne, Countess of Pembroke. "I continued to lie in Appleby Castle a whole year and spent much time in repairing it and Brougham Castle, to make them habitable as I could. And in this year, the 21st of April, I helped to lay the foundation stone of the middle wall of the great tower, called Cæsar's Tower, to the end it might be repaired again and made habitable, if it pleased God, Isaiah lvi., 12, which tower was wholly finished, and covered with lead, the latter end of July, 1653."¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁵ Dr. Todd.

¹⁰⁶ Whitlock's *Memoirs*, p. 343.

¹⁰⁷ Cal. St. Pap. Dom., 1648-9, pp. 331, 332, 335.

¹⁰⁸ Countess of Pembroke MSS., vol. i., p. 187.

1662, 27th January. The Countess came with her family into residence for a short period.

1686-8. Almost entirely rebuilt, with stones from Brougham, by Thomas, Earl of Thanet.

1695. Stones were brought from Brough Castle for repairs.

1776. "The corners of the tower form a projection of near a foot from the plane of each front, and rise above the rest of the building in square turrets, now covered with lead, the remaining part of the top being embrasured. There are two small windows in each front. This tower is defended by an outward wall, forming a crescent at the distance of about twelve paces, now remaining about twenty feet high, strongly sustained on the outside by buttresses, erected on an eminence thirty paces in ascent, and defended by a deep ditch without. The quarter fronting to the castle lies open to the area which is inclosed by a wall continued from the points of the crescent."¹⁰⁹

NATURAL DEFENCES :—A strong bluff, precipitous on the east side down to the river Eden, which curves round the north and east sides.

ARTIFICIAL EARTHWORK :—Moats surrounding each of the three baileys. The inner one is about 40 feet deep and 80 feet from crest to crest ; the earth has been thrown up on both sides.

AREA :—Inner bailey encloses nearly two acres.

KEEP :—Rectangular, 46 feet externally and 33 feet internally.

Height :—80 feet to the top of the turrets, but the original height was not so great.

Walls :— $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick. No mural chambers except two angle-shaped garderobes in the north-east corner.

Masonry :—Red sandstone.

Angle-pilasters :—8 feet broad, 8 inches projection.

No intermediate ones.

Projections :—No plinth course. One plain string course marking the second floor level.

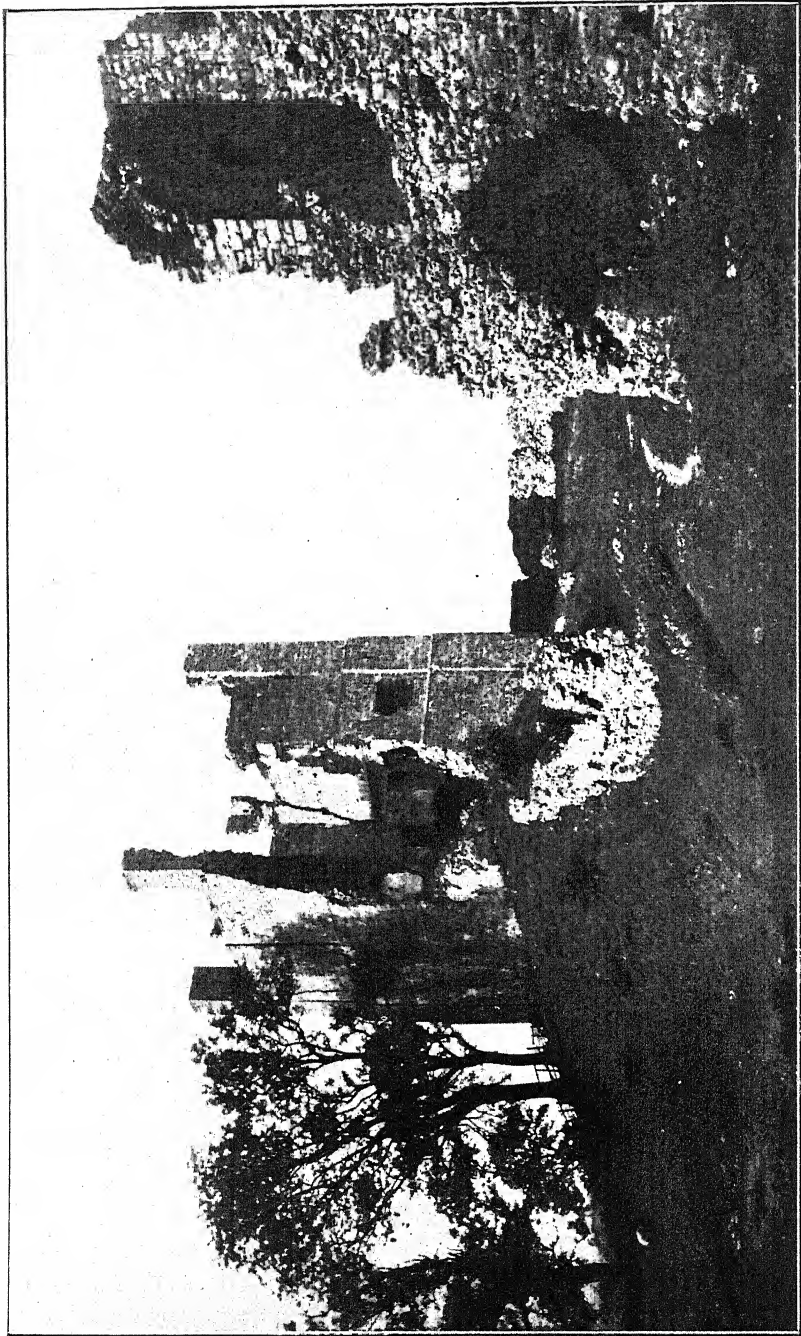
Entrance :—To the first floor on the east side.

Floors :—Basement and three floors over, but the second and third are not in their original positions.

Well :—Centrally placed, probably 90 feet deep.

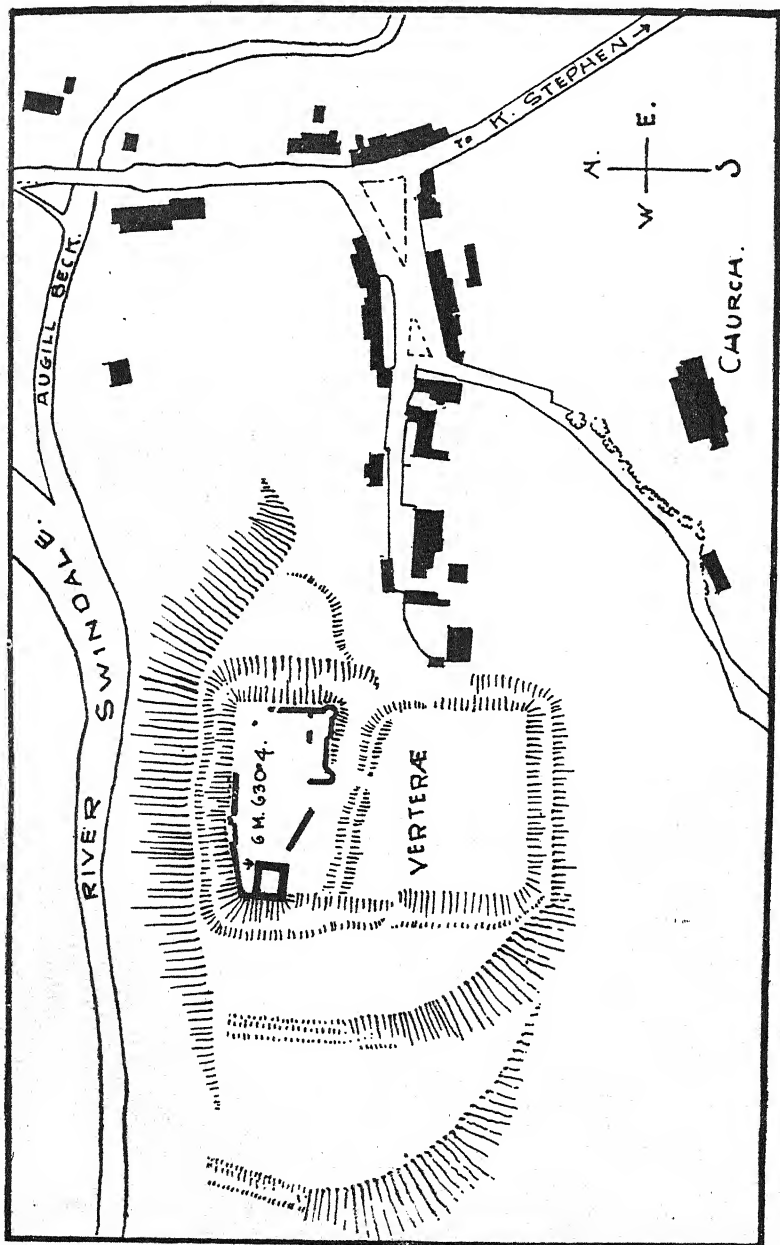
See Appendix I.

REFERENCES :—*Transactions*, O.S., i., 242 ; viii., 382 ;
Sayer, i., 451.



BROUGH CASTLE, KEEP AND PORTION OF GATEHOUSE.

From C. & W. A. & A. S. Transactions.



SITE PLAN OF BROUGH CASTLE

BROUGH-UNDER-STAINMORE. W. 16, S.E.

EARLY FORTIFICATION :—Roman camp, Verteræ, area 3 acres. Camden says that “in the beginning of the Norman government the English formed a conspiracy here against the Conqueror.”

FOUNDATION HISTORY :—C. 1170. The keep is attributed to one of the de Morville family during the reign of Henry II.

1174. Besieged by William the Lion.

“They want to go to Brough ; the resolution was soon taken.

If it is not surrendered to them, not a single living being shall go out of it.

.

The castle was very soon attacked on all sides,
And the Flemings and the Border men make a violent assault
upon them,

And have the first day taken from them the portcullis ;
And soon they left it, and placed themselves in the tower.

.

Already the fire is lighted : now they will be burnt here . . .
For they see very well they will have no succour.

They cannot hold out longer ; they have surrendered to the king.
That is well done which they do now.

They have surrendered to the king ; they have great sorrow
in their hearts.

But a new knight had come to them that day.

Now hear of his deeds and his great virtues :

When his companions had all surrendered,

He remained in the tower and seized two shields ;

He hung them on the battlements. He stayed (there) long,
And threw at the Scots three sharp javelins.

With each of these javelins he had struck a man dead.

When those failed him, he takes up sharp stakes

And hurled them at the Scots, and confused some of them,

And ever keeps shouting, ‘ You shall all be soon vanquished ! ’

Never by a single vassal was strife better maintained.

When the fire deprived him of the defence of his shield,

He is not to blame if he then surrendered.

Now is Brough overthrown, and the best of the tower.”¹¹⁰

¹¹⁰ A literal translation by Francisque Michel of Jordan Fantosme's *Chronicle of the War between the English and the Scots in 1173 and 1174*, Surtees Society, xi., p. 69.

1200. In 2 John, the sheriffs of Westmorland in their account mention the repair of Brough Castle and the viewing and approving of the repairs by Thomas de Wyrkington, son of Gospatric.¹¹¹
1203. Granted by John to Robert de Veteripont.¹¹²
- 1228, 1st February. During the minority of John de Veteripont, the castle was delivered to his guardian, Hubert de Burgo.¹¹³
- c. 1245. During the minority of Robert, the son of John de Veteripont, we find that the "tower of Burgh is much decayed, the joists are rotten and most part of the house is brought to nought by default of Walter, prior of Carlisle."¹¹⁴
1300. Edward I. was entertained here.
1314. The town of Brough was burned by the Scots.
- c. 1380. The Hall is attributed to Roger de Clifford III.
1521. "Castle at Burgh-under-Stainmore was sett on fire by a casual mischance . . . so as all the timber and lead was utterly consumed and nothing left but the bare walls and it long remained waste . . . going to utter ruin more and more."¹¹⁵
1539. "Ther is an old castel on the side of Edon. Water cawld Burgh."¹¹⁶
- 1649, 15th August. "I went into my decayed castle of Brough."¹¹⁷
1660. Restored by the Countess of Pembroke. "And in April and May this year [1660] did the masons begin to build up again and repair my castle of Brough in Westmorland, after it had lain ruinous without timber or any covering ever since the year

¹¹¹ Denton, from the Red Book in the Exchequer, N. and B., i., 27.

¹¹² Pat. Rolls, 4 John, m. 2; Dugdale, *Baronage*, i., 347.

¹¹³ Pat. Rolls, 12 Henry III., m. 6.

¹¹⁴ He was appointed guardian to Robert.

¹¹⁵ Countess of Pembroke's Diary.

¹¹⁶ Leland, vii., fol. 62.

¹¹⁷ Countess of Pembroke's Diary.

1521 when it was burnt by a casual fire . . . and this castle and the Roman Tower in it, was so well repaired by me at my exceeding great cost and charge, etc."¹¹⁸

1662. "And this summer did I cause to be built a kitchen, bake house and brewhouse [on the north side] and a stable [on the south side] in the court of my castle at Burgh."¹¹⁹

1666, 2nd January. "Did there a great fire happen . . . in the great Round Tower."¹²⁰

1671. "A small village, fenced with a small fortress, and the name turned into Burgh, for in the time of the late Roman Emperors, little castles fit for warlike occasions and furnished with store of corn, began to be termed Burgi, Burghs."¹²¹

1695. Stones were pulled out for repairs to Appleby Castle.

1714. The fittings were sold.

c. 1763. A great part of the Round Tower was pulled down to repair Brough Mill.

1792. The south-east angle of the keep fell down.

NATURAL DEFENCES:—Situated on a steep cliff rising some 60 feet above the Swindale river on the northern side.

ARTIFICIAL EARTHWORK:—Protected by the fosse to the Roman station on the west, north and east sides, and isolated from the remainder of the station by a cross ditch.

AREA:—Nearly one acre. Altitude:—630 feet above Ordnance datum.

KEEP:—Rectangular, 51 feet east and west, and 41 feet north and south.

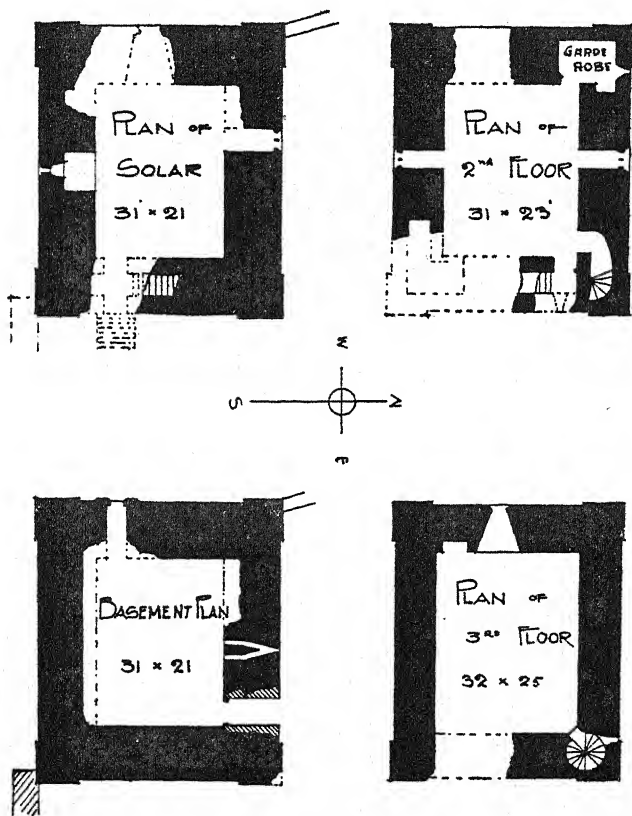
Height:—60 feet.

¹¹⁸ ¹¹⁹ ¹²⁰ Countess of Pembroke's Diary.

¹²¹ Sir Daniel Fleming's description of co. Westmorland, ed. Sir G. F. Duckett, 18.

DROUGH CASTLE.

PLANS OF KEEP



0 10 20 30 40 50 60 Feet.

SCALE OF FEET

John F. Curran Esq.
15. VII. 08

Walls:—10 feet thick at base; straight mural stairway and two garderobes. At the top are ranges of triangular pigeon holes, formed of thin stones set W-shaped on edge.

Angle pilasters:—At each angle, with intermediate ones from the upper set-off on the two broader sides, 6 feet 10 inches wide and 7 inches projection.

Projections:—Plinth and two sets-off at the 2nd and 3rd floor levels.

Entrance:—To the 1st floor, about 12 feet above ground surface.

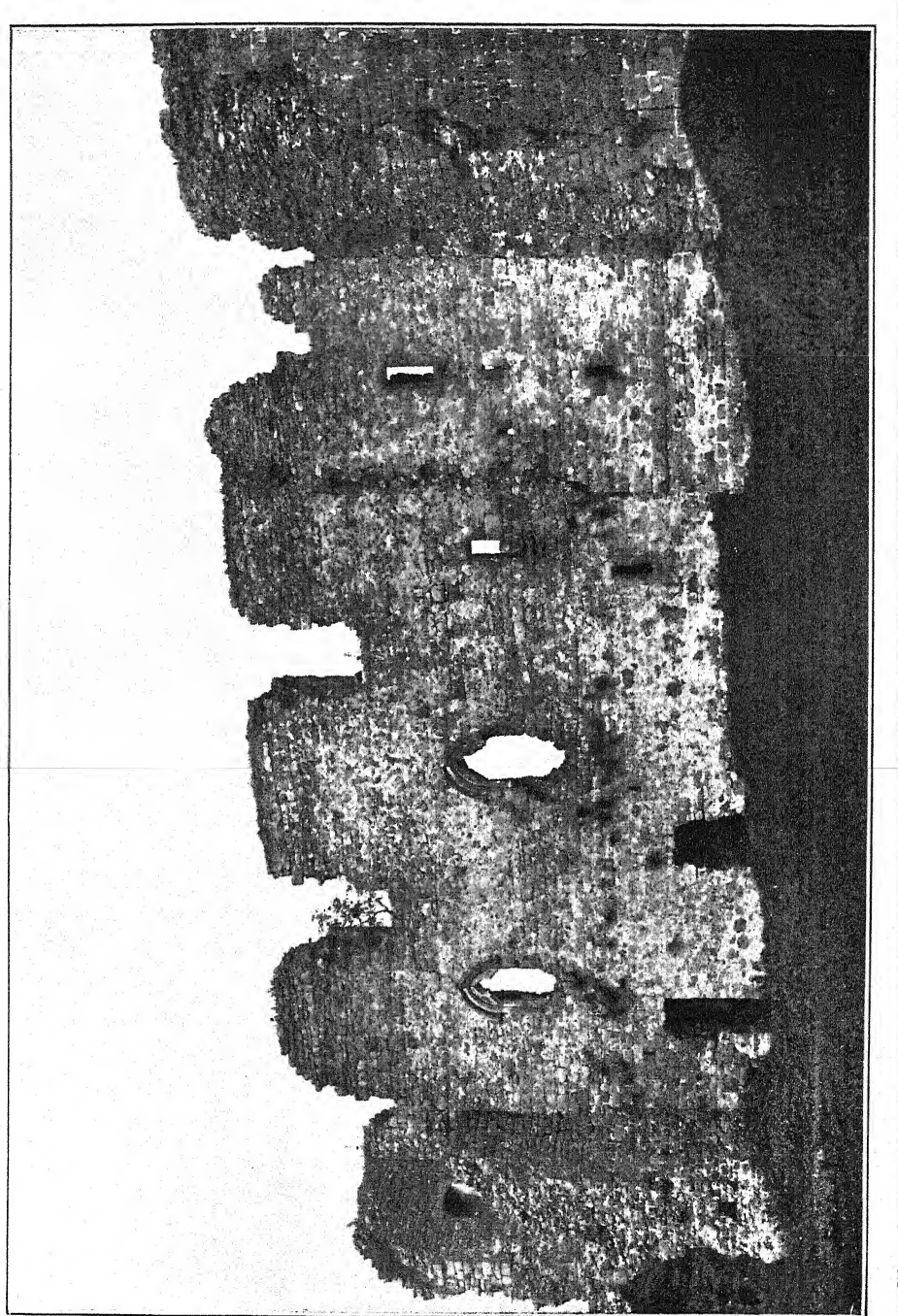
Floors:—Basement and three floors above; originally only two.

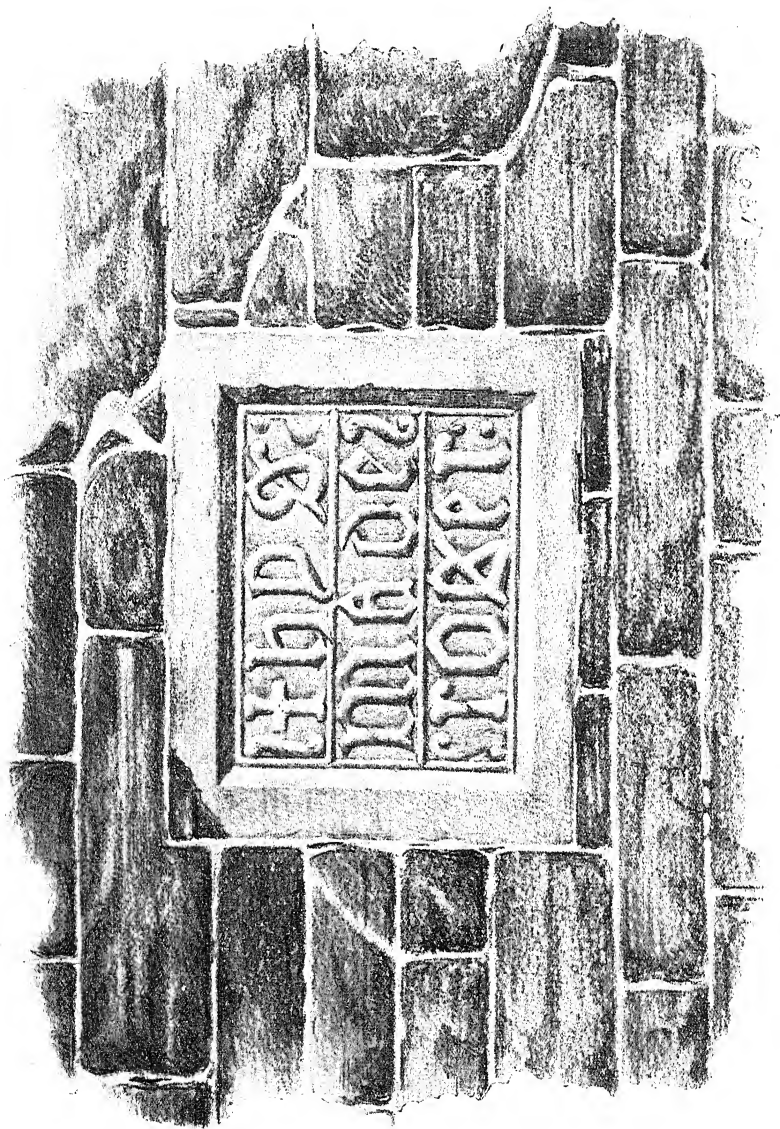
Fireplaces:—Added in each floor.

GATE-HOUSE:—Of three storeys, 20 by $13\frac{1}{2}$ feet internally; walls $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick.

HALL:—Internal measurement, 52 by 21 feet.

REFERENCE:—*Transactions*, N.S., ix., 177.





BROUGHAM CASTLE. The stone was inserted in its present position over the outer gate about 1830.

TO FACE P. 87.

BROUGHAM CASTLE. W. 4, S.W.

Burgham.

EARLY FORTIFICATIONS :—The castle is situated just outside, but adjoining the north-west angle of the Roman station, Brocavum.

FOUNDATION HISTORY :—C. 1170. The stone keep.

1204. Outworks by Robert de Veteripont.

1245. During the minority of his grandson Robert, we find that "the walls and roof had gone to decay for the want of repairing the gutters."

c. 1270. Outer gatehouse probably erected by Roger de Clifford I., who married the co-heiress, Isabella de Veteripont.

c. 1310. Upper portion of gatehouse added or rebuilt by Roger de Clifford II.

c. 1315. Inner gatehouse erected.

1333. Edward Balliol, King of Scots, came to hunt with Robert de Clifford in his domains at Appleby and Brougham.

c. 1380. Roger de Clifford III. is said to have built the greater part of the castle "next the east." A stone about 14 inches square bears an inscription in raised letters on a small panel, "Thys made Roger," but to what part of the building it refers is unknown.

1383, 3rd December. Appointment of the sheriffs of Cumberland and Westmorland to take stone cutters, masons and other labourers for the repair of certain castles and fortlets of Roger de Clifford, Kt., near the March of Scotland, which are useful as a refuge for the King's subjects.

1403. "The demesne is laid altogether waste, by reason of the Scots, so that the whole profits of the castle and demesne are not sufficient for the repairing and keeping of the former."

1539. "At Burgham is an old Castel that the comune people ther sayeth doth synke. The castel is

- set in a stronge place by reasons of Ryvers enclosing the Cuntery thereabowt."¹²²
- c. 1550. "Henry the 2nd Earl¹²³ bestowed so much in repairing Brougham Castle as kept him from doing anything at Brough."¹²⁴
1617. James I. was entertained here on the 6th, 7th and 8th August by Francis the 4th Earl, when returning from his last visit to Scotland.
- 1629, December. Charles I. stayed here on his progress from Scotland.¹²⁵
1648. Said to have been demolished during the Civil Wars.
- 1651-52. The castle was entirely restored by Anne, Countess of Pembroke. "After I had been there myself to direct the building of it, did I cause my old decayed castle of Brougham to be repaired, and also the tower called the Roman Tower, in the said old castle, and the court house, for keeping my courts in, with some dozen or fourteen rooms to be built in it upon the old foundations."¹²⁶
1659. A garrison of foot soldiers was placed here for a short time in August.¹²⁷
1671. "An ancient, strong, and stately building, which hath been possessed by the Viponts and Cliffords, with a large park near adjoining. This castle received great damage in the time of the late Rebellion, which hath been repaired by the Right Honourable Anne Lady Clifford."¹²⁸
1691. Demolished by order of Thomas, Lord Tufton.

¹²² Leland, vol. vii., fol. 63.

¹²³ Of Cumberland.

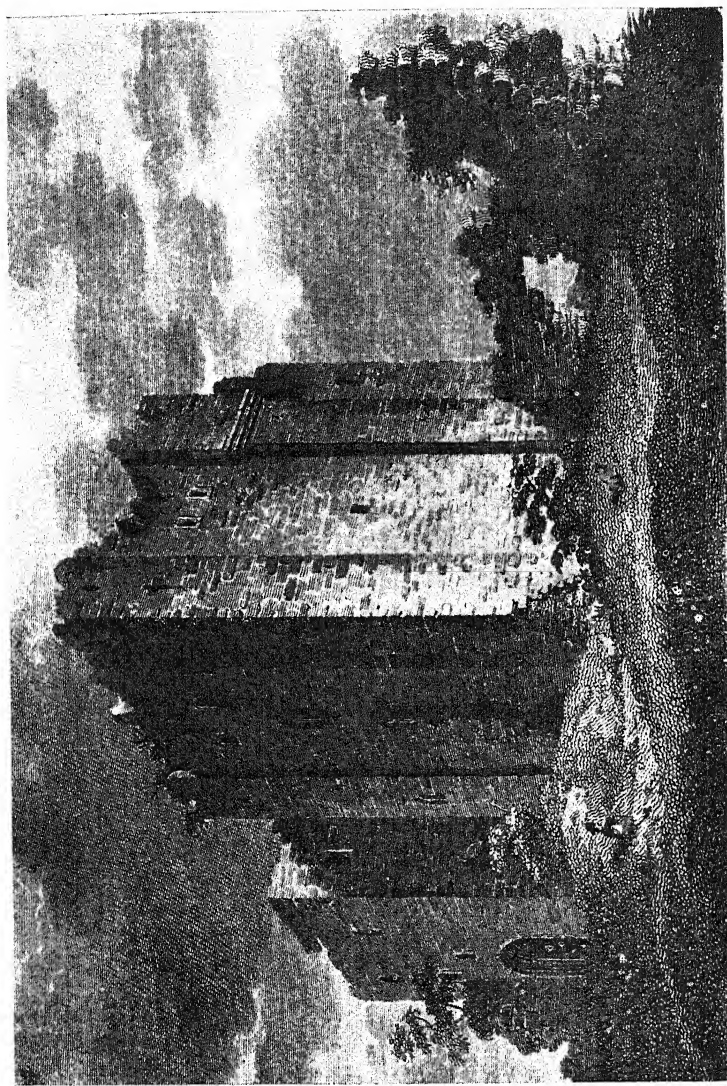
¹²⁴ Countess of Pembroke's Diary.

¹²⁵ Cal. St. Pap., 1629-31, 112.

¹²⁶ Countess of Pembroke, *Memoirs*, i., 216.

¹²⁷ Countess of Pembroke, *Memoirs*, i., 218.

¹²⁸ Sir D. Fleming, *Description co. Westmorland*, ed. Sir G. F. Duckett, p. 28.



BROUGHAM CASTLE.

TO FACE P. 88.



1714. The stone, lead and timber were sold for £100 to two attorneys in Penrith, who afterwards put them up to public auction; the old wainscoting being chiefly sold to neighbouring villagers.

1767. Occupied by a hind.

1776. "The approach to this castle is guarded by an outward-vaulted gateway, and tower with a portcullis: and, at a distance of about twenty paces, an inroad vaulted gateway of ribbed arches, with a portcullis; through which you enter a spacious area, defended by lofty towers. The side next the river is divided by three square towers; from thence, on either hand, a little wing falls back, the one leading to the gateway, the other connected with the outworks, which extend to a considerable distance along a grassy plain of pasture ground, terminated by a turret, one of the outposts of the castle. The centre of the building is a lofty square tower: the shattered turrets which form the angles, and the hanging galleries are overgrown with shrubs."¹²⁹

1789. "A fine old ruin, built of reddish freestone. Like most of our northern strong-holds, this castle is built in a square form, with its sides facing the cardinal points; three of which have been defended by a ditch, and the other, the north side, is close to the river Eamont. No place can exhibit more striking remains of that gloomy strength for which these edifices of defence were so remarkable; arched vaults, winding passages in the walls, so narrow as not to admit more than one person at once; the doors of these passages contracted to a mere hole, through which no one can enter without stooping; and the remains of vast bolts and massy hinges, give us a lively idea of those times of danger and jealousy, when the lord was almost a prisoner in his

¹²⁹ Hutchinson, quoted in Hodgson, p. 102.

own castle. . . . The dungeon or keep where prisoners were confined has walls four or five yards thick. . . . In the centre stands the Sweating Pillar, from its being continually covered with a moisture or dew, which at its top divides itself into eight branches.¹⁸⁰ The extremities terminate near the ground in deformed heads of animals, and each of these heads holds in its mouth an iron ring, probably intended for the chaining of unruly and riotous prisoners."¹⁸¹

NATURAL DEFENCES:—The combined streams of the Eamont and Lowther cover the fortress to the north, as do the two waters and the marshy ground between them on the west.

ARTIFICIAL EARTHWORKS:—The south-west side is protected by the fosse of the Roman station, which has been continued around the west side, until it dies out in the marshy ground beside the old bed of the river Lowther.

AREA:—About $\frac{3}{4}$ acre. Altitude:—389 feet above Ordnance datum.

KEEP:—Rectangular of 44 feet either way.

Walls:—11 feet thick at base, and 10 feet at the top. Mural garderobes on 1st and 2nd floors in the north-west angle. The 3rd floor has a mural passage with chambers all round it and a groined oratory in the south-east angle. [See illustration opposite to page 68.]

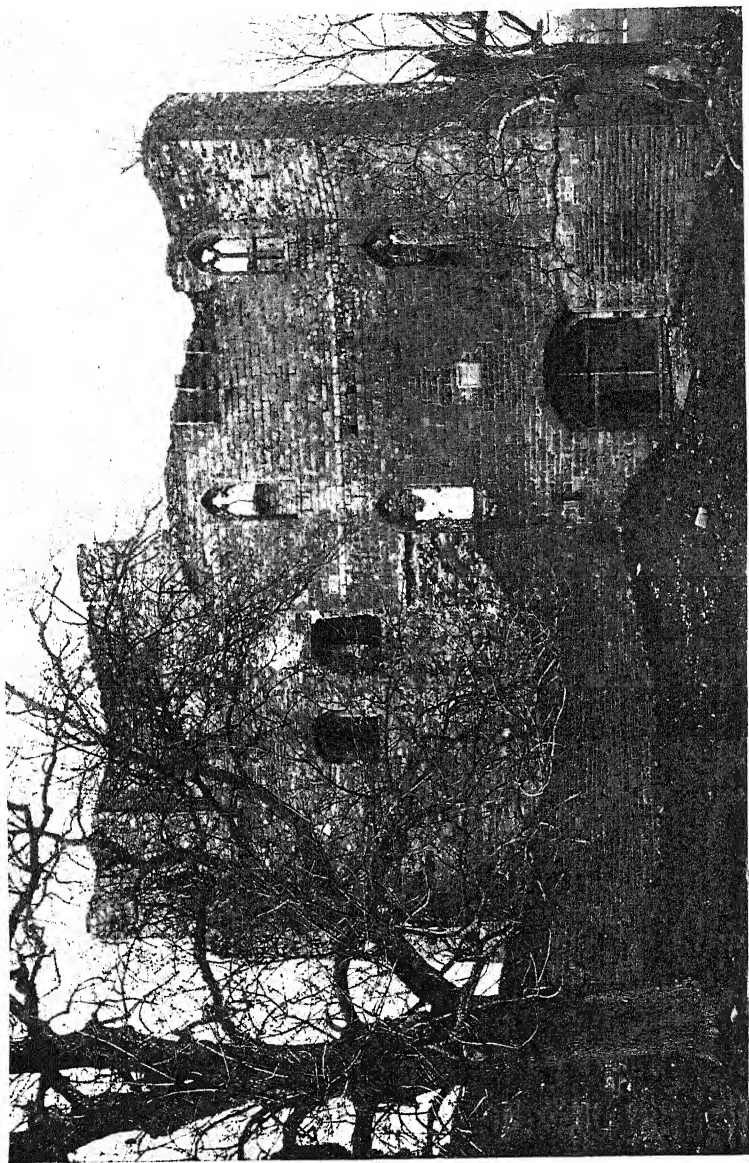
Masonry:—Rough random-coursed work in small stones, with ashlar quoins and jambs.

Angle pilasters:—The angles are covered with pilasters 12 feet broad and 6-inch projection, excepting on the eastern face, where there was a fore-building.

Projections:—None.

¹⁸⁰ Ribs of the vaulting.

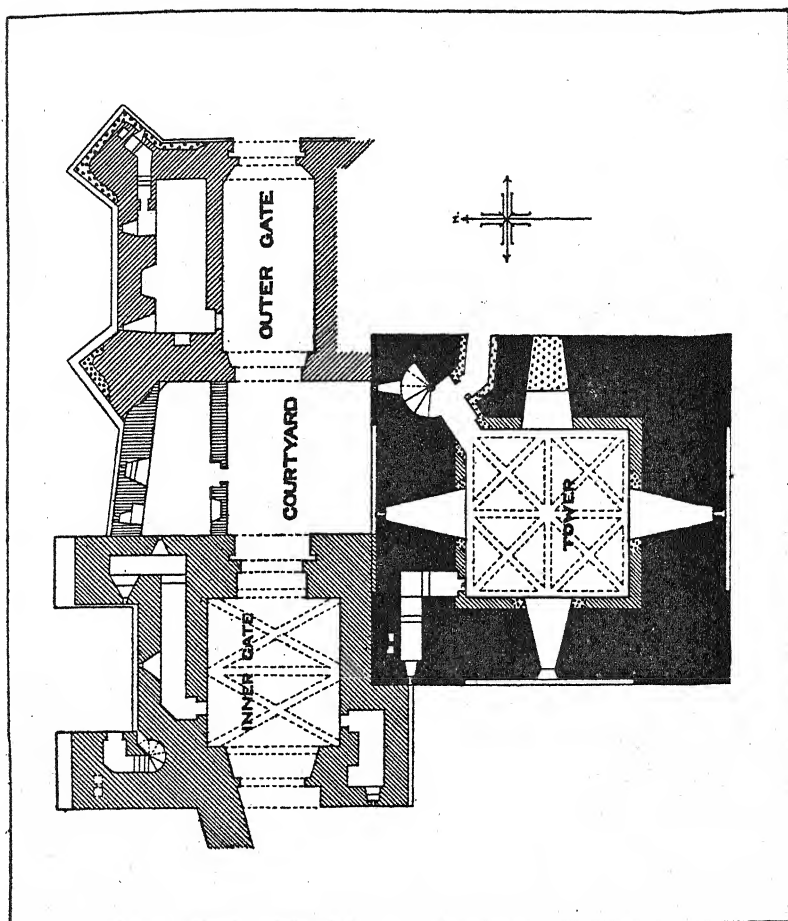
¹⁸¹ James Clarke, *Survey of the Lakes*.



BROUGHAM CASTLE, KEEP AND GATEHOUSE.

Photo. by H. Bell.

TO FACE P. 91.



BROUGHAM CASTLE.
Plan of Keep and Gatehouse.

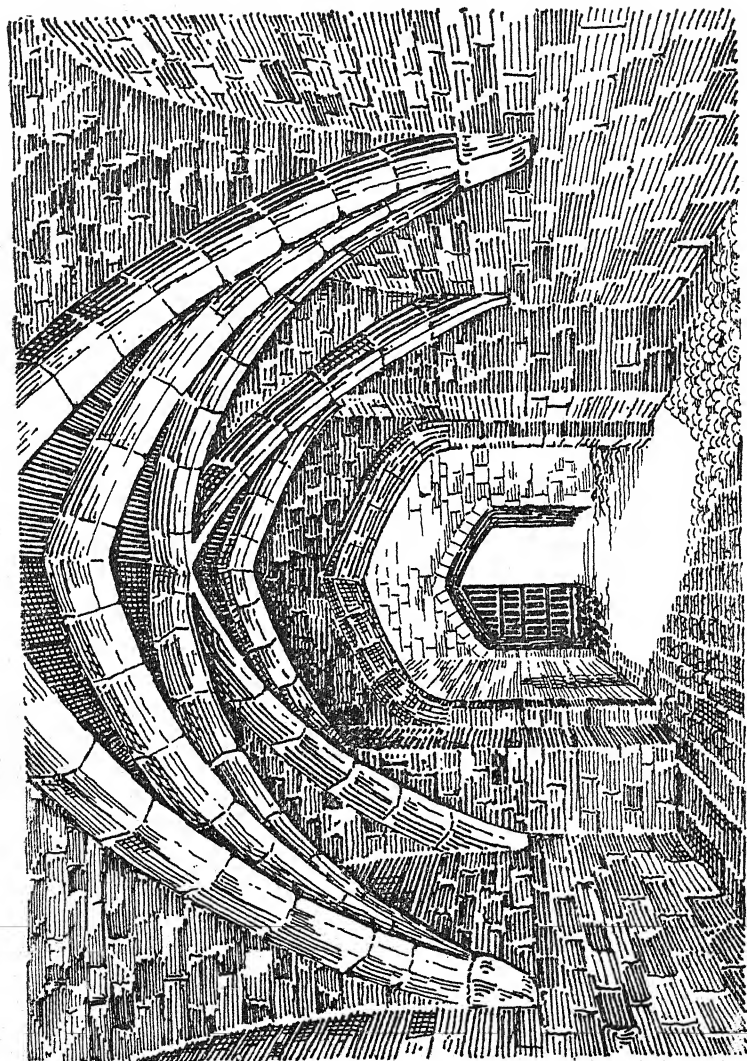
Entrance :—To the 1st floor, 13 feet above the surface of the ground, through a fore-building, 12 feet wide, on the east face.

Floors :—Basement and three floors, of which the upper one, if not an addition, has been remodelled.

Fireplaces :—Added on the 1st and 3rd floors. The upper one in the north-west angle has an opening 9 feet wide.

CURTAIN :—5 feet in thickness and upwards of 30 feet in height.

GATEHOUSE :—Double gatehouse, 90 by 39 feet, on the north face of keep, defended by four pairs of gates. The outer gates are protected by a portcullis working between a double arch. The walls of the first passage are of rough random-coursed work, but the vaulting is of ashlar. On the right hand is the porter's room in the floor of which is the trap door down to the dungeon. On the 1st floor above the entrance are two geometrical traceried windows, showing an approximate date of 1270. The battlements above overhang upon bold projecting corbels to form a machicolation. At the further end of the entrance passage we come to a second pair of gates. Beyond is a small courtyard bounded on the south by the keep, and on the north by a narrow building of four stories which has clearly been an addition. The inner gatehouse, built about the year 1315, is likewise defended by a portcullis, the wall being $8\frac{3}{4}$ feet in thickness. The third pair of double gates give access to a passage with good quadripartite vaulting in two bays, beyond which we arrive at the fourth pair of gates leading into the ward. The principle of two gatehouses in close proximity, each having an inner and outer pair of gates opening inwards to the passage, is very curious and difficult to explain.



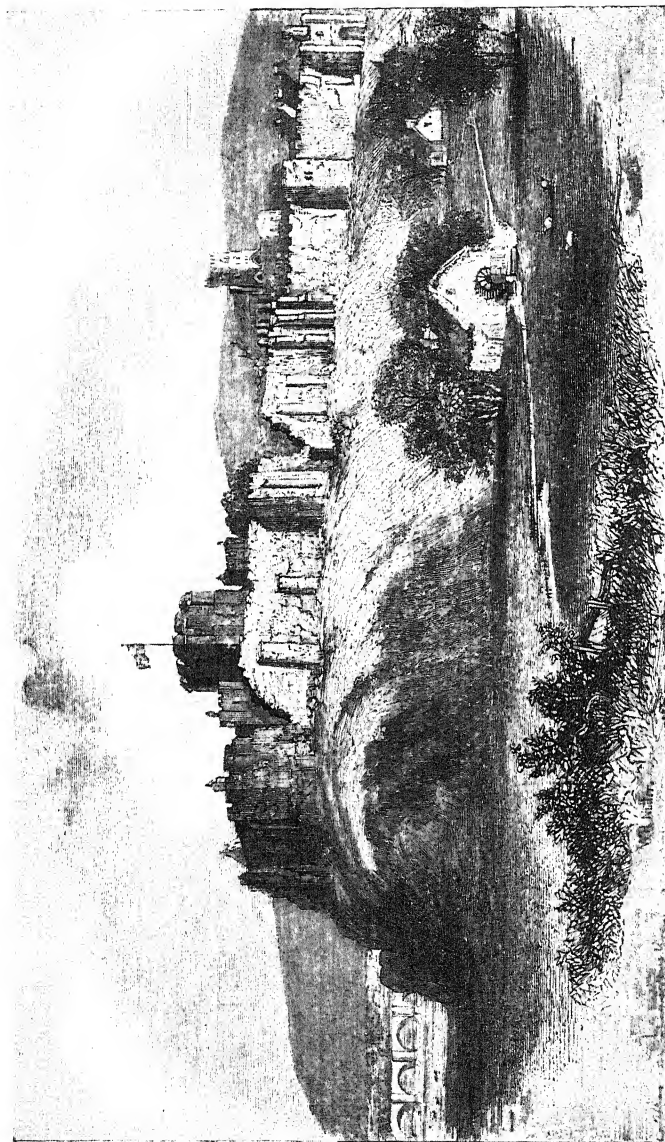
BROUGHAM CASTLE.

Looking from the Inner Gate (c. 1315) across the small court to the Outer Gate (c. 1270).

POSTERN TOWER :—Situated at the south-western angle of the ward. This tower is of the thirteenth century.

SEE APPENDIX II.

REFERENCES :—*Proceedings*, Socy. Antiq., London, 2nd series, ii., 79 ; *Trans.*, o.s., i., 60 ; vi., 15 ; *Archæologia*, lviii. ; History of Penrith, pp. 30, 207 ; Clarke's *Survey of the Lakes*, p. 3.



CARLISLE CASTLE IN 1745.

By kind permission of Messrs. Steel Bros.

TO FACE P. 95.

CARLISLE CASTLE. C. 23, N.E.

EARLY FORTIFICATION : —Roman, *Luguballium* : cf. *Lugudunon*, the Gaulish name of Lyons, Leyden, etc., the *dún* of Lugus, the Sun-god. Hence *Castra-Luguballia*, shortened in post-Roman Welsh to *Caer Luel*.

FOUNDATION HISTORY :—

1092. A *turris fortissima*, erected by order of William II. for the garrison he left behind him.¹³²

1120. Henry I. visited the city and ordered it to be fortified with a castle and towers.¹³³

1135. Taken by David, King of Scots, when Stephen granted to him the old fief of English Cumbria.

1136. David built the stone keep.¹³⁴ It is probable that the inner bailey and early gateway at the south-east angle are of this date.

1157. Surrendered by Malcolm IV. to Henry II.

c. 1168. Addition of the outer bailey with a small tower, 28 by 18 feet on the west side. At the same time walls were built connecting with the city, and a new entrance gateway in the centre of the southern face. "Pro removenda Porta Castelli de Cardel 40 sol. per breve Regis."¹³⁵

1173-4. Besieged by William the Lion, afterwards repaired by Wulfricas, the royal engineer in charge.

c. 1204. The constable of Chester was ordered by John to spend 60 marcs on fortifying the castle.¹³⁶

¹³² Anglo-Saxon Chron. ; cf. Rapin.

¹³³ Symeon of Durham, *Historia Regum*, i., 119.

¹³⁴ Bower's *Scotichronicon*, v., xlii; *Notes and Queries*, viii., 321; Palgrave's *Documents and Records*, i., 103; see also Fordun's *Scottish Chronicles*. In the latter part of the fourteenth century John de Fordun, a priest of the diocese of St. Andrew's, compiled the first formal history of Scotland. He died before it was completed, but he left behind him the first five books, bringing the history down to the death of David I. He also left the materials for the remainder, the last date being 1385.

¹³⁵ Pipe Roll, 14 Henry II.

¹³⁶ *Calendarium Rotulorum Chartarum*.

- 1216, August. Garrison surrendered to Alexander II., when he repaired and strengthened the fortifications.¹³⁷
- 1217, September. Surrendered by Alexander II. to Henry III.
1222. Hugh, Bishop of Carlisle, gave to our lord the King, 100 measures of flour of oats towards the restoration of the castle. Whereupon Henry ordered the houses within the castle to be repaired and two ballistæ of horn and two of wood were to be sent there.¹³⁸
1226. Ten marks were spent on the building of a prison in the castle.¹³⁹
1227. One hundred marks were spent on wattling the stockade and repairing the keep.¹⁴⁰
1233. Thomas de Multon, custos, renders his account for the repair of a certain breach in the little tower¹⁴¹ of the castle 5rs. 7d., and for the repair of the wall where the miners dug at the time that Alexander, King of Scots, besieged the castle; also in repair of the lead roof £8 8s. 5d.¹⁴²
1239. A hundred shillings were spent in repairing the King's houses in the castle; also £8 10s. 6d. for covering the King's chamber and the tower with lead.¹⁴³
1240. Repairs were made to the bridge over the castle moat and to the steps of the great chamber.¹⁴⁴
1255. The Commissioners report that "At the King's demand they had inspected the castle and its condition when delivered by Sir Robert de Bruys to

¹³⁷ Fordun.

¹³⁸ Royal Letters of Henry III.

¹³⁹ Pipe Rolls, 10 Henry III., No. 70, m. 3.

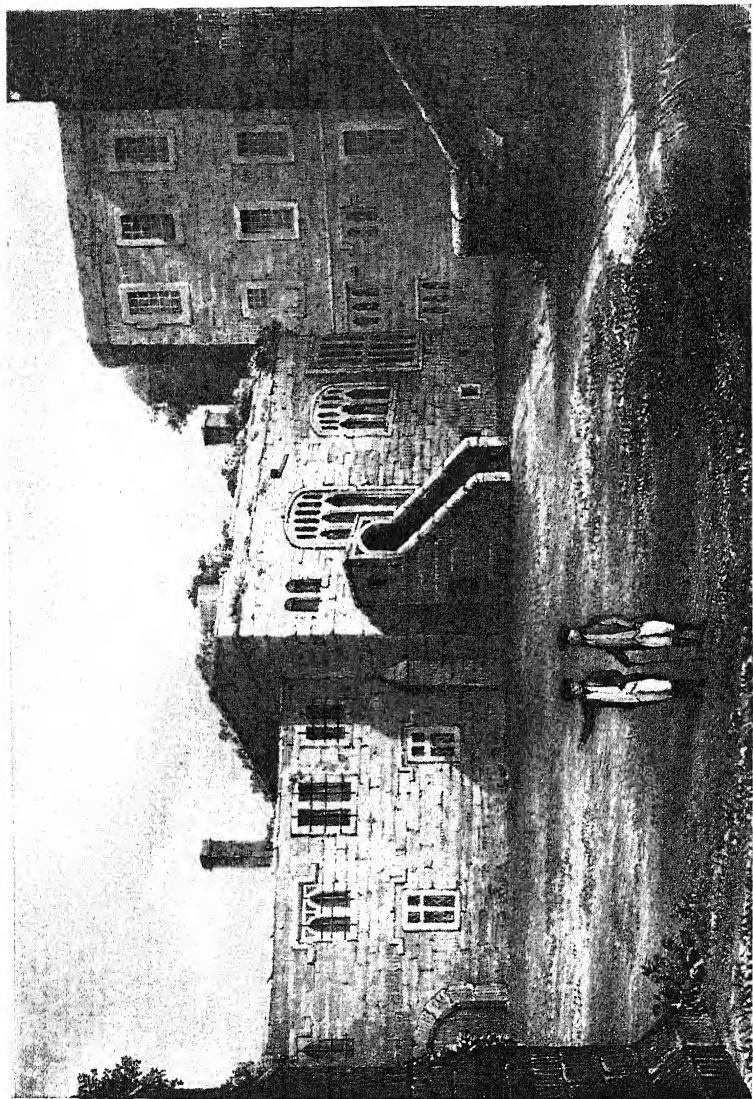
¹⁴⁰ Pipe Rolls, 11 Henry III., No. 71.

¹⁴¹ Known as the Norman Tower on the west wall.

¹⁴² Pipe Rolls, 17 Henry III., Rot. 6; also Chancellor's Roll.

¹⁴³ Pipe Rolls, 23 Henry III.

¹⁴⁴ Pipe Rolls, 24 Henry III.



CARLISLE CASTLE. THE LONG HALL AND CHAPEL.
From Nutt's "Carlisle in the Olden Time," by kind permission of Messrs. C. Thurnam & Sons.

TO FACE P. 97.

Sir William de Fortibus, Earl of Albermarle. They found it in bad condition, all the leaden gutters of the *Great Tower* decayed and the doors and windows likewise. The joists and planking are broken and rotten and the walls of the tower in a bad state for want of mending and covering. The *Queen's chamber* which was covered with lead needs great repair and covering and the chimney thereof needs instant repair or it will speedily fall in on the chamber which is very dangerous. *Maunsell's turret* and the *turret of Will^m de Ireby* and the *turret beyond the inner gate* which were levelled and made worse, in the great war in the time of K. John, were never after restored or repaired. The *Chapel*, the *Great Hall*, the *Kitchens*, the *granges*, the *stables*, the *bakeries*, the *breweries*, and the houses beyond the gate and the bridges within and without the castle demand repair and covering beyond measure. There is a great "crenaccia"¹⁴⁵ from below within the turret of William de Ireby, requiring repair anew. A bretasche within Maunsell's turret lately blown down by wind is now burned and so are the doors of the great tower and of the stables and the kitchens; and the bolts with their ironwork carried off. A great part of the palisading within and without the castle is likewise burned and destroyed, etc."¹⁴⁶

1268. Eustace de Bayliol laid out by the King's precept in munition and repair of the castle as much as 400 marks.¹⁴⁷

1292, 18th May. A great fire burned both city and castle, when we find 16 oaks were supplied from

¹⁴⁵ From *crena* the Italian for "notch," *crenaccia* would be "big notch." The word *crenelle* is the French diminutive of the same word; it may therefore signify a gap broken away or notched out at the bottom of the tower like an inverted crenelle.

¹⁴⁶ Royal Letters, No. 76, Chancery Record Selections, Henry III. Printed by Shirley.

¹⁴⁷ Exchequer Records, Memoranda L.T.R., 51 and 52, Henry III., m. 11.

Inglewood Forest "to the sheriff to repair the bridge of Carlisle castle which had been accidentally burnt."¹⁴⁸

1295. William de Vescy, justice of the Forest, was ordered to deliver to Master Thomas, the King's Engineer, as many oaks as he should choose for the making of the King's engines.

1296, 28th March. Besieged by seven earls of Scotland—Buchan, Menteith, Strathern, Lennox, Ross, Athol, and Mar, who were repulsed.

1297, November and December. Besieged by William Wallace, in the name of John Balliol, for twenty-eight days.

1298, 25th September. Warrant from Edward I. to Robert de Clifford, to allow the Bishop of Carlisle to take 60 pickerels in our "lay" [? lacus] called the "lay Kybraid"¹⁴⁹ which is within the bounds of our forest of Inglewood, to stock our ditches round the castle of Carlisle; and allow him also 20 oaks, suitable for building material, in our forest aforesaid, to repair the houses and bridges and to mend the crenellations of the Castle.¹⁵⁰

1301. For expenses incurred as the result of the sieges of 1296 and 1297, Bp. John de Halton, the Governor, was allowed £5 5s. for timber to make anew the stockades round the castle; and £3 15s. 8d. for timber to renew the three bridges of the castle; also £1 os. 4d. for glass windows for the King's chamber and chapel, and 12s. 2d. for repair of the great hall, great chamber and the garderobe belonging to it, kitchens, stable, etc.; also 18s. for repair

¹⁴⁸ *Transactions*, N.S., ix., 26.

¹⁴⁹ Tarn Wadling, "Ternwathelan which is called Laykebrayt" [*Transactions*, N.S., x., 13]. About the same time we find that the Bishop was allowed fifty pickerels from this lake, which covered some hundred acres, in order to restock his fishponds at Rose. *Transactions*, N.S., ix., 33, 34.

¹⁵⁰ *Epis. Reg. of Carlisle*, Halton, ed. W. N. Thompson, p. 167.

of stone walls around the castle and for scouring out the ditches.¹⁵¹

c. 1302. Addition of the Edwardian Palace, when, there can be little doubt, the six enormous stepped buttresses were added on to the face of the original Norman pilasters to strengthen the curtain. The curious external stairway, built against the north face of the keep and which led up to the ramparts of the curtain, is also of this period.

1315. Besieged by Robert Bruce and defended by Andrew de Harcla for eleven days.¹⁵²

1316. "Carlisle Castle is safe as there are in the town nine knights and eighty men-at-arms, and in the castle Sir James de Harcla, Richard de Hoddleston, Patric de Culwenne, John de Harcla, and fifty men-at-arms. They are victualled for six months, but require money for their pay."¹⁵³

1322, 29th June. After the great raid as far as Lancaster, King Robert returned and lay outside the city for five days, his army trampling and destroying as much of the crops as they could. The castle does not seem to have been strong enough to offer them battle.

1323. The Sheriff of Cumberland was ordered to pay the cost of erecting wooden peles where the walls of the castle had been broken down, till such time as they could be repaired with stone and lime.¹⁵⁴ For this purpose Anthony de Lucy, Constable of the Castle, was to have as many oaks, not bearing leaves, from Inglewood Forest as might be needed.

1324, 11th April. "Mandate to Anthony de Lucy to make with all speed the repairs which the King

¹⁵¹ Rot. Liberate; *Epis. Reg. Carlisle*; Halton, ed. W. N. Thompson, p. 178.

¹⁵² *Lanercost Chronicle*; Jefferson's *Carlisle*, pp. 20-22.

¹⁵³ Scottish Rec. Pub., iii., No. 514.

¹⁵⁴ Cal. Close Rolls, 1323-27, pp. 47-8.

has ordered to be made to the walls, houses, towers, etc."¹⁵⁵

1337. Besieged by the Scots.

1338. "Mandate to the Sheriff of Cumberland to cause the houses in the castle to be repaired up to £20, where necessary, under supervision and report of the Prior of St. Mary. Also to the Keeper of Inglewood Forest to deliver to the Sheriff enough timber etc."¹⁵⁶

1346. "Mandate to Ralph de Nevill, to go to Carlisle Castle, view the defects there, and deliver to the constable timber necessary, as the King is informed that there are several defects, as in bretaches, buildings, bridges, engines and other garniture."¹⁵⁷

1356, 17th November. Commission to enquire whether £40 which the King lately caused to be delivered to William de Threlkeld, late Sheriff of the County, for the repair of the walls of the castle has been applied in such repair.¹⁵⁸

1357, 12th January. "Appointment for one year of Thomas de Alanby to take sufficient labourers for repair of the King's castle of Carlisle and to put them to the work at the King's wages, taking and committing to prison all those whom he finds rebellious herein."¹⁵⁹

1358, 1st March. "Commission to Robert Tillyol and Thomas de Alanby, mayor of Carlisle, to survey the defects in the tower and houses of the castle and have them repaired by the supervision and advice of the prior of St. Mary and Clement de Skelton, and to have the necessary trees for timber cut down

¹⁵⁵ Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1321-24, p. 406.

¹⁵⁶ Cal. Close Rolls.

¹⁵⁷ *Transactions*, N.S., ix., 28.

¹⁵⁸ Cal. Pat. Rolls.

¹⁵⁹ Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1354-8, 489.

by view and testimony of the verderers in the forest of Inglewood."¹⁶⁰

1378, 10th July. "Appointment of John Lewyn, mason, to take stone masons and labourers from the counties of York, Northumberland, Cumberland and Westmorland, who are to be put upon the works ordered at the castle, at the King's charges, with power to imprison the disobedient."¹⁶¹

1379, 12th June. "Appointment of the Prior of Carlisle, as surveyor of the works with which William de Stapleton, Sheriff of Cumberland, is charged at Carlisle Castle."¹⁶²

1380, 9th August. "Appointment of the Prior of Carlisle and Wetherhale to do the works for the fortification of the castle."¹⁶³

1383, 8th October. "Commission to Thomas Appleby, Bishop of Carlisle, Henry de Percy, Earl of Northumberland, Thomas, Prior of Drax, and the Sheriff of Cumberland to survey a gate and a tower upon it which John Lewyn, 'maceon,' contracted to build and to report on any defects therein."¹⁶⁴

1385. Besieged by the Scots with the assistance of a large French army under Admiral John de Vienne.

1387, 24th November. "Appointment of commissioners to survey certain works done within the castle by John Lewyn, etc."¹⁶⁵

1401. "Appointment of Henry de Percy 'le fitz,' custos of the castle, to cause the castle to be repaired."

1436, 13th February. "Appointment of Alex. Lermouth to be surveyor and clerk of the King's works

¹⁶⁰ Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1358-61, p. 17.

¹⁶¹ Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1377-81, 257.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, 352.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 537.

¹⁶⁴ Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1381-85, 353.

¹⁶⁵ Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1385-89, 367.

at Carlisle . . . to take stone cutters, plumbers, carpenters, masons and other workmen and set them upon the works, at the King's wages, and to provide stone, timber, tiles, shingles, glass, iron, lead and other necessities, with authority to incur expenses on the King's behalf."¹⁶⁶

1461. Besieged by the Scots.

c. 1470. During the time that the Duke of Gloucester¹⁶⁷ was Governor, the Palace was much altered.

1529. In this survey we learn that the wooden doors of the gatehouse, which was at this time used as the county gaol, had rotted away: the lead had been stripped from the roof, so that the rain soaked through right down to the basement. The domestic buildings, on the east side of the inner ward, had been roofed with stone slates upon spars unfit to carry them, so that the roof of the great chamber had fallen in, and the gallery between it and the hall was "clean gone down." The hall itself was "like to fall." The chapel and an adjoining room were partly unroofed and the parlor beneath was in a ruinous state. The kitchen and some offices had fallen, and the bakehouse and pantry were on the point of falling. The lead on the roof of the Donjon was decayed, allowing the rain to enter so that the floors of its three stages were rotting by degrees.¹⁶⁸

1536. When the Commissioners were making their visitation for the suppression of the smaller monasteries, they met with armed resistance at Lanercost which kindled a rebellion all through the north of England. Urged on by the monks, who were threatened with the loss of their possessions, the rebels attacked the castle.

¹⁶⁶ Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1429-36, p. 501; also 1436-41, p. 152.

¹⁶⁷ Afterwards Richard III.

¹⁶⁸ Letters and Papers, Henry VIII., vol. iv., Nos. 2655, 2656.

1542. Henry VIII. repaired the castle very extensively and altered it so as to adapt the rampart walls to carry artillery.¹⁶⁹ Like the castles of Sandgate and Camber this is known to have been done under German direction.¹⁷⁰

1563. "The dungeon tower of the castle, which should be the principal part and defence thereof, on three sides is in decay so as the same dungeon tower is not only unserviceable but also in daily danger to fall, and to overthrow the rest of the said tower. There is a breach of the wall in the outward ward [south-west angle] which fell the 12th of March, 1557, containing in length sixty-nine feet, in thickness nine feet and in height with the battlement eighteen feet, through which breach men may easily pass and repass. The castle gates are in decay and needful to be made new."¹⁷¹ Owing to this report, the keep and walls were thoroughly overhauled and repaired. Queen Elizabeth further ordered that new barracks should be erected, between the keep and the palace, with a chapel for the garrison at the eastern end.

1564, 11th July. Mr. Lamplugh sends to Sir William Cecil his bill for the above works.¹⁷²

1568. Lord Scrope ordered the fortifications of the castle to be put in a state of complete repair whilst Queen Mary was held captive here.

1568, 16th July. Knollys writes to Cecil as follows :—
"Carlisle is not a safe place for the Queen. The Queen's chamber had a window looking to Scotland, the bars whereof being filed, out of it she might have been let down with plain ground before her

¹⁶⁹ *Notes and Queries*, 4th Series, vi., 467.

¹⁷⁰ *Proceedings*, Socy. Antiq., second series, xxiv., p. 205.

¹⁷¹ Cotton MS., printed by Grose; also Jefferson's *Carlisle*, 100.

¹⁷² Cal. St. Pap., 1547-80, 242.

to Scotland. Near to it we found an old postern door, dammed up with a ramper of earth inside, 20 feet broad and 30 feet deep between two walls. Another window of her chamber looked into an orchard within the town wall whereby so to slip over that wall."¹⁷³

1576, 10th February. "Whereas the Privy Council are given to understand that the alteration of the dungeon tower . . . would not only be very profitable . . . and also commodious for Her Majesty's service, they have given orders to the Marshall of Berwick, Captain Brickwell and Captain Gham, whom their lordships know to be very skilful in matters of fortification . . . to view the said dungeon and to signify unto their lordships how the same is to be altered, to what end, what profit and commodity may follow, and withal to set down an estimate of the charges necessary."¹⁷⁴

1580. "This castell or fortresse doth belonge to her Ma^{ty} standinge 3 miles south of Rowcliffe and about six miles from Scotland, a place moste meete in every respect to be repayred. The charge of w^{ch} reparaçon is esteamed to 300^{li} beside divers of y^e decayes of y^e dungeon tower, w^{ch} cannot be repayed wthout y^e clere takinge downe of a greate p^t of y^e said dungeon, w^{ch} were a very great charge, beinge in no greate danger of any further decay for a longe continuance: and therefore y^e rest to be repayed beside two bulwarks upon y^e north side of y^e said castell, all decayed not greatly needefull."¹⁷⁵

1593. "A place of great respect."¹⁷⁶

¹⁷³ Cal. Scottish Papers, ii., 458.

¹⁷⁴ Acts of Privy Council.

¹⁷⁵ Christopher Dacre's Survey, Cal. St. Pap. Dom. Add., 1580, vol. 27, No. 44, iii.

¹⁷⁶ Alexander King's Survey.

1598. "The lord warden's seat is a place of great strength, standing at present waste."¹⁷⁷

1633, 1st August. "Viewed the castle which needs little repair, but the portcullises and drawbridges must be renewed and the moat scoured out."¹⁷⁸

1639. "I came to Carlisle; round about it very fruitful, corn and pasture in plenty, a place fit to quarter an army in."¹⁷⁹

1640, 4th October. Fortifications ordered to be strengthened.

1644, October. Besieged by Parliamentary forces under Lieut.-General David Leslie. The siege lasted for ten months, when finally the castle surrendered on 25th June, 1645.¹⁸⁰ The Parliamentarians are said to have repaired the castle with stones from the Cathedral.

1648, March. Sir Thomas Glenham and Sir Philip Musgrave took possession of the Castle by surprise and released the moss-troopers.¹⁸¹

1648, 1st October. Surrendered back to Cromwell, who removed the battlements from the keep so as further to adapt the roof to the service of artillery.

1662, 26th May. "Sir Philip Musgrave prays the Secretary of State to remind the King of the present defects of the castle and fortifications, which require immediate repair." On the 29th September following there is a warrant to pay £400 for repairs to the city, castle and garrison.¹⁸²

1684. "The walls about the castle are good; in the Inner Court stands the Castle in which the Governor

¹⁷⁷ Lancelot Carleton's Report, Cal. Border Pap., 1595-1603, 572.

¹⁷⁸ John Spencer's Report, Cal. St. Pap. Dom. Add., 1625-49, p. 457.

¹⁷⁹ Sir Joseph Astley's Report.

¹⁸⁰ Isaac Tullie's Journal, Harleian MS. For a fuller account of this struggle see Appendix iv.

¹⁸¹ Cal. St. Pap., 1648-49, pp. 27 and 133.

¹⁸² Cal. St. Pap., 1661-62, pp. 381, 496 and 499.

lives and is a good Old House, the best Rooms were built by Queen Elizabeth. All the castle is covered with lead; there is a great Tower joyneing to the castle covered with lead, in which all his Maj^{ty} Stores are kept: in this Inner Court are very good platfformes and severall Guns Planted vpon them: in the outward Court which is very large there are att present but two Plattformes, one of three Guns and the other of two: vpon one side of this Court is a stable and Barne in one entire building 72 yards long: there is also another Slight Building about 46 yards long but very narrow. There is likewise a dwelling house for the Gunner with a conveniency to lodge his Ordinary Stores in. Vpon the north are two Hills which are about half a mile distant, which are the onely places that can Annoy the Towne and Castile, all the rest is low grounde."¹⁸³

1745. Garrison surrendered to Prince Charlie on 15th November, and was recovered by the Duke of Cumberland on 30th December. Captain Gilpin, in his evidence at the court martial held on Colonel Durand for surrendering the castle, states that the whole inside facing of the rubble wall, on the right of the main gate, was taken down to be repaired, but it never was repaired. About this time the drawbridge in front of the gatehouse was replaced by a bridge of stone and the Elizabethan barracks were raised another storey.

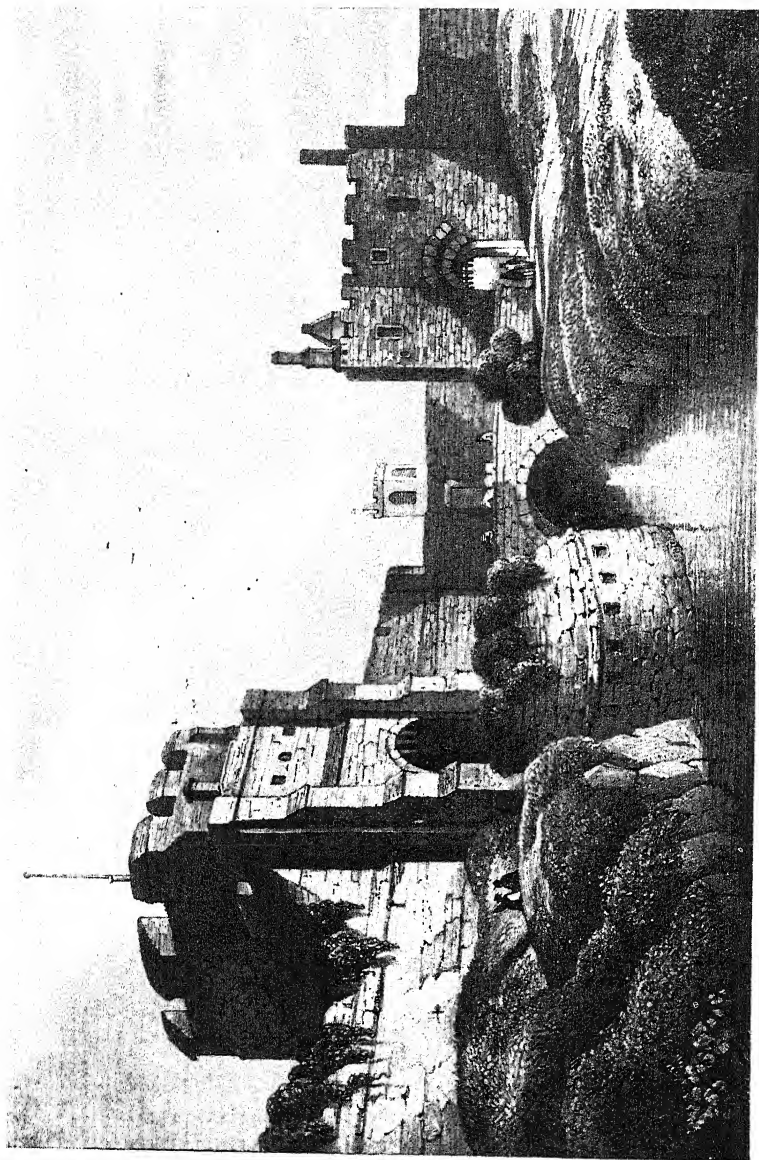
1804. Two large ash trees, planted by Queen Mary and that sheltered the Lady's Walk, were cut down for no apparent reason.

1812. The Elizabethan barracks were demolished.

1827. The great hall was taken down and a magazine built in its place.

¹⁸³ Sir Christopher Musgrave's Survey.





CARLISLE CASTLE: THE INNER GATE AND HALF-MOON BATTERY.

From Nutt's "Carlisle in the Olden Time," by kind permission of Messrs. C. Thurnam & Sons.

1835. In order to save the expense of needful repairs, the remainder of the Edwardian Palace, with Queen Mary's Tower, shared the same fate, and the chapel was converted into officers' quarters. The half-moon battery, moat and bridge, between the two wards, were likewise done away with and the ground levelled over.

NATURAL DEFENCES :—Naturally a strategic point. Rising some sixty feet above the river Eden, it frowns toward Scotland. With the Caldew on the west, the Petterill comes down the eastern flank to reinforce the Eden flowing at its northern foot. On these three sides the slopes are very steep, but toward the south the bluff inclines more gradually toward the city.

ARTIFICIAL EARTHWORK :—First, a broad ditch between the inner and outer wards, 90 yards long from curtain to curtain. Secondly, the main ditch in front of the outer gateway, 240 yards long, 30 yards broad, and some 10 yards deep, which doubtless originally extended until it died out on either side into the Castle Saucerries.¹⁸⁴ Thirdly, with the junction of the castle to the city walls, an open space or glacis was formed, since called the "Castle Orchards." To protect this a third ditch was dug, or a portion of the Roman fosse which passed along this line was cleared out. As was usual, this ditch would be stockaded on the inner bank and crossed by a drawbridge, somewhere in Castle Lane.

AREA :—Nearly a right-angled triangle, the hypotenuse of 256 yards facing the north-east. The southern side is 200 yards and the western side 143 yards in length. The total area is rather less than three

¹⁸⁴ Saucerries, "Salceries or Saliceta, from the willow beds which once grew there, and no doubt helped to augment the defensive capabilities of the site." R. S. Ferguson.

acres. The inner ward, which occupies the eastern angle, covers about one-fifth of the whole. It measures 96 yards to the north-east, 73 yards to the south, and 90 yards to the west. Height above the Ordnance datum, 90 feet.

KEEP :—Rectangular, 66 feet north and south, by 61 feet east and west.

Height :—68 feet, but the parapet has been removed and the summit lowered to make a platform for artillery.

Walls :—At basement level the east wall is 15 feet, the north and west $11\frac{1}{2}$ feet, the south 8 feet thick. At the first floor level the east wall is 13 feet, the north and west 11 feet, and the south 6 feet thick. Mural staircases, garderobes and chambers in west and east walls.

Masonry :—Red sandstone ashlar.

Angle-pilasters :—12 feet wide and 12-inch projection. These have been recased.

Projections :—High stepped plinth. One set-off on each face but at different levels.

Entrance :—Original entrance on the north face and reached by a ladder. The present one, at the north end of the east wall, has a portcullis and is probably the work of Edward I.

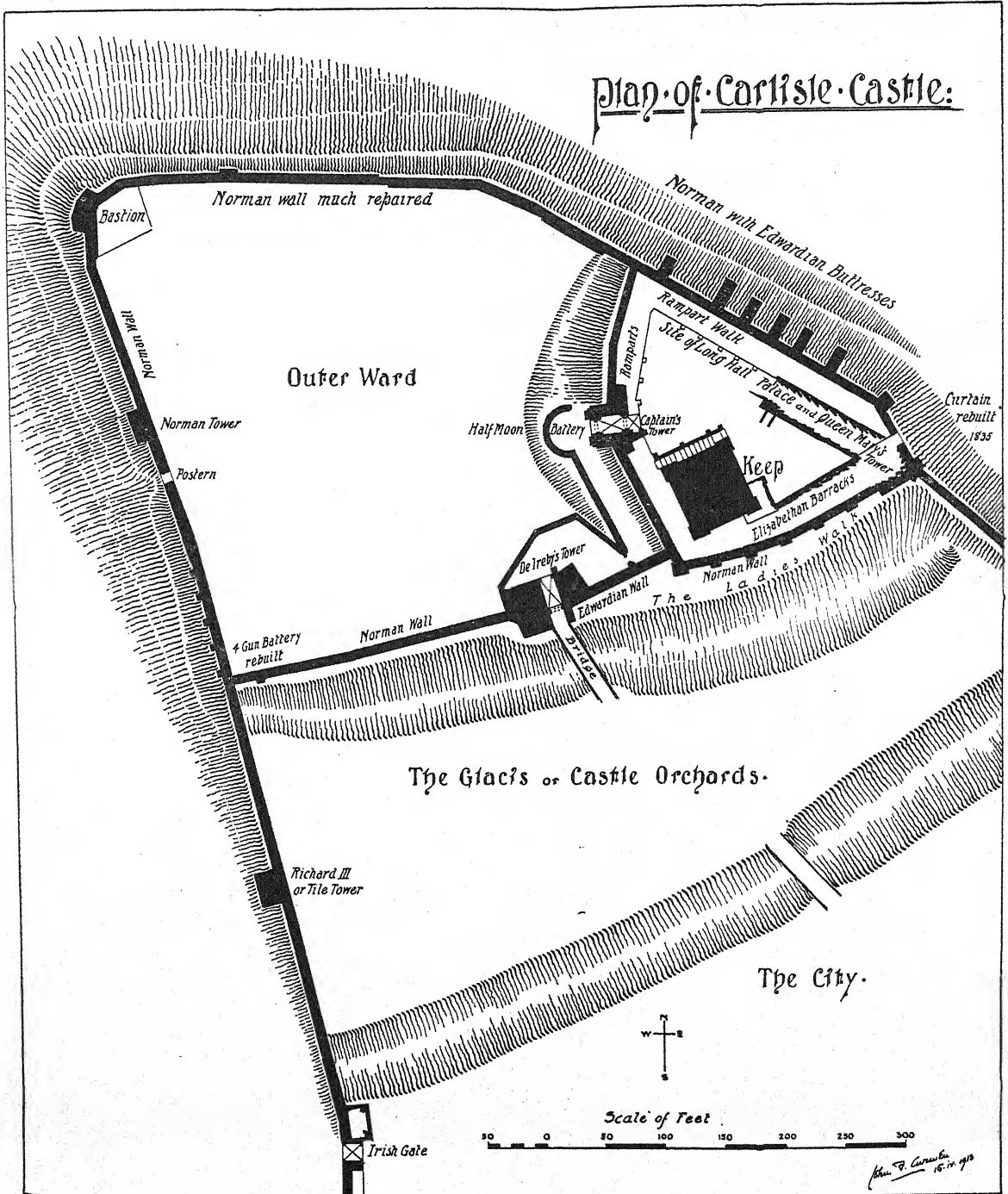
Floors :—Basement subdivided into four vaulted compartments, and three upper floors, each divided by a cross wall laid north and south. But this cross wall may be an addition made by Richard, Duke of Gloucester.

Fireplaces :—Gigantic fireplace in the east room of the first floor, now walled up.

Well :—In north wall, 78 feet deep, and its present cill 92 feet above sea-level.

CURTAIN :—Eastward of the gatehouse, the wall seems Edwardian as far as the cross wall between the

Plan of Carlisle Castle:





outwork, some 18 feet square, consisted of two walls some 15 feet high and 6 feet in thickness, which wards, but along the southern face of the inner ward it is Norman. Near to the eastern corner is a door for the use of lady inmates of the castle who desired to go out upon the Lady's Walk without passing through the wards. The eastern angle has been rebuilt since Queen Mary's Tower was demolished in 1835. Proceeding north-west the old Norman part comes into view and the original entrance into the castle. A piece of the inner archway, with the groove for a portcullis, remains at the east end of the present Mess Room. Further on we find the Norman pilasters rising from a plinth, but partly concealed by the enormous Edwardian buttresses. Beyond, the wall has been much repaired, and it may be that originally it was defended by one or more mural turrets. At the north-west angle is a projecting bastion which drew upon it the Duke of Cumberland's fire, in 1745. Most of the west wall is original. Near its centre is the Norman turret, 28 feet broad by 18 feet deep and some 9 feet projection. It has a stepped plinth about 10 feet high with six sets-off of 2 inches each. On the front face there is a central pilaster dying into the wall at the base of the original parapet level. High up on the north face is a garderobe shoot and lower down a stone water-spout. About ten yards south of this tower was a small postern or sally-port. The south-west angle has been rebuilt. Passing round on to the southern face the Norman work again occurs with the flat pilasters rising from the plinth and dying away at the top. It is thought that much of this wall has been built with Roman cut stones.

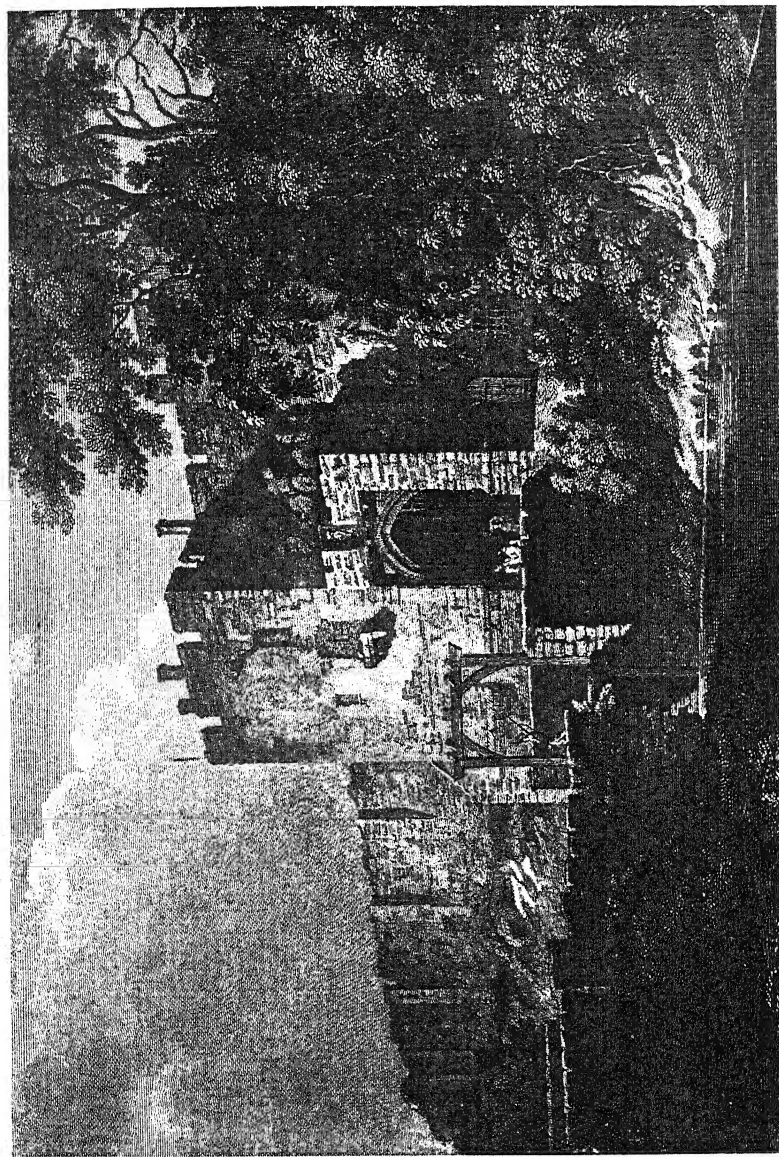
GATEHOUSES :—The great portal was reached by passing through a narrow causeway to the Barbican. This

filled in the hollow of the L-shaped gatehouse. These walls were embattled and the rampart reached by lateral stairs let into the thickness of the masonry. The front wall was arched and the drawbridge, when drawn up, fitted to it so as to serve the purpose of an outermost gate. The gatehouse, named after William de Ireby, was entered through a second gateway, defended by a portcullis, and had a third gateway at the inner end of the vaulted passage. It must be noted that the building to the east of it, set on at an oblique angle, is an addition.

The Captain's Tower, or inner gatehouse, forms a rectangular tower 32 feet square, with a projection from the curtain of 18 feet, and is of two storeys only. It has an inner and outer gate, defended by a portcullis. The drawbridge does not appear to have been opposite but close up beside the southern curtain, where, in after years, a stone bridge was built to replace it. In later days when artillery came into vogue, a small half-moon battery was placed in the ditch immediately in front of the gate, so as to sweep the outer ward.

SEE APPENDICES III. AND IV.

REFERENCES :—*Proceedings*, Socy. Antiq., London, 2nd Series, iv., 439 ; xiii., 83, 84, 98 ; xiv., 42, 43 ; xv., 470 ; xvi., 94 ; *Transactions*, o.s., ii., 56 ; Clark's *Medieval Military Architecture*, i., 350 ; Jefferson's *Carlisle*, pp. 91-121 ; *Carlisle in the Olden Time*, by M. E. Nutter ; and lastly, *A Guide to Carlisle*, by R. S. Ferguson, to which I am greatly indebted.



CARLISLE CASTLE,

Showing the Barbican and William de Irely's Gatehouse as they appeared in 1778.

CARLISLE CITY WALLS AND GATES. C. 23, N.E.

"The fair, red-walled Town of Merry Carlisle."

FOUNDATION HISTORY:—Carlisle was a town of considerable importance and strengthened by a stockade, consisting of three rows of stakes,¹⁸⁵ in the days of the Roman occupation.

875. After the total destruction of the town and the desolation of the district by the Danes in 875, Carlisle was left for near two hundred years without an inhabitant, save "a few Irish" who lodged among the ruins. The very foundations of the city were so buried that it is said large oak trees grew upon them.¹⁸⁶

1092. William Rufus is said to have repaired the walls of the city, and erected the gates.

1120. Henry I. visited the city and ordered it to be fortified with a castle and towers.¹⁸⁷

1130. It is not until we come to the Pipe Rolls for 1130 that we get any definite document referring to the works of fortification, when the walls around the city were in course of construction.¹⁸⁸

1292. On 18th May a great fire burned both city and castle. "Satan caused the son of a certain man to set fire to his father's house outside the town at the west end of the Cathedral church, and this, escaping notice at first, soon spread over the whole town, and what is more, it speedily consumed the neighbouring hamlets to a distance of two miles beyond

¹⁸⁵ *Transactions*, o.s., iii., 134.

¹⁸⁶ Todd's MS.; cf. also Florence of Worcester and Matthew of Westminster.

¹⁸⁷ Symeon of Durham, *Historia Regum*, i., 119.

¹⁸⁸ Pipe Rolls, 31 Henry I., 1130—Roll 14d.

the walls, and afterwards the streets of the city, with the churches and collegiate buildings . . . It burned very many human beings of different ages and both sexes."¹⁸⁹

"'Twas in the jocund month of May
That fair Carlisle in ashes lay.
Ah, wretched city! hard's thy fate,
Swept by the flames from gate to gate.
O stately buildings none, alack!
Remain, except the Friars Black.
Organ and bells and tuneful choir
But serve to mourn this dreadful fire.
May'st thou yet see a brighter morrow,
Christ hear our prayer and ease our sorrow."

Lanercost Chronicle.

1316, November 2nd. "Pardon to the mayor and citizens of Carlisle of £80, which sum is due to the King out of the arrears of the farm of the city, in part satisfaction of their expenses in repairing and strengthening the walls of their city and in making dykes around it and divers engines for its defence against the Scots."¹⁹⁰

1323. The Sheriff of Cumberland was ordered to pay the cost of erecting a pele about the walls of the castle and city until such time as they could be repaired with stone and lime.¹⁹¹

1324, 11th April. Mandate to Anthony de Lucy, to make with all speed the repairs which the King has ordered to be made to the walls of the city of Carlisle.¹⁹²

1380, 9th August. "Appointment of the Prior of Carlisle to do the works for the repair and fortification of the town of Carlisle."¹⁹³

¹⁸⁹ *Lanercost Chronicle.*

¹⁹⁰ Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1313-17, p. 559.

¹⁹¹ Cal. Close Rolls, 1323-7, pp. 47-8.

¹⁹² Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1321-24, p. 406.

¹⁹³ Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1377-81, p. 537.

1385. "The mayor and citizens complained to the Crown that their walls were in part fallen, their fosses were filled up, and their gates could not be shut without much difficulty; they had neither 'pount leve, portcolys, barmecan, bretage, bareres, ne garetts'; their inhabitants were so few that they could not resist the Scottish attacks; and the seigneurs of the county around, who used to repair to the city in war time, had raised castles of their own on account of its weakness."¹⁹⁴

1401. "Appointment of Henry de Percy 'le fitz,' to cause the gates and towers of the town to be repaired."

1428, 8th May. "Grant that the mayor and citizens of the city may have for three years an assignment of £80 a year out of the fee-farm of the city, provided that they expend in the first year, under the survey of John Skipton, lately appointed to be clerk of works, a sum equal to the amount of the said fee-farm for three years upon the repair of the gates and walls of the city. It is stated that these are so ruinous and defective that if any hostile incursion were made, the city would probably be lost."¹⁹⁵

1539. "The Cyte of Cairluel is yn cumpace scant a Myle, and ys walled with a right fayre and stronge Wal *ex lapide quadrato subrufo*. In the wal be iii Gates, Bocher Gate, Caldew Gate and Richard Gate."¹⁹⁶

1542. The walls were entirely overhauled and repaired by the order of Henry VIII.

1549, 11th October. "I lately advertised your Grace [the Duke of Somerset] of the decay of the walls of the city; yesterday 14 yards of the city wall,

¹⁹⁴ Ancient Petition, No. 5950; Cal. Scot. Doc. (Scot. Rec. Pub.), iv., 78.

¹⁹⁵ Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1422-29, p. 538.

¹⁹⁶ Leland, vii., fol. 70.

on the side toward Scotland, by reason that it was built on a spring, did shoot and fall to the ground . . . and divers parts of the wall is like to do the same which cannot be repaired and made up this winter, although the Scots are at the present time mustering their forces for entering England, wherefore I shall be forced to cause that the watch be strongly laid in that place. Humbly beseeching your Grace etc."¹⁹⁷ But his Grace had been just committed to the Tower, so that Archbishop Cranmer answered by sending a reinforcement of 800 Germans to aid in the defence.

1564, 11th July. Mr. Lamplugh sends to Sir William Cecil his bill for the reparations of the town walls, they being in great decay.¹⁹⁸

1633, 1st August. "The wall round the town is good, and, for the most part, a yard and a half thick."¹⁹⁹

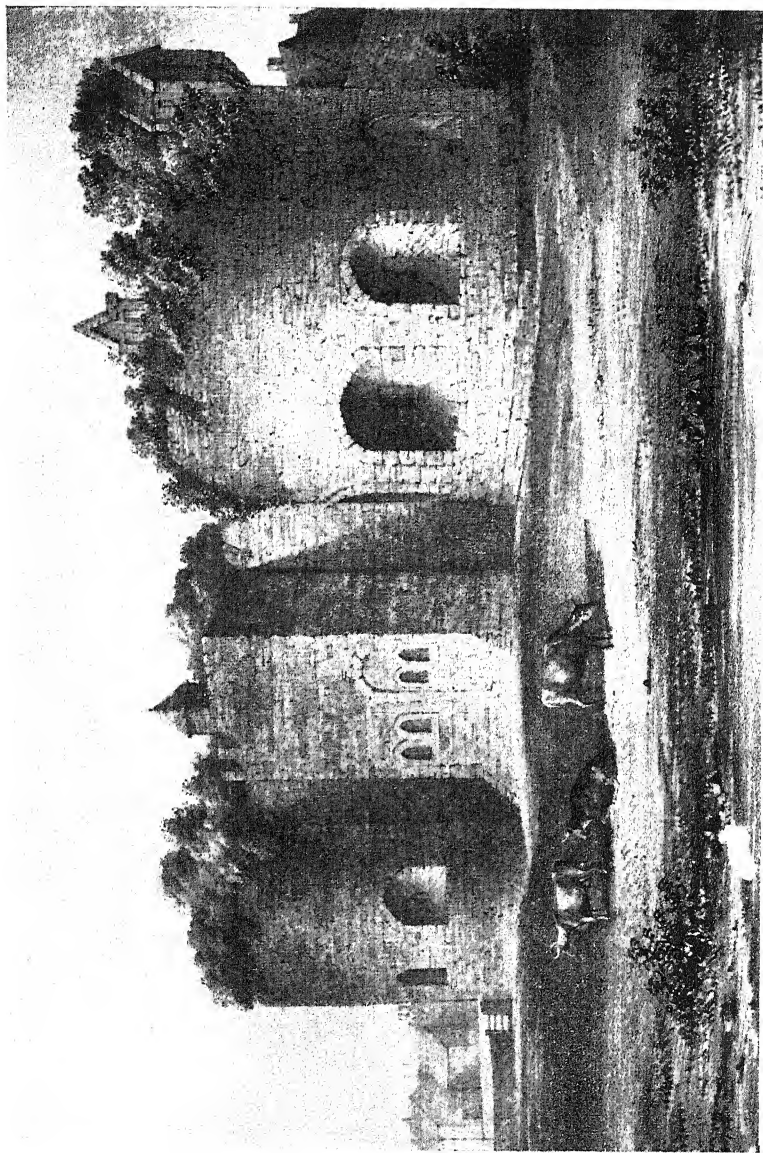
1639. "The town is greatly impoverished and the walls thereof much ruined, yet lying convenient to be fortified and made strong, but the charge will be great."

The walls are now almost entirely swept away by the united influence of decay and by the accommodation required by an increasing population. The length of the West Wall, which is the only preserved portion, is about 1000 yards from the Castle to the Citadel; the North Wall, which occupied the site of Tower Street, measured about 670 yards, and the East Wall 460 yards along the site of Lowther Street. Together they formed a triangle and were entirely surrounded by a dyke and ditch. In addition to the Castle, Citadel and gate-towers, the walls were defended by eight or more turrets differing in form and size. One of these, known as the "Springold

¹⁹⁷ William Dacre's report.

¹⁹⁸ Cal. St. Pap. Dom., 1547-80, p. 242.

¹⁹⁹ John Spencer's report, Cal. St. Pap. Dom. Add., 1625-49, p. 456.



CARLISLE CITADEL.

From Nutter's "Carlisle in the Olden Time," by kind permission of Messrs. C. Thurnam & Sons.

Tower," and described as being the "chief and principal place and defence of two parts of the city and helping to the castle," appears to have been semicircular in shape and situated at the north-eastern angle of the city, where the Tower and Lowther Streets now conjoin. Another, known as the "Tile Tower," 26 by 20 feet, is at the northern end of the West Wall, overlooking the precipitous bank rising up from the river Caldew. It was built by the Duke of Gloucester between the years 1470 and 1483, upon the plinth of what may have been Bishop Halton's tower, which he is known to have erected in 1306. The old thin bricks or tiles can well be seen on the north and south faces. The western wall was refaced about 1840, when the narrow windows were obliterated and its embattled parapet turned into a plain wall. The interior consists of two floors, both having vaulted brick roofs. "The ornamental moulding of the brick fireplace and recesses is very rare in the north, and the place seems to have had about it an air of luxury for its time."²⁰⁰

THE CITADEL.

The Citadel was situated at the south-eastern extremity overlooking and commanding the alluvial flats to the south, just as the castle commanded those to the north. Battered and destroyed by constant warfare, it was entirely rebuilt by order of Henry VIII., who armed it with cannon.

Two immense towers faced to the east by south-east, 170 feet apart. That on the south was quite circular, and that on the north oval, measuring 76 by 64 feet. If M. E. Nutter's view is to be relied upon, it would seem that they had the most unusual feature of having

²⁰⁰ R. S. Ferguson, *A Guide to Carlisle*.

the loop-holes very narrow on the inside and widely splayed out on the outside of the walls. These towers were united by a court-yard enclosed within a strong curtain wall; on the outer face a square turret projected between the towers, whilst in the centre of the back curtain a half-round battery faced up English Street to command the city.

1563. "The great round tower at the [north] east end of the fort, being paved with stone and sand upon the lead roof was thereby so overcharged as that a great part thereof is fallen to the ground, and is very needful to be repaired, for that it is the principal of that fort and standeth upon the most danger of the town. There be two houses within the said fort, called the Buttery and Boulting house, standing within the rampire wall, the roofs and timber whereof are fallen to the ground by means of the like being overcharged with earth. It is needful to have a platform upon the old gatehouse tower, being a requisite place of service. Another platform were needful upon the half round tower towards the town. The only engines of destruction are two murderers²⁰¹ unfurnished. There is glass of a great window in the hall of the said fort utterly decayed by means of a great thunder and hail-stones."

1580. "This fortresse or bulwarke doth belonge to her Ma^{ty} standinge about a quarter of a myle south frō the castle of Carlyle in y^e south [east] ende of y^e same citty p^{ly} decayed, y^e charge of w^{ch} reparaçon as at y^e first y^t hath bene is esteamed to ccxli^{li}, referringe y^e necessytye of repairinge y^e same to y^e consideraçon of her Maj^{ty} and her ho. Councell."²⁰²

²⁰¹ Murderer, a small cannon or mortar. The Survey is quoted in Jefferson's *Carlisle*, p. 101.

²⁰² Christopher Dacre's Survey, Cal. St. Pap. Dom. Add., 1580, vol. 27, No. 44, iii.

1593. Alexander King reports:—"A fortress for defence of Carlisle, $\frac{1}{4}$ mile south from the castle."
1600. "The Citadel to be left for use as a gaol, the charge for repairing the same £1,100."²⁰³
1611. "We have surveyed the Citadel of Carlisle, £220 would be needed for repairs to fit it for use as the common gaol. The timber of the roof is much decayed and so is the lead."²⁰⁴
- 1633, 1st August. "Viewed the citadel, the walls of which are in good repair, but the timber of the roof is much decayed and so is the lead."²⁰⁵
1684. "Neare to the south-east gate of the City is a small cittadell, in which was a house wherein the Sheriffs entertained the Judges, but was destroyed by the Scots in the late Rebellion: nothing is now standing but the walls and two Plattformes both looking into the Country. Vpon one of which Five Guns are planted, and Fower vpon the other. That part of the Cittadell which Commands the Towne hath noe Plattformes."²⁰⁶
- 1804 The present highway between the Towers was formed by demolishing the curtain walls enclosing the central yard, together with the bastion overlooking the town.
1807. By an Act of Parliament, the Citadel was granted to the Justices of the Peace.
1810. The southern tower was pulled down to the ground and entirely rebuilt. By the addition of other buildings the present imposing group was formed under the superintendence of R. Smirke, junior, R.A.
- See Appendix V.

²⁰³ Cecil's Memorandum, Cal. St. Pap. Dom., 1598-1601, p. 518.

²⁰⁴ Joseph Pennington's Survey, Cal. St. Pap. Dom., 1611-18, p. 20.

²⁰⁵ John Spencer's report, Cal. St. Pap. Dom. Add., 1625-49, 457.

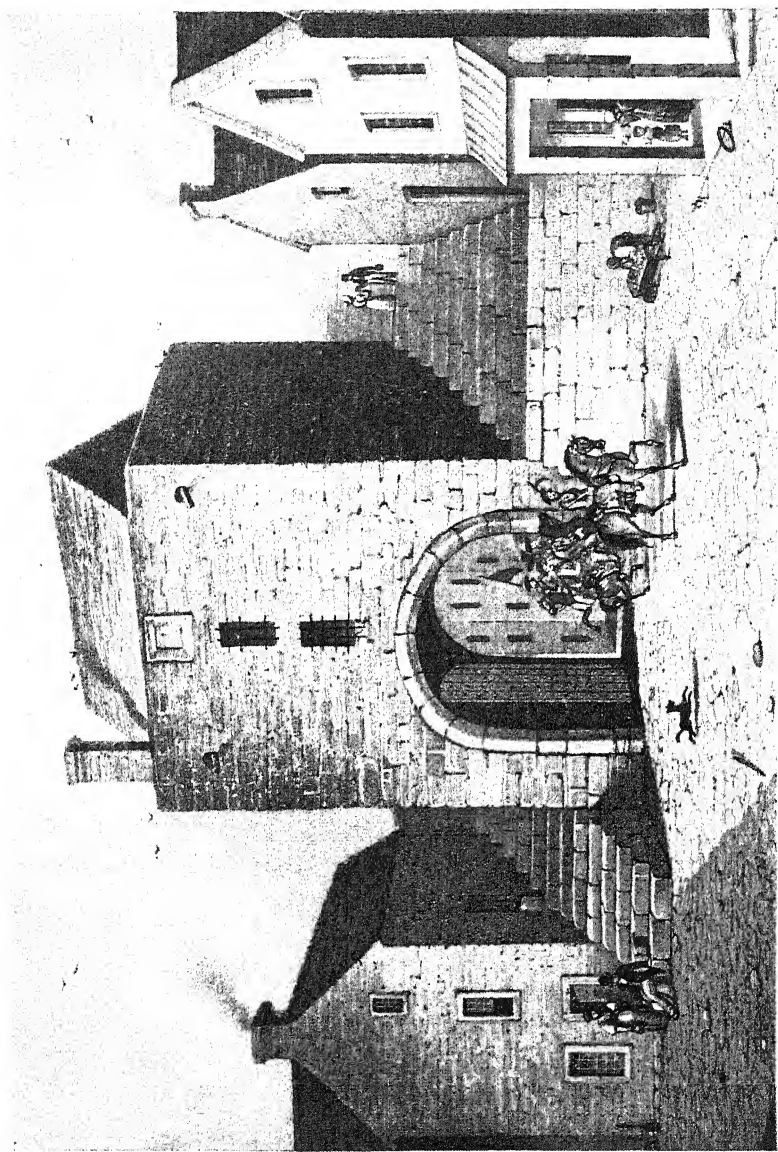
²⁰⁶ Sir Christopher Musgrave's Survey, *Transactions*, o.s., xiii., p. 177.

THE ENGLISH GATE.

Just around the southern tower of the Citadel, on the West Walls, once stood the English Gate, and the way passing from it traversed the site of the present gaol, at right angles to English Street. It was protected by a barbican, or outwork, with embrasured parapets and loopholes commanding every approach, and entered from without the city by a drawbridge spanning the ditch. The two-leaved iron-studded doors were of great strength, which, till the end of the eighteenth century, were closed for the night at sunset; guards were mounted and all the parade of military discipline maintained. Beside the gate was a guard-house, erected during the Civil Wars, and, it is said, from the materials obtained by pulling down the west end of the Cathedral. The gate was demolished in 1804.

THE SCOTCH GATE.

This was a square tower of three storeys, built of cathedral masonry without any plinth or string course. Well within the parapet was a pitched roof with its axis east and west, leaving ample space for the guard to perambulate the top. On either side of the gate there were steep steps leading up to the rampart walk along the city walls. M. E. Nutter's sketch in *Carlisle in the Olden Times* shows no passage way through the first floor of the tower giving a continuous walk along the rampart from one side to the other, but this may be an omission. The Survey of 1563 mentions that the gate being of wood is in such a state of decay as to render it necessary that it be repaired "with celerity." In latter days, the city debtors were confined for some time in the upper rooms.



THE SCOTCH GATE.

From Nutter's "Carlisle in the Olden Time," by kind permission of Messrs. C. Thurnam & Sons.



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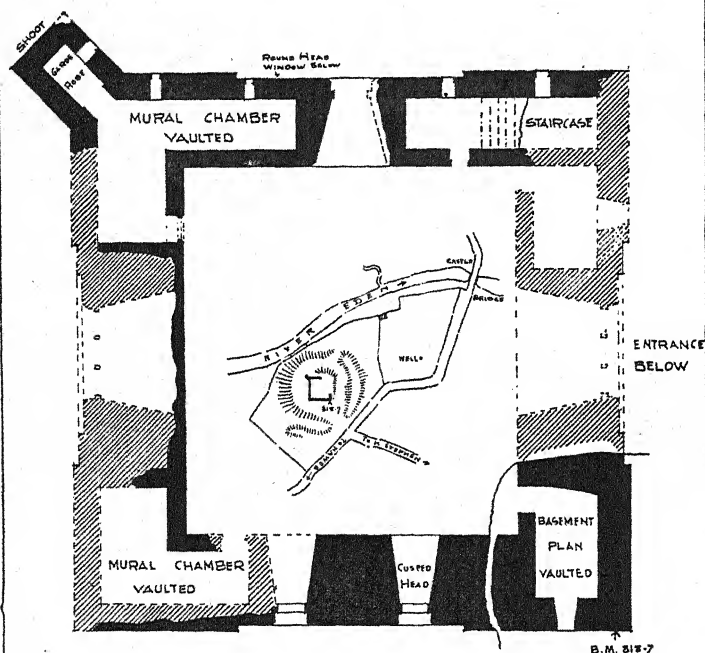
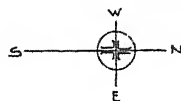
THE IRISH GATE.

This gate, from all appearance, was of a more ornate style than the latter; the circular-headed inner archway being ornamented with bold rolls. On the south side a flight of steps led up to an entrance doorway on the first-floor level, and no doubt the passage continued through on to the northern wall. The gate-keeper's house, with its steep pent roof, abutted on to the northern side of the tower.

REFERENCES :—Jefferson's *Carlisle*; for a plan of the City Walls, see *Transactions*, O.S., xiii., 172; and for views of the English and Irish gateways, see *Carlisle in the Olden Time*, by M. E. Nutter.

PENDRAGON CASTLE

PLAN OF SOLAR



10 5 0 10 20 30 40 FEET

SCALE OF FEET.

PENDRAGON CASTLE. W. 30, S.E.

EARLY FORTIFICATION :—Bishop Gibson in his first edition of Camden [1695] says, " This castle is washt on the east by the river Eden ; and on the other sides there are great trenches, as if the first builders had intended to draw the water round it. But the attempt prov'd ineffectual, from whence they have an old ryhme hereabouts,

'Let Uter Pendragon do what he he can,
The river Eden will run where it ran.'"

FOUNDATION HISTORY :—C. 1180. Sir Hugh de Morville is said to have erected a fortress here so as to close the Mallerstang valley.

c. 1300. Enlarged and strengthened by Robert de Clifford, Lord Warden of the Western March, who was killed at Bannockburn in 1314. Roger, his son, then being but 15 years of age, the custody of the castle was committed by Edw. II. to Guy de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick.

1314. On the death of Robert de Clifford the jurors found that " there is a castle of stone in Mallerstang, called Pendragon, held by Andrew de Harcla by payment of a yearly rent of sixpence."

1327. On the death of Roger de Clifford, the jurors found that he died possessed of this castle, together with the Forest of Mallerstang, and that the buildings in the castle " could not be extended for that the costs of maintaining the same exceeded the profits thereof."

1333. Idonea, the younger co-heiress, entertained King Balliol here, when the castle seems to have reached the zenith of its magnificence. " Pendragon was Idonea's chief and beloved habitation. Here, in the year 1333, she entertained Baliol, King of Scots, who had come down into Westmorland to

pay her a friendly visit, and here also she died in the following year aged seventy-three."²⁰⁷

1341. Burnt by a party of Scots, who, being discontented, were anxious to dethrone their sovereign and annoy his friends.

c. 1360-70. Rebuilt by Roger de Clifford.

1539. "The Castell of Pendragon is not far distaunt from the very Hed of Swale. Ther standithe yet muche of this Castell."²⁰⁸

1541. Burnt again by the Scots, when for a period of 119 years it remained a desolate ruin.

1610. "Pendragon Castle, to which age has left nothing but the name and a heap of great stones."²⁰⁹

1660. Rebuilt by the Countess of Pembroke, who, in her diary, first tells how that she had formed the design of restoring the castle when a girl of twenty-six years of age, as a library for a Mr. Christopher Wolridge. "And in June this year [1660] by my directions was also my old decayed castle of Pendragon in Mallerstang begun to be repaired which had lain waste, as appeared by many records in Skipton Castle before the late Civil Wars, ever since the 15th of Edw. III., when the Scotts did then burn down the Timber of it and demolish it with their often inroads and incursions into England, there being in his time sharp and bitter warrs betwixt the two nations and it was so well repaired by me that on the 14 of October the year following I lay there for three nights together which none of my Ancestors had done since, Idonea de Vipont lay in it and died the eight of Edward the third."

Over the entrance she erected an inscription, which, after reciting all her titles, and they were many, and duly setting forth this restoration, she concludes by a reference to Isaiah lviii., 12:—"And they that

²⁰⁷ Countess of Pembroke's Diary.

²⁰⁸ Leland, vol. viii., fol. 69b.

²⁰⁹ Camden, Bp. Gibson's first edition, 806.

shall be of thee shall build the old waste places :
thou shalt raise up the foundations of many
generations ; and thou shalt be called, The repairer
of the breach, The restorer of paths to dwell in.”²¹⁰

1662. The curtain wall was erected by the Countess,
and other outbuildings. “ Did I cause a wall of
lime and stone to be built round about that piece
of ground which I had taken in about the castle,
ninety roods in compass, with two gates to let in
horses and coaches and within the said wall I caused
to be built a stable, coach-house, brew-house, bake-
house, wash-house and a little chamber over the
gate that is arched.”

1663-1674. Frequently occupied by the Countess, as
is shewn by the following entries in her diary :—
“ And this was the first time I ever kept Christmas
[1663] in it, or any of my ancestors before me for
300 years before and more. On the 27th of January
did I go out of Pendragon Castle in my coach drawn
with six horses and most of the family with me on
Horseback into Appleby Castle.” She again returned
here in April, 1666, for four months, and “ the 29th
July 1667 did I remove with my family to my castle
of Pendragon from Skipton. I ridd all the way in
my horse litter and my chief women in my coach.”
“ And on the 17th November this year, 1671, did
I remove with my family and came safe and well,
I thank God, into my castle of Pendragon, having
been accompanied in the way by several of the
gentry of this county and of my neighbours and
tenants, both of Appleby and K. Stephen and
Mallerstang, and my two Gentlewomen and women
servants ridd in my coach drawn with six horses

²¹⁰ Countess of Pembroke's Diary. Surely no person ever merited the application so strongly, for the Countess restored five other of the castles of her ancestors, viz., Brough, Brougham, Appleby, Barden Tower, and Skipton.

and my menservants on horseback and I in my litter, and after the company had taken their leaves of me here I came up into my own chamber."

c. 1685. Dismantled by the Earl of Thanet.

1739. Messrs. Buck's view shows the parapet walls and windows into the guard-turrets on the roof as still existing.

1773. Thomas Pennant's view shows the upper part of these walls to have fallen. Subsequently all quoin and other dressed stones have been removed for building purposes elsewhere, and, with their loss, the angles have fallen away.

NATURAL DEFENCES:—A knoll situated upon the eastern bank of the river Eden.

ARTIFICIAL EARTHWORKS:—The knoll appears to have been artificially raised and steeply scarped on all sides. The northern or more defenceless side is further strengthened with a deep ditch.

AREA:—About $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres. Altitude:—819 feet above the Ordnance datum.

KEEP:—64 feet square.

Walls:—12 feet in thickness on the north and south sides, and 10 feet thick on the east and west sides. There is a mural straight staircase in the north-west angle. In the south-west and south-east angles are mural chambers, 6 feet wide. "I lay for six nights in the chamber *within* the great chamber."²¹¹

Masonry:—Large blocks of limestone rubble.

Angle pilasters:—19 to 20 feet wide and 12-inch projection.

Projections:—The walls of the upper floor project out on a bull-nosed string as far as the face of the plasters.

Entrance:—On the north side into the basement.

Floors:—Vaulted basement and two floors above.

REFERENCES:—Pennant's *Tour from Downing to Alston-Moor*, p. 131.

²¹¹ Countess of Pembroke's Diary for 1662.

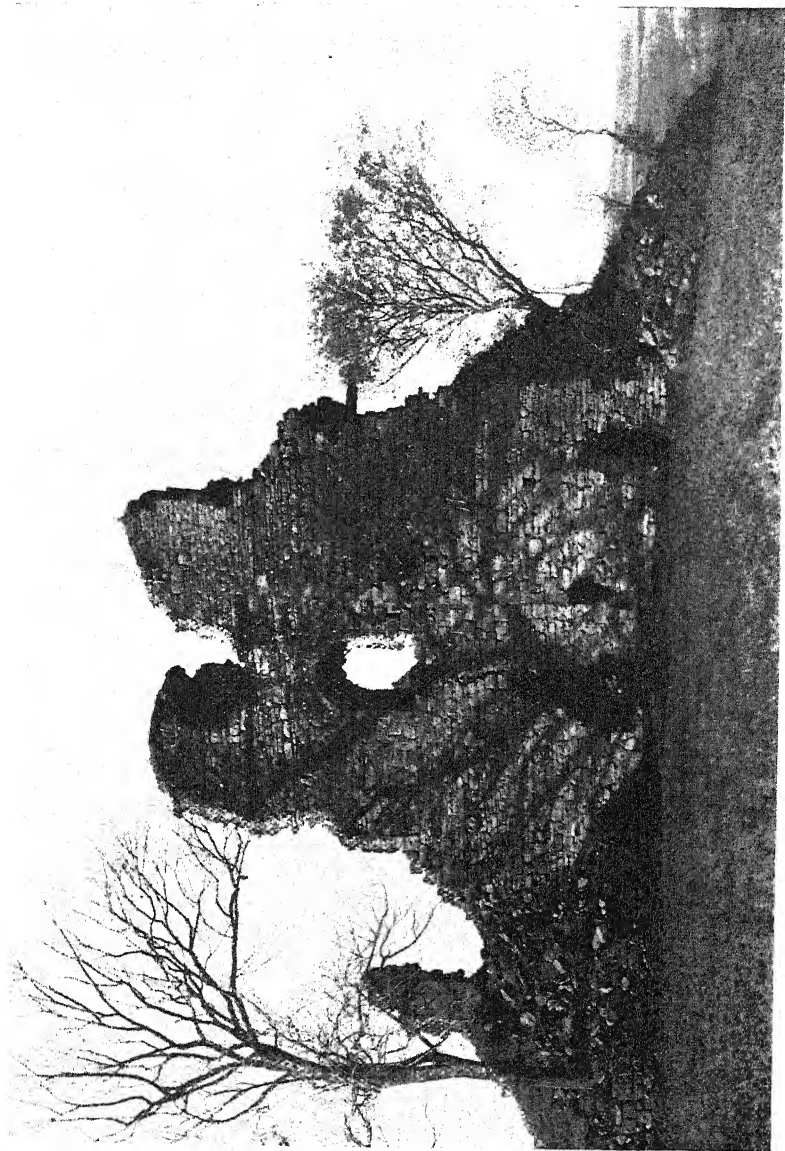


Photo. by H. Bell.

PENDRAGON CASTLE.

TO FACE P. 124.



IX.

KEEPLESS CASTLES.

DURING the reigns of the first Plantagenets, or during the time known in architecture as the Norman Transitional Period, the Juliet, or small round tower, came into vogue. The rectangular keep offered too limited an accommodation for the fast growing bands of retainers and dependents, so that separate residential buildings were required, and a mere citadel, raised upon the ancient motte, took its place. As to the name Juliet, Grose²¹² says that it comes "from a vulgar opinion, that large round towers were built by Julius Cæsar." The antiquary Agard, in his notes dated 9th February, 1598,²¹³ says, "Holdes or bates resemble moostly the firste foundation of the capitoll of Rome, as I have seen it descrybed, namely, that the chief tower thereof was but a circular building, and a court trenched about with an hye dytche and some smale walle thereupon. In many places of this realme where those olde rounde towers weere seytuated in castles, theyre weere mounted higher than the reste of the castle . . . Such high towers weere called, yea and yet are . . . in some countreys the Julliet. The country people being asked what they mean by Julliet, will aunswere Julius Cæsar's Tower." The Countess of Pembroke always referred to the towers in her castles, whether they were rectangular or circular, as Roman Towers.

We have only the two examples of Cockermouth and Egremont in our district, but they appear to follow the regular plan of Juliet construction. A vaulted basement for the ample store of provisions in case of a siege ; one or

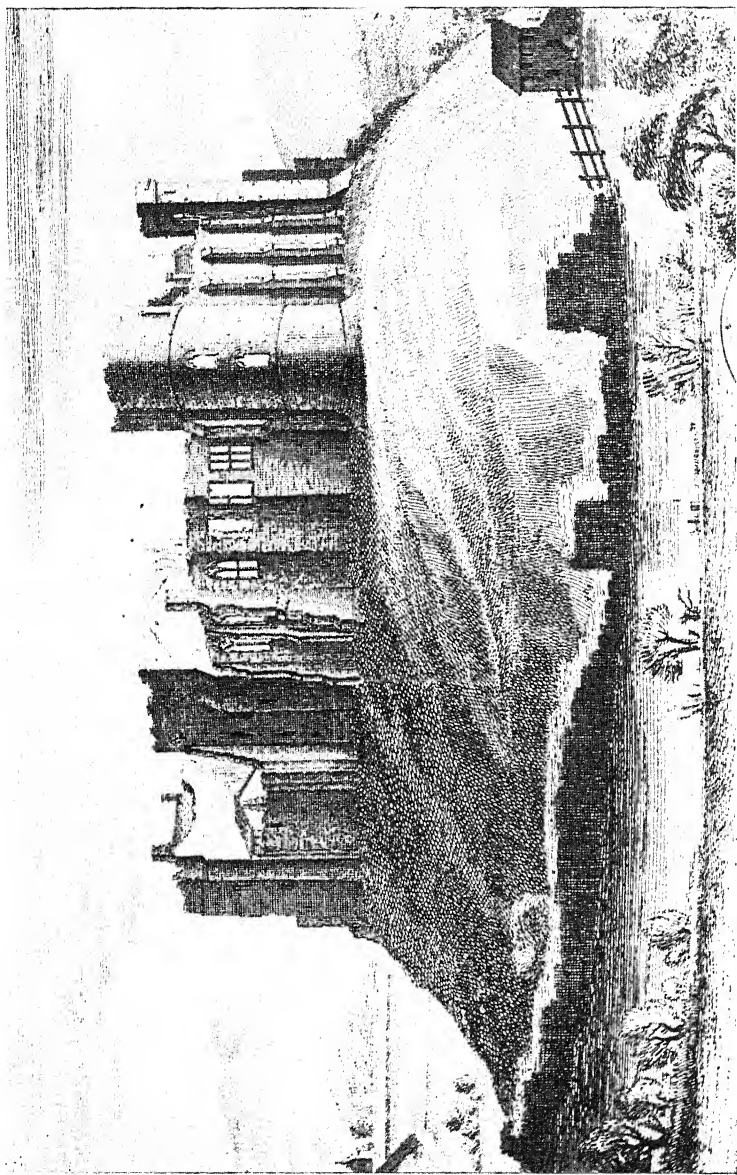
²¹² *Antiq.*, 4to., 1773, i., p. 7.

²¹³ Published in Thomas Hearne's *Collection of Curious Discourses written by eminent Antiquaries*, 8vo., 1775, i., 187.

two storeys above, reached by curved flights of stairs in the thickness of the wall ; and a domed roof which sprang from a ring wall, about three feet within the battlements so as to leave a rampart walk. The entrance was generally on the first floor above the basement, and gained either from the ramparts, or ascended by means of a draw-bridge let down upon the head of some detached steps. The residential buildings and gateway were placed on the site of the intervening ditch, so as to utilize its depth for cellars, and the ward thus enclosed by buildings became an integral part of the castle. Of course such a rearrangement necessitated another ditch, dug on the outside of these new buildings, as Umfraville's ditch at Cockermouth, and the enclosing of an outer ward for the protection of the barracks, stables, barns, and store-houses. The fireplaces, which in Norman keeps were but recesses in the wall, often with a mere lateral orifice for a smoke-vent, are now adorned with elegant hoods of excellent masonry, whilst the flue is taken up through a long shaft to a smoke-lanthorn on the battlements.

Castles in which there was neither keep nor Juliet are known as Enceinte Castles, and these consisted merely of a main ward surrounded by a lofty curtain wall flanked with boldly projecting mural towers. Such castles belong for the most part to the later years of Henry III., or to the reign of his successor. Where the nature of the ground allowed, the castle took the form of a rectangle, such as at Bewcastle and Kirkoswald, but where the castle was placed on the top of a hill, we find the curtain more or less following the contour of the ground, as at Kendal. The hall, with its subordinate rooms, abutted upon the curtain on the least exposed side. It was nearly always raised upon cellars and covered with a timber roof of low pitch. The kitchen was placed conveniently near the lower end of the hall, whilst other buildings were ranged around the remaining sides of the enclosure.





COCKERMOUTH CASTLE FROM THE NORTH-WEST: S. BUCK'S VIEW, 1739.

TO FACE P. 127.

COCKERMOUTH CASTLE. C. 54, N.E.

EARLY FORTIFICATIONS :—There is no evidence that either the Briton, Roman or Teuton availed themselves of this site.

FOUNDATION HISTORY :—Early timber fortress of William de Fortibus II., and there is every reason to suppose that, like Egremont Castle, it was of the motte and bailey type. As we have seen, such was the normal early Norman fortress, and here we find the inner bailey, at the present time, raised some six or seven feet higher than the level of the outer bailey and situated on the extreme promontory, as was the customary position of the motte.

1221. Henry III. commanded the Sheriff of Westmorland that “ without any delay he should summon the earls, barons, knights and freeholders of his bailliwick and that they should hasten to Cockermouth and besiege the castle there and when they had taken the same should destroy it to its very foundations.”²¹⁴

1241, 18th September. “ Mandate to Henry de Neketon, Escheator beyond Trent, the King having taken the homage of William, son of William de Fortibus, to deliver to him the castles of Cockermue, Skipton in Cravene and Skipse in Holdernes.”²¹⁵

The second castle was built by this William de Fortibus III. A spherical triangle of about 42 yards each way, with the Juliet at the western angle and two bastion towers at the other angles: the root of the promontory cut by a deep ditch. Of this fortress there still remains the basement of the Juliet, some 14 feet high of the southern curtain, the lower

²¹⁴ Close Rolls, i., 474b.

²¹⁵ Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1232-47, p. 258; Roll of Fines, Henry III., p. 353.

portion of the northern curtain and one door jamb of the gateway. An outer bailey existed surrounded by a palisade.

1293. His widow died in 1293, and having no issue her vast estates were held to have escheated to the Crown. For thirty years the castle was granted to various sub-feudatories.

1303, 20th January. Confirmation of grant to John de Kirkeby, King's clerk, of the castle and honour of Cockermouth.²¹⁶ He complains of bad dilapidation, whereupon

1303, 19th September, the King orders John de Kirkeby, fermor of the castle, to cause the King's houses within the castle, the weirs of his fisheries, the paling round his park, and his mills to be repaired.²¹⁷

1303, October. The King orders a commission to survey the castle, houses, parks and woods, and to enquire by jury what state it was in when Kirkeby received it, and what waste and destruction was done while it was in the hands of John de Sancto Johanne.²¹⁸

1307, 19th December. An order was issued to the Constable that he should "safely and securely keep and defend the castle of Cockermouth, so that no damage or danger happen to the same, for the greater security and tranquillity of his people."²¹⁹

1311, 20th July. "Mandate to Robert de Leybourne, Constable and Keeper of the honour of the castle, to cause all defects in the castle and peel of the bailey to be made good from year to year by view and testimony of two good and lawful men."²²⁰

²¹⁶ Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1301-7, 110.

²¹⁷ Close Rolls, 1302-7, 55.

²¹⁸ Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1301-7, 160.

²¹⁹ Close Rolls, 1307-13, 50.

²²⁰ Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1307-13, p. 377; 1313-17, p. 177.

1316, 16th November. "Mandate to Robert de Leybourne to cause the following defects in the castle to be repaired, expending thereon the sums of money given below. The little hall, the private kitchen, two bakehouses, and two chambers in the same bailey, £4 13s. 4d. The stone wall between the said bailey and the outer bailey, £20. The great hall and kitchen serving the outer bailey, £11 13s. 4d. The chapel there, 10s. The stone walls of the prison, 66s. 8d. The new peel, 40s."²²¹

1317. The gatehouse was repaired.

1321, 26th May. Appointment of Andrew de Harcla, constable, and Robert de Barton, his lieutenant, to view and report on all defects, and to attend to the supervision of the repairs. Further the King ordered the abbot of St. Mary's at York, collector of the tenth imposed upon the clergy by the Pope for the King's use, to pay him 100 marks out of the tenth for the repair of the aforesaid defects.²²²

1343-1365. Thomas de Lucy erected the great hall in lieu of the earlier one; rebuilt the western tower on the base of the Juliet; and strengthened the outer bailey. Foundations of a circular bastion tower in rude masonry, have been discovered just within the S.E. corner of the present outer bailey, which appear to belong to this period.

1368-1381. Gilbert de Umfraville raised cellars over the "de Fortibus" ditch and excavated a new ditch without. He also made considerable progress with the erection of the kitchen tower.

1387. Besieged by the Earls of Douglas and Fife, when they captured the town.

1387-1408. Henry, Lord Percy, completed Umfraville's wing and rebuilt the outer bailey. He also rebuilt

²²¹ Close Rolls, 1313-18, p. 374.

²²² Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1317-21, p. 608; Close Rolls, 1318-23, pp. 305, 393.

the great entrance portal and flag tower at the N.E. and S.E. corners respectively.

1477. The roof over the kitchen tower was repaired with 900 shingles, at 3/- the 100.²²³

1539. "The Towne of Cockermuth stondeth on the Ryver of Coker, the which thwarteth over the Town, and Coker runneth yn Darwent hard at the Point of the Castel . . . of the Erl of Northumbreland."²²⁴

1570. Edmund Hall and William Homberston, the royal commissioners for enquiring into the castles of those compromised in the "Rising of the North," surveyed and reported.²²⁵

1577. "There is a castle in Cockermouth situate between the waters of Derwent and Cocker, with a trench or dry ditch about the same, with two barns and other buildings. . . . The said castle is now in great decay, as well in the stone work as timber work thereof. The said castle is covered with lead."

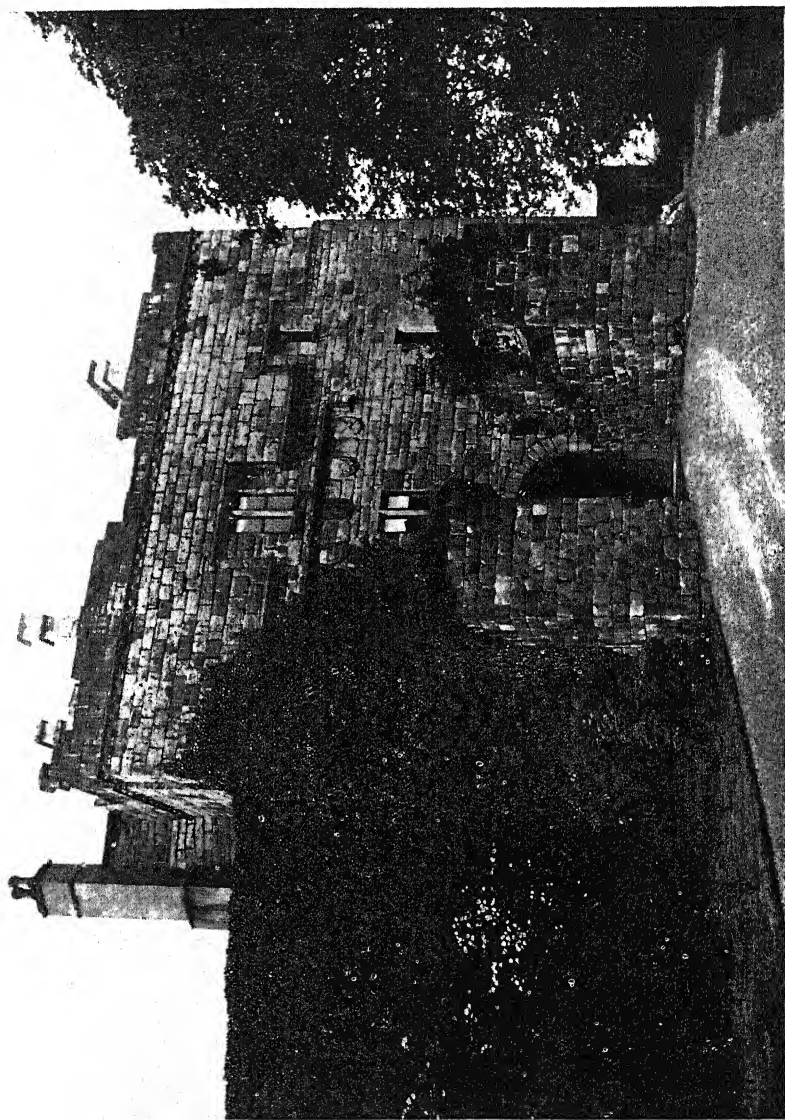
1580. "This house or castel doth belonge to y^e Earle of Northumberland, standinge x miles south-west from Woulstre castle and fyve miles from y^e Sea crick w^{ch} diuideth y^e Englishe and Scotische borders, ouer the w^{ch} Sea crick in y^t place is about 4 houres botinge ouer into Scotland; p^{ty} decayed and for divers good consideraçons thought meete to be repayred, the charge of w^{ch} reparaçons wth helpe of such tymber as is there ready at this present, and other the woods there belonginge to the Lord and owner of the same is Esteamed to two hundred pounds."²²⁶

²²³ Castle Muniment Roll, 29/7.

²²⁴ Leland, vii., fol. 70, 72.

²²⁵ See Survey in Pub. Rec. Office, vol. i.

²²⁶ Christopher Dacre's Survey. Cal. St. Pap. Dom. Add., 1580, vol. 27, No 44ⁱⁱⁱ.



COCKERMOUTH CASTLE: THE GATEHOUSE.

1605. "The castle itself is for the most part ruinous. My wife's son dwells in the gatehouse by my direction."²²⁷

1645, 2nd September. "I hear the Scots intend to put a garrison in my house at Cockermouth, which will be so great a prejudice to me that I do earnestly entreat . . . that it is a place far remote from the Scotch borders and neither is nor can be made strong." 22nd September. "As to putting a garrison into Cockermouth castle I should very unwillingly admit of any there because the place is neither strong nor useful."²²⁸

1648, August. Besieged by a body of 500 Cumberland royalists. The fortress held out until 29th September, when it was relieved by Lieut.-Col. Ashton. After this the castle was dismantled with the exception of the gatehouse.

1649. The ditch without the Percy wing was filled up.

NATURAL DEFENCES :—A tongue of land which lies between the confluence of the Derwent on the north-west and the Cocker on the south-west, and which rises about 36 feet above the level of their waters. The root or eastern side is unprotected by nature, hence :—

ARTIFICIAL EARTHWORK :—1st, the ditch made by William de Fortibus III. ; 2nd, when this was taken for the erection of de Umfraville's wing, the de Umfraville ditch ; 3rd, Percy's ditch without the outer bailey. All three ditches connected the cliff of the Derwent with the steep bank of the Cocker.

AREA :—Within the walls, 1 acre 34 perches.

KEEP :—Juliet.

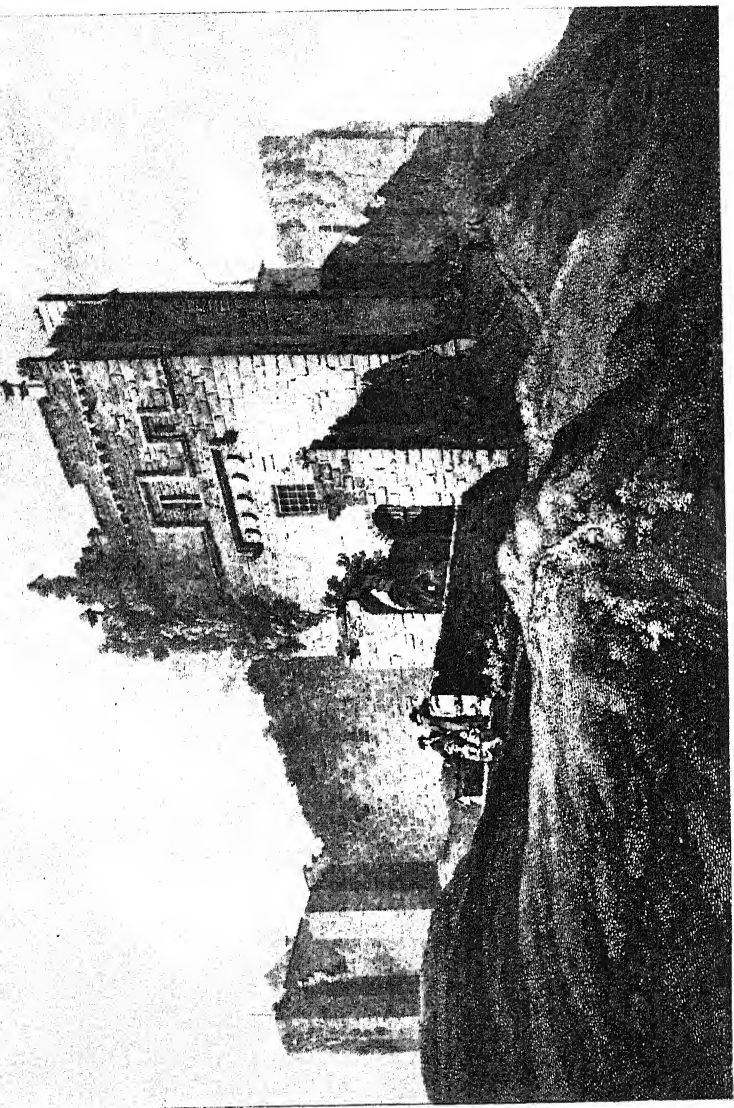
CURTAIN :—Passing westward from the gatehouse along

²²⁷ Sir Wilfred Lawson's report. Muncaster Papers, Hist. MSS. Com., 10th Report, Appendix, Part iv., p. 240.

²²⁸ Earl of Northumberland's Letters. Cal. St. Pap., 1645-47, pp. 105, 150.

the northern wall of the outer ward we find only the lower portion of the Earl Percy [c. 1387] wall standing. The upper portion has been rebuilt since 1739. The lower portion of the north wall to the inner ward is probably original, *i.e.*, of the thirteenth century; the three buttresses are of the fifteenth century, whilst the three large windows are insertions of the Tudor period. The oft-restored Juliet at the western angle has its thirteenth century basement still left, but the upper part dates from c. 1350. Passing round to the southern curtain we notice that the ancient masonry remains to a height of 14 feet, to which another 10 feet or so of ashlar has been added and the external buttresses much raised. The Bell turret at the southern angle of the inner ward is of the early fifteenth century; it measures about 18 by 10 feet and has a slight projection. After passing two large buttresses we come to the Flag tower, projecting $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet, at the south-eastern angle; it is the work of Earl Percy, 1387, and measures 31 feet square and is of three storeys in height. The roof is high pitched with an alure around it, and the southern gable is stepped in Scottish fashion. Passing around to the eastern curtain we find about midway a solid buttress-turret, projecting about 8 feet square from the wall, which seems to have been added for the purpose of carrying a small piece of ordnance; it has a plinth on the front face only.

GATEHOUSES :—The great portal was reached by passing through a narrow causeway to the Barbican. This outwork, which measures 18 feet long, consisted of two flanking walls, some 15 feet high and 7 feet in thickness. They were parapetted, and the rampart walk reached by lateral stairs let into the thickness of the southern wall. The ends of these walls in front were terminated by square piers, which



COCKERMOUTH CASTLE : T. HEARNE'S VIEW, 1778.

Showing causeway leading to the Barbican.

TO FACE P. 133.

supported a cross arch of entrance likewise defended by a parapet, and the drawbridge when drawn up served the purpose of a gate. The gatehouse adjoining forms a tower, 50 by 32 feet, and is of three storeys in height. The lower portion is fourteenth century work, but the upper part was rebuilt in the Perpendicular period. The passage within is vaulted and has rebates for three pairs of gates, one behind the other, the outer one having been protected by a portcullis. Over the entrance are five shields illustrating ownership, viz.:—Umfraville, gules, a cinquefoil pierced surrounded by an orle of six crosses flory, or. Multon, argent, three bars, gules. Lucy, gules, three luces hauriant, argent. Percy, Or, a lion rampant, azure. Neville, gules, a saltire, argent.

The gatehouse to the inner ward has a forebuilding, embattled and defended by a machecoule, whilst the gatehouse itself is provided with two pairs of gates.

SEE APPENDIX VI.

REFERENCES:—*Transactions*, O.S., iv., 109; N.S., xi., 129;
Clarke's *Mediæval Military Architecture*, p. 409.

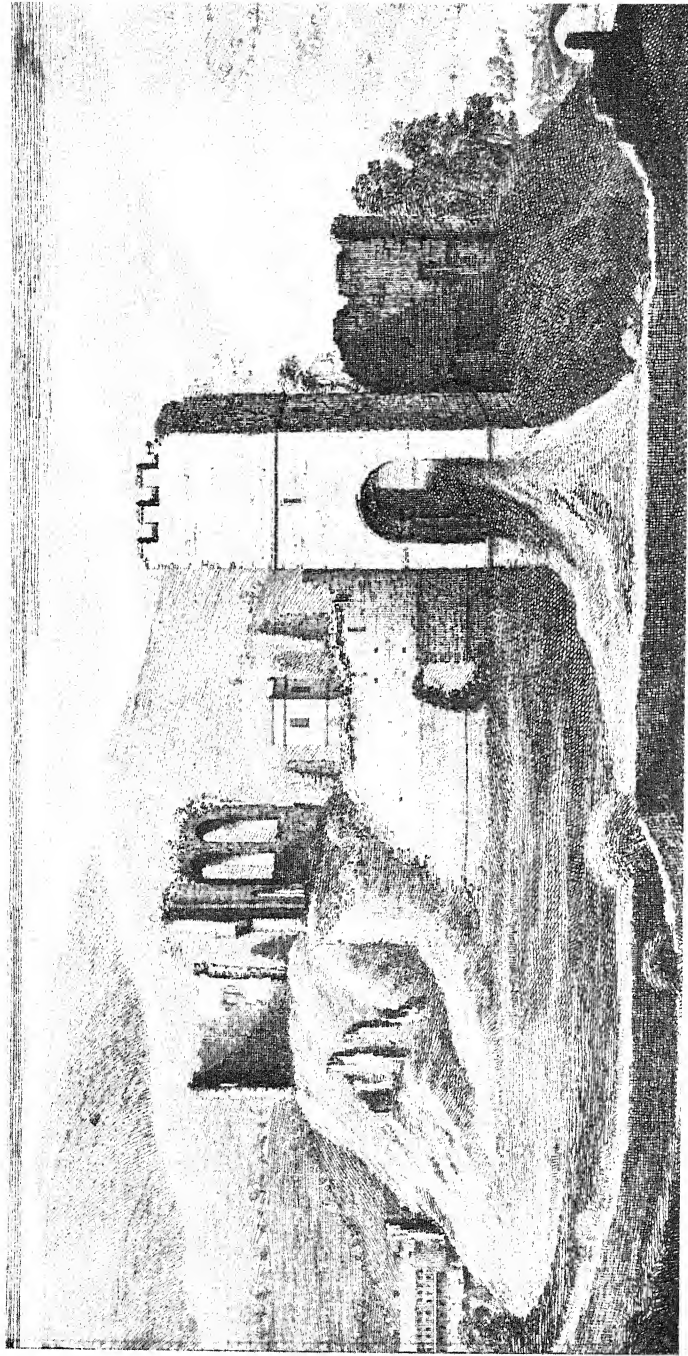
EGREMONT CASTLE. C. 72, N.E.

FOUNDATION HISTORY:—As we have already noted, what became known as the barony of Coupland was in the possession of the Scottish Crown at the beginning of the twelfth century. David I. surrounded his court with the Norman nobility, and whether it was this Scotch King or whether it was Ranulph Meschin II. who granted the district to William Meschin, matters little. The motte and bailey fortress [see page 23] is attributed to this William, who founded the Priory of St. Bees and died in 1134 or earlier. He left an only daughter, Alice, married to Robert de Romili.

1138. Romili must have supported the cause of Stephen, as we find that David I. besieged Egremont, when he was engaged in compelling the northern barons to swear fealty to the Empress Maud. Alice and Robert de Romili left an only daughter, Alice, married to William fitz Duncan, the parents of the "Boy of Egremont."

1160. For a few years the young William fitz William held Egremont and Cockermouth, together with other vast estates, but with his untimely death these possessions were apportioned between his three sisters. Thus Egremont became the portion of Amabil, who married Reginald de Lucy.

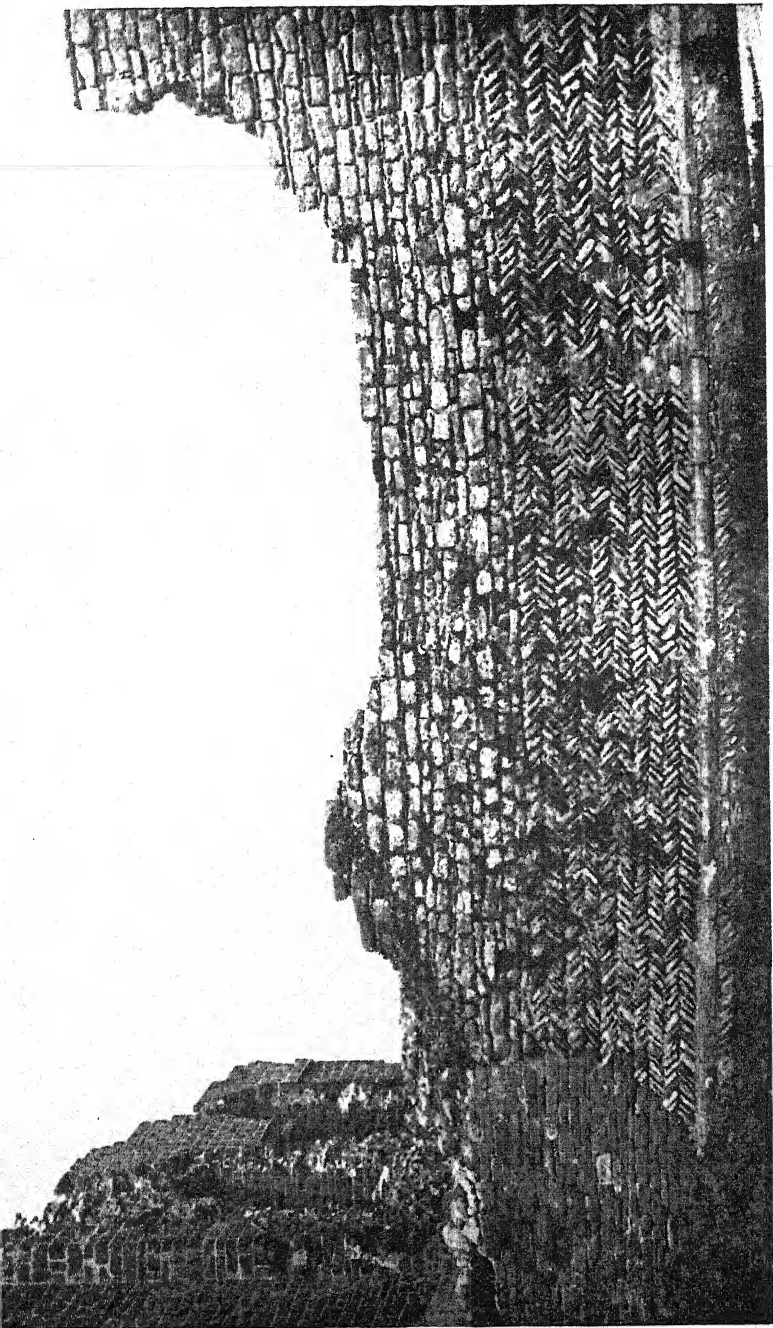
c. 1170. The motte with its timber tower would still form the fortress, but it would seem that about this period it was protected by a stone curtain wall, which not only passed around the foot of the mound but crossed the intervening ditch to enclose the bailey. Such an early wall will account for the



EGREMONT CASTLE,

Showing the motte at the northern end and the fragments of the curtain on the escarpment.

From S. Buck's Print of 1739.



EGREMONT CASTLE: THE CURTAIN WALL,
Showing the herring-bone work.

splendid specimen of "herring-bone" work found in the west wall and the base of the gate-house.²²⁹ Moreover, we may find a reason for its erection in the fact that de Lucy possessed in Egremont one of the five quarries that were best known in England.²³⁰

- c. 1200. There can be little doubt that up to the thirteenth century only wooden buildings existed within the fortress, but that very soon after, the Juliet would be built upon the summit of the motte; and residential buildings at its foot. As at Cocker-mouth, we find these latter buildings, together with the inner gate-house, occupying the site of the intervening ditch.

The ordinances of Richard Lucy decreed that those who held burgage tenure in Egremont should find armed men for the defence of the fortress, hold watch and ward, and be bound to aid in his redemption in case of capture.

1315. The castle was besieged by James Douglas.
- c. 1350. During the fourteenth century the outer gate-house was refaced and the curtain wall considerably raised in height. With the idea of strengthening the base of the wall, it would appear that a chamfered plinth was added at this time, when some of the old herring-bone coursing—possibly broken

²²⁹ Herring-bone masonry consists of courses of thin rubble, bedded diagonally and alternating with thin horizontal courses. It was used by the Romans and copied by the Normans, who came from a country where the continuity of Roman influence was never broken. It was not done for ornament but for tie, with the object of securing the greatest amount of strength in the least possible time. Without doubt this is a late specimen, but we, in the North, are accustomed to find architectural features coming to and lingering with us, long after the general tabulated date of the different architectural styles.

²³⁰ The other quarries were at Corfe, Folkestone, Pevensey, and Reigate. Parts of Windsor Castle, notably the groined roof of the "treasury of St. George's Chapel," were built of Egremont stone, both in the reigns of Henry II. and Edw. III. [Accounts of work at Windsor, 39-40 Edw. III.]. Considering the difficulty and expense of conveying it in these early times, the stone would appear to have been greatly esteemed.

work from the upper part of the wall—was reset into it.

1570. Edmund Hall and William Humberston, the royal commissioners for enquiring into the castles of those compromised in the "Rising of the North," surveyed and reported.²³¹

It would appear that from this period the castle was abandoned and that it gradually fell into ruin.

1578. "The Castle of Egremont is now all most ruined and decayed, save that some part of the old stone work and walls thereof are yet standing and one chamber therein now used for the Court-house in like ruin and decay."

- C. 1770. Hutchinson, in his *Excursion to the Lakes* [1776] mentions that the round tower fell "some few years ago," and yet Messrs. Lysons, in their *Magna Britannia* [1816] represent considerable portions of it as still standing.

NATURAL DEFENCES:—The district is remarkably characterised by the number of natural cops rising on every hand. Of these the castle stands upon the most important. Oval in shape and steeply scarped on all sides, with the river Ehen flowing beneath on the southern side, a small stream on the eastern side, and the motte artificially raised 15 to 17 feet higher at the northern end.

ARTIFICIAL EARTHWORK:—A broad ditch on the western side, 40 feet below the summit of the motte, to isolate the site from the more level land. An outer horseshoe-shaped castle-garth running round the west, north and east sides, steeply scarped.

AREA:—Castle and castle-garth, 2.986 acres. The outer bailey measures 120 feet in length and 63 feet in breadth.

²³¹ Survey in Public Record Office, vol. i.

GATEHOUSES :—The gate to the inner bailey has had a portcullis, and there are holes for the stout oak bars to fasten the doors.

The gate to the outer bailey has had no portcullis, the drawbridge, when pulled up, affording sufficient defence.

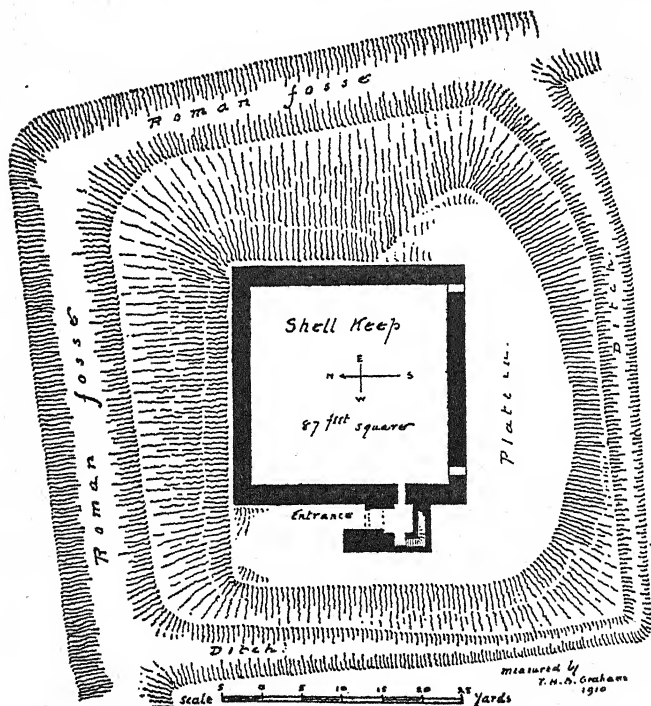
Postern gate at the north-east side.

SEE APPENDIX VII.

REFERENCES :—*Transactions*, O.S., vi., 150 ; Parker, 4 ;
Jefferson's *Allerdale above Derwent*, p. 32.

BEWCASTLE. C. 8, N.W.

EARLY FORTIFICATION:—Roman fort. In the eleventh century Bueth is said to have “repaired a Roman castle here and called it after his own name.” Doubtless he erected a wooden fortress within the Roman enclosure.



FOUNDATION HISTORY:—Denton says the district “became inhabited long before Henry III.’s time [1216] upon the building of that castle which is now there standing.” But it would surely be nearer the truth to put the date of the present castle down to a period

- between the great raids of 1296-7 and the death of Edward I. in 1307.²³²
1401. "The castle of Bothe belonging to John de Middleton."²³³
- c. 1470. Gatehouse added by the Duke of Gloucester²³⁴ when he was Warden of the March. There was a drawbridge over the ditch.
1478. The castle is spoken of as lying waste.²³⁵
1514. Grant to Sir John Musgrave of the office of Constable and a grant for the repair of the castle.²³⁶
1527. Wm., Lord Dacre, was made constable and complains to Wolsey that "Bewcastle is in such decay that no man can dwell there, for Thomas Musgrave has spoiled it, taken away all the lead and broken the glass windows."²³⁷
1532. Lord William Dacre paid £100 to Sir William Musgrave for repairs.²³⁸
1539. "Bowe Castel [Boa Castel alias belcastell], long-
ging to the King x myles est frō Cairluel."²³⁹
1580. "This howse or castel doth belonge to her
Ma^{ty} Standinge about 3 myles frō Scotl., a place of
greate defence for y^t p^{te} of y^e border, if y^e same
were sufficiently repaired. The charges of w^{ch}
reparaçon is esteamed to cc^{li} beside y^e new castinge
of y^e moote and an old decayed wall wthin and
about the same, w^{ch} is thought may be spared till
a greater necessity."²⁴⁰
1583. "Beawcastle, her Majesties owne, which hathe
bene, and should be, the chiefe and onlie defence of

²³² Journal Brit. Arch. Association, N.S., xiv., 207.

²³³ Cal. of Doc. relating to Scotland, Bain, vol. iv., p. 121.

²³⁴ Afterwards Richard III.

²³⁵ Cal. Pap. Henry VIII., vol. 13, pt. 2, p. 553.

²³⁶ Cal. St. Pap. Henry VIII., i., 746.

²³⁷ Cal. St. Pap. Henry VIII., vol. iv., pt. 2, p. 1827.

²³⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. v., p. 596.

²³⁹ Leland, vol. vii., fol. 72.

²⁴⁰ Christopher Dacre's Survey, Cal. St. Pap. Dom. Add., 1580, vol. 27, No. 44ⁱⁱⁱ.

that border ; but that yt is now allmoste broughte to ruyn, by reason that the chiefest and ableste borderers and tenantes therof are herede and slaine by the Scottishe theeves of Liddesdale, and can skarselie now in anie good time be broughte to the former estate and savetie therof againe, as yt hathe bene." "Bewcastle in defenceless condition by reason of the deadlie feude and greate hatrede betwene the Greimes and the Musgraves."²⁴¹

1592. Captain Thomas Musgrave entertained Bothwell here.²⁴²

1593. "A place of great defence."²⁴³

1598. "Bewcastle is the nearest strength to Scotland, ancient land of her Majesty's, the captain having above £200 fees of her and leading some 300 of her tenants. It standeth at the King of Scots' pleasure, for, Thomas Musgrave, the captain, has offered to deliver it to him."²⁴⁴

1604. "The King's Majesties house, the Castle, is in great ruin and decaye in suche sorte that there is not anye roome thereof wherein a man mayne sytt drye ; so that 300 li will scarce repaier the same in anie reasonable sorte."²⁴⁵

1639. Garrisoned on account of the commotions in Scotland.

1641. Dismantled by the Parliamentary forces, and the garrison removed to Carlisle.

ARTIFICIAL EARTHWORK :—Situated in the north-east angle of the Roman station, it makes use of the great fosse, 10 to 12 yards in width. The other two sides to the west and south are protected by an isolating ditch, 3 to 5 yards wide.

²⁴¹ Cal. Border Pap., 1560-94, p. 168.

²⁴² Cal. St. Pap. Scotland, p. 610.

²⁴³ Alexander King's Survey.

²⁴⁴ Lancelot Carleton's Report, Cal. Border Pap., 1595-1603, p. 572.

²⁴⁵ Survey of the Debateable Lands.

CURTAIN :—87 feet square, with ranges of buildings upon the inside.

Height :—The south face of wall stands 30 feet high.

Walls :— $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet in thickness.

Masonry :—Rough rubble.

Projections :—Splayed plinth 7 feet from ground.

Fireplaces :—Flues slanting back to outside loop in wall.

GATEHOUSE :—Projecting on the western face, 36 by 18 feet, and 12 feet square internally. A straight mural stairway, 27 inches wide. Gate secured by stout wooden bars, with cavities in the wall for shooting back the bars when not in use.

SEE APPENDIX VIII.

REFERENCES :—*Transactions*, O.S., iii., 229 ; N.S., xi., 244 ; Taylor, 346.

GLEASTON CASTLE.

"*Glassertun*" as mentioned in Domesday Book.

FOUNDATION HISTORY :—Tradition claims an early stronghold here erected by Michael le Fleming. If this is true it would be of the motte and bailey plan; the motte standing at the north-western angle, where the ground is 30 feet higher than the bailey now occupied as the castle yard. But we can find no confirmation of the tradition; if Michael had a motte it was at Aldingham.

c. 1250. There are the remains of considerable portions of clay-hearted curtain wall, on the eastern side, but, after the great raid of 1316, it would seem that this curtain was mostly rebuilt and strengthened with towers at the angles.

1340. A residential tower of larger dimensions was built at the north-western angle.

1458. The castle ceased to be a manorial dwelling, and being dismantled speedily fell into decay.

1539. "There is a ruine and waulles of a Castel in Lancastershire cawlyd Gleston Castell, sometyme longinge to Lorde Haringtons, now to the Marquise of Dorset. It stondithe a 2 miles from Carthemaile."²⁴⁶

c. 1600. "Ruins of a Castell called Gleston in Lancash. 2 mil from Cartmell."²⁴⁷

1695. "Gleaston Castle, which has been very large and firm, having four strong towers of great height, besides many other buildings with very thick walls."²⁴⁸

1805. Gleaston castle is always represented as a place of strength and firm walls, but the reverse is evident; the walls in many parts are built with mud, and only pointed with lime mortar, as may

²⁴⁶ Leland, vol. viii., fol. 109a.

²⁴⁷ Cotton MS., Julius F. x., fol. 160, renumbered to 152.

²⁴⁸ Gibson, additions to Camden, 1st edition, column 803.

be plainly seen in the ruins. "Gleaston Castle, where shattered walls of massy thickness, and mouldering towers lighted by apertures of an uncommon small size, demonstrate the provision that was requisite for the security of our ancestors."²⁴⁹

ARTIFICIAL EARTHWORK :—There is no trace of any entrenchments.

AREA :—A quadrilateral enclosure, 30 feet in height, and measuring internally 240 feet from north to south ; 150 feet at the northern end and 120 feet at the southern end from east to west.

NORTH-WEST OR RESIDENTIAL TOWER :—92 by 53 feet.

Height :—The ruin is still 30 to 40 feet high.

Walls :—Varying from 5 to 9 feet, with a straight mural staircase in the north wall.

Masonry :—Rough limestone squared rubble, occasionally quoined with red sandstone.

Projections :—None.

Entrance :—On the south from court into hall.

Floors :—Basement and two floors above.

SOUTH-WEST TOWER :—33 by 31 feet.

Height :—49 feet.

Walls :—9 feet tapering up to $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet. Three upper floors have mural garderobes in south wall.

Entrance :—From court to basement. Straight mural stair in east wall to 1st floor. The 2nd floor is entered by external flight of steps on north side, a straight mural stair leads to the 3rd floor, from whence a newel in north-west angle leads up to battlements.

Floors :—Basement and three storeys over.

SOUTH-EAST TOWER :—43 by 31 feet.

Height :—40 feet.

Walls :—9 feet tapering up to 8 feet. Mural garderobes in south-west angle.

²⁴⁹ Close, additions to West's *Furness*, p. 386.

Entrance:—From court to basement, with straight mural staircase in west wall to 1st floor, from which there is a way out on to the ramparts, and newel in north-west angle to battlements.

Floors:—Basement and one floor above.

NORTH-EAST TOWER:—Somewhat similar to last, but of one storey only.

GATE:—In the west curtain close under the protection of the north-west tower.

REFERENCES:—*Transactions*, O.S., xiii., 37; N.S., vi., 184; Roper's *Castles of North Lancashire*, 110.

KENDAL CASTLE. W. 38, N.E.

FOUNDATION HISTORY:—C. 1184. Erected probably by Gilbert, the son of Roger fitz Reinfred, in lieu of the motte and bailey fortress on Castle How.

1215. Forfeited to King John after the rebellion of the barons.

1241. Restored to William de Lancaster III.

1347. Thomas de Roos was ordered to send the prisoners, whom he had confined in his castle, to the Tower of London.

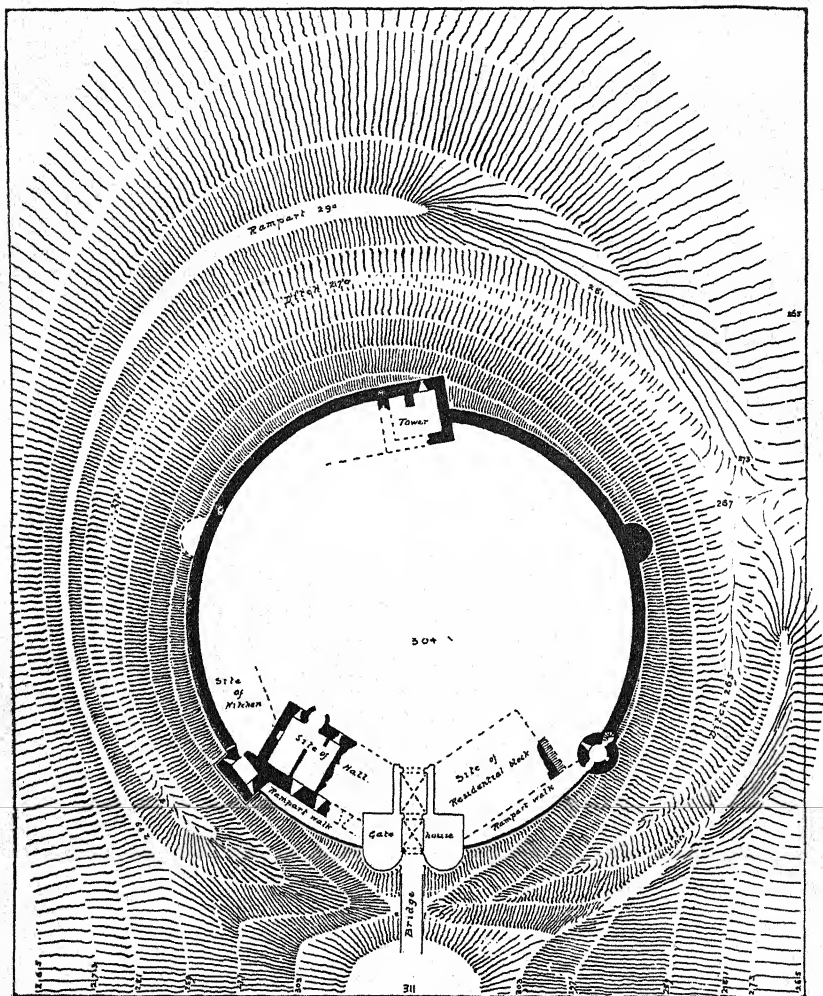
c. 1538. "Abowt half a myle of on the east side of the Towne is on a Hil a Parke longging to young Mr. Par, and ther is a Place as it were a Castel."²⁵⁰

1566. The Marquis of Northampton disparked the deer park, from which time the castle gradually fell into a state of ruin.

1572. "The out walls embattled 40 feet square . . . within the same no building left, saving only, on the north side is situate the front of the gatehouse, the hall with an ascent of the stairs to the same, with a buttery and pantry at the end thereof; one great chamber and two or three lesser chambers, and rooms of ease, adjoining the same, all being in decay both in glass and slates and in all other reparations needful. . . . The walls are circular, guarded by three towers and a keep, with a large square area in the centre, being all in a state of dilapidation. . . . There is a dovecote in the south side thereof in good repair."

1575. The slating was taken off most of the roofs as being then dangerous, but in Henri Fissher's inventory, November 15th, 1578, we read that the Castle was still partly slated.

²⁵⁰ Leland, vol. vii., fol. 62.



KENDAL CASTLE,
Showing suggested Plan of Gatehouse.

NOTE:—Each contour line represents a fall of 8 feet.

1588, 10th April. "The Castell at this present" is of less selling value by £25 than it was at the last survey sixteen years ago. The certificate on the "othes of 24 substantiall men of the baronye" says that "the moste parte of the rouffes of the said Castell are falne downe, the tymber and sclayte pitifully broken, the gutters of lead, iron in windowes and doors pilfered and stohn away. And if your Honors take not order of that which remayneth there will be lytle lefte to sell within a short tyme."²⁵¹

1610. "The Castle . . . over against the town, it runneth to decay through age, and neglect."²⁵²

1667. Francis Anderton acquired the decayed castle from his wife's kinsman, Henry, Marquis of Worcester.²⁵³

1677. Sir Francis Anderton bequeathed the castle to his son, Sir Charles.

1691. In Sir Charles Anderton's will, dated December 29th, 1691, he mentions among his realty "The decayed castle of Kendall, co. Westmoreland" and a pourparty of "Kendall Parke purchased by my late father from Lord Herbert in estate fee simple." Sir Charles left his Kendal estates to trustees for seven years after his death for the payment of his debts and then to his son, Sir Charles, the 3rd Baronet. This son, Charles, died unmarried, c. 1704, and was succeeded by his brother, Sir James, 4th Bart.

1705, 21st February. Sir James entered the Society of Jesus and made a settlement which recites, *inter alia*, that he stood lawfully seised in fee simple of the site of "an ancient decayed castle situated in the parish of Kendall," etc.

²⁵¹ A letter from Edward Braddyll to Lord Burghley.

²⁵² Holland's Camden.

²⁵³ Close Roll 4222 19 Charles II., pt. 10 No. 4; also Anderton Deeds, Kendal, No. 5.

1707. Sir James conveyed the estate to his third brother, Francis,²⁵⁴ who, joining the Pretender at Preston, was attainted of High Treason and his estates forfeited. Thus we find Robert Shepherd, gent., the farmer of the castle in 1716.

1723. The second brother, Lawrence, a Benedictine monk at Dieulouard, near Verdun, to reclaim the property renounced his faith by taking the appointed oaths and finally sold the castle to Christopher Tilson in trust for John Huggins, of Headley, co. Southampton.²⁵⁵ Huggins died in 1735, and the estate fell to his brother, William, who in 1761 devised it to his two sons-in-law, Sir Thomas Gatehouse and the Rev. Dr. James Musgrave.

1765. The castle was purchased by James Dowker, of Kendal, who bequeathed it to his daughter, Mrs. Thomasin Richardson, who planted that circular belt of trees, which is now such a thriving and pleasant skirting to the masonry. At her death it was purchased by Alderman Thompson.

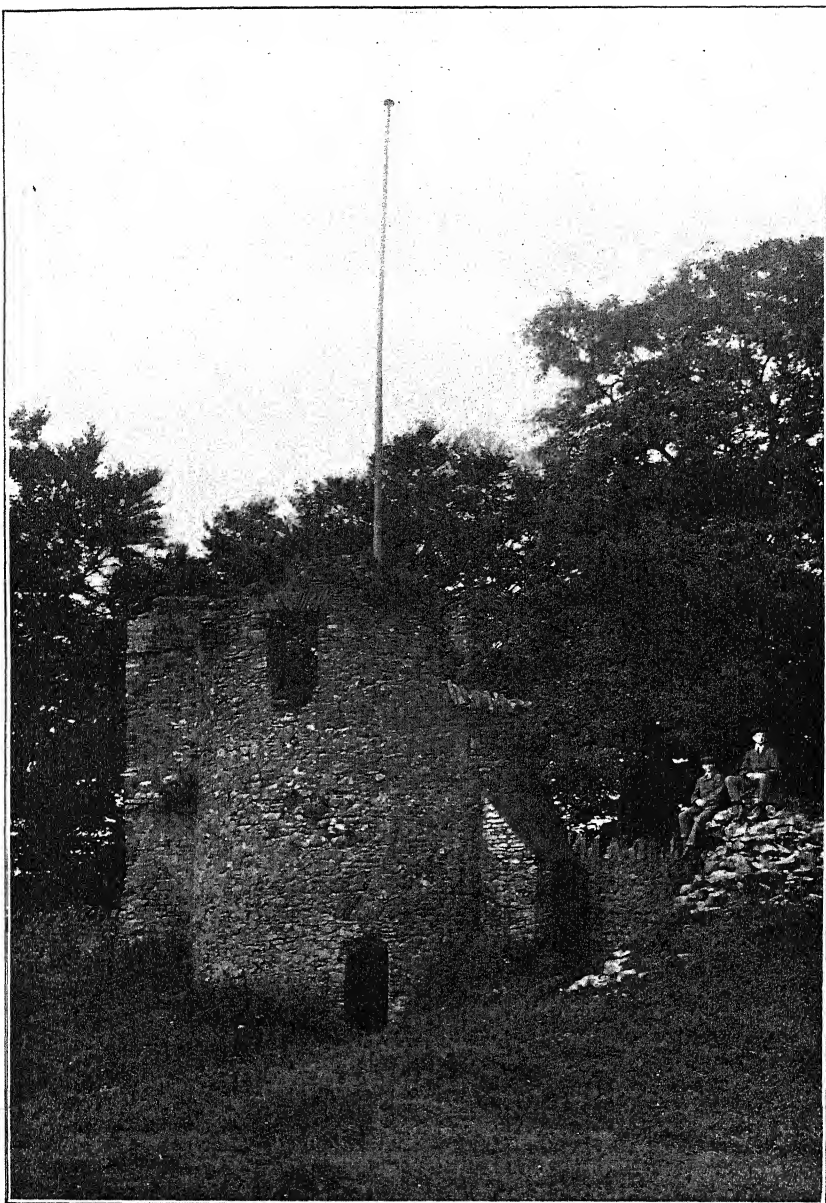
1769. "Almost the whole inclosure of the walls remain, with four towers, two square and two round, but their upper parts or embattlements are demolished; it is of rough stone and cement without any ornament or arms, round, inclosing a court of like form, and surrounded by a moat; nor ever could it ever have been larger than it is, for there are no traces of outworks."²⁵⁶

1779. "Had Mr. Gray ascended from the end of Stramongate Bridge, which was the only way to [the castle] in its glory, he would have observed a square area [or base court] that had been fortified with a

²⁵⁴ Payne's *English Catholic Nonjurors of 1715*, p. 338; and *Records of the English Catholics of 1715*, p. 83.

²⁵⁵ Close Roll 5239, 10 Geo. I., pt. 9, Nos. 2 and 3; m. 47-51. Cf. also Nicolson and Burn, i., 50.

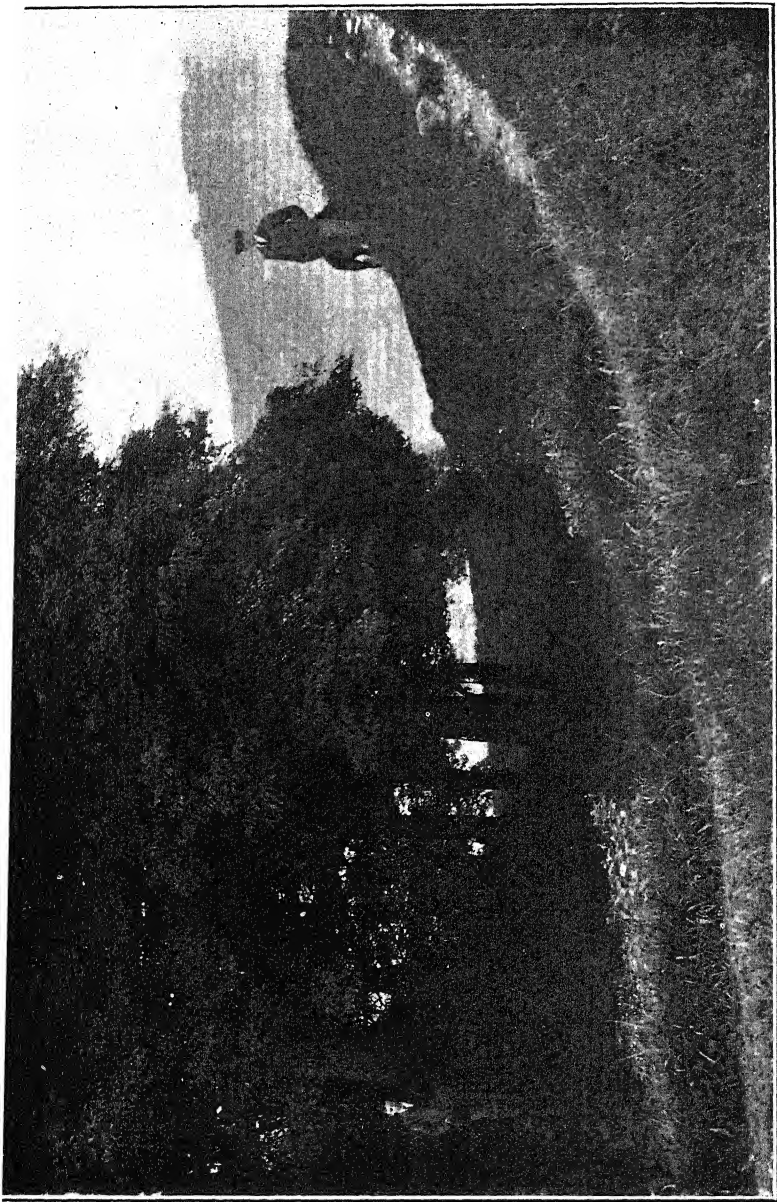
²⁵⁶ Gray's Journal in a letter to Dr. Wharton.



KENDAL CASTLE.

Mural turret and portion of curtain wall left as an abutment.

TO FACE P. 148.



KENDAL CASTLE,
Showing the entrenchment and rampart.

deep moat, and connected with the castle by a drawbridge."²⁵⁷

1813. Sundry works of repair were executed to stay the fall of the walls.

1823. "The fragments of two towers, part of a curtain wall, and a portion of the great hall with some gloomy vaults beneath alone remain. It appears to have had no outworks [probably copying Gray] and no detached gateway, no external protection save the deep fosse, and there is no sign of well or spring, but one of these it must have had."²⁵⁸

1897. Sold by Lady Henry Bentinck to the Corporation of Kendal and thrown open to the public as a memento of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee.

NATURAL DEFENCES :—A steep terminal moraine, situated in the centre of the Kent-dale, and rising 170 feet above the river.

ARTIFICIAL EARTHWORK :—A dry deep ditch surrounding the cop. It is now much filled in, but the counter-scarp even now rises to a height of 23 feet in some places. The outer ward is fortified by a rampart with a broad ditch around the north and west sides.

AREA :—A rough circle of 250 feet diameter. The outer ward measures 110 by 96 feet. Altitude :—300 feet above the Ordnance datum.

CITADEL :—On the wall facing down the valley to the south and hence toward the most probable approach of an enemy, there is a rectangular tower 36 by 34 feet with walls 5 feet in thickness.

CURTAIN :—Walls $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick.

REFERENCE :—*Transactions*, N.S., viii., 84.

²⁵⁷ West's *Guide to the Lakes*, 11th edition, p. 182.

²⁵⁸ Whitaker's *Richmondshire*, ii., 333.

KIRKOSWALD CASTLE. C. 40, N.W.

- FOUNDATION HISTORY :—C. 1150. An early timber tower, supposed to have been erected by Ranulph Engaine.
1201. Sir Hugh de Morville received a licence to fortify the castle and enclose a park.²⁵⁹
1314. Burnt down and destroyed by Edward Bruce. There seems to be none of the original work left standing.
- c. 1320. The de Multons are said to have rebuilt the castle during the reign of Edward II.
1485. An inq. p.m. held after the death of Lord Humphrey Dacre describes the castle as "newly built," whilst his son, Thomas, Lord Dacre, is credited with building the great hall and the chapel. He also "encompassed the castle with a large ditch for better security and beautified it at great expense."
1539. "Yt stondeth almost on Edon, xij myles fro Cairluel."²⁶⁰
1561. Lord Dacre was living here at this date.²⁶¹
1580. "This house or castel is one of y^e chefe mansyon houses belonginge to y^e heires of y^e late Leonard Dacre, standinge 6 miles north-east frō Penrith castel and about 15 miles frō Scotlande. For dyvers good consideraçons meete to be repayred, the reparaçons whereof wth help of the woods there, is esteemed to be lxxx^{li} besides y^e castinge of the moote w^{ch} may be spared tyll a greater necessity."²⁶²
1604. Lord William Howard commenced to dismantle the castle.
- 1610, 28th June. "Grant to Sir William Anstruther of all the materials of the decayed castle of Kirk

²⁵⁹ Rot. Chartarum, 2 John, m. 9.

²⁶⁰ Leland, vol. vii., fol. 72.

²⁶¹ Hist. MS. Com., 12th Report, Appendix, pt. vii., p. 10.

²⁶² Christopher Dacre's Survey, Cal. St. Pap. Dom. Add., 1580, vol. 27, No. 44ⁱⁱⁱ.

Oswald, also lease of lands on which the castle stood, the gardens, etc."²⁶³

1620. Demolition proceeding and the materials sent to Naworth Castle.

1622. Roof of the chapel sent to Naworth Castle, and the roof of the hall sold to Sir John Lowther for Lowther Hall.

1633, December. Sir Timothy Fetherstonhaugh paid Lord William Howard £3 for some stone taken from the castle at Kirkoswald.²⁶⁴

1675. "This great castle of Kirkoswald was once the fairest fabricks that ever eyes looked upon: The Hall I have seen 100 yards long . . . In this Grand Castle I was some 60 years agoe when Ther was many faire Toures and Chambers and Chapels."²⁶⁵

1688. Thomas Denton describes the castle now as being a bare shell or heap of stones.

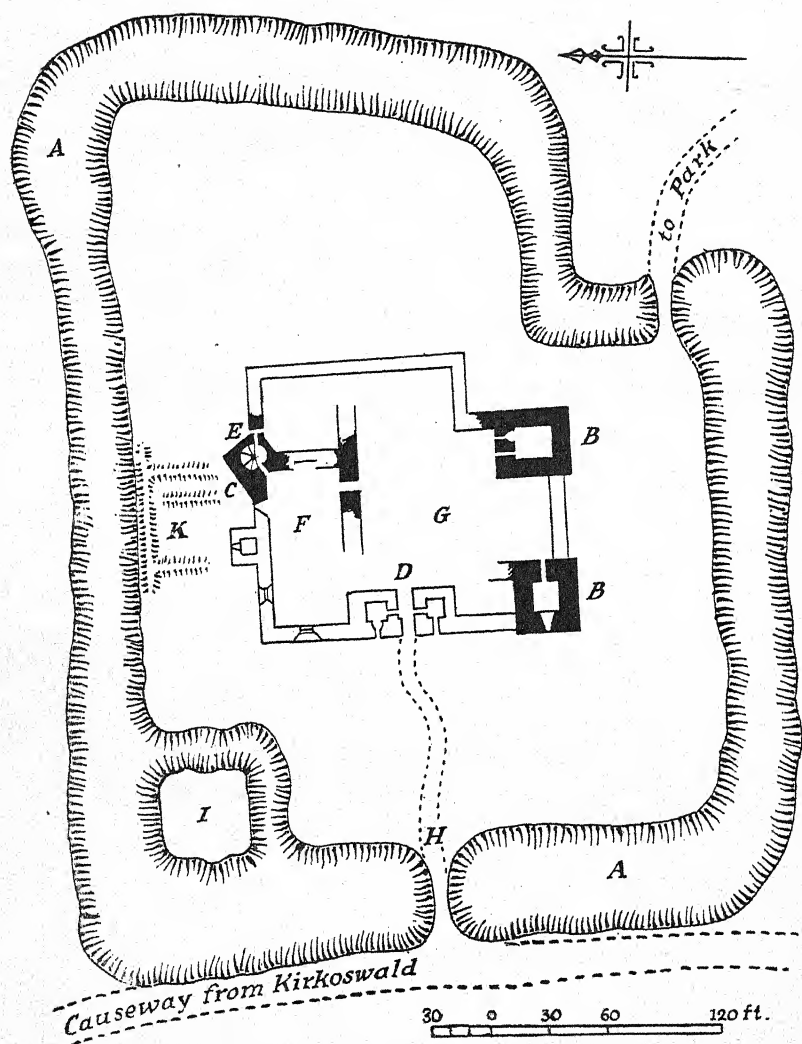
NATURAL DEFENCES :—None.

ARTIFICIAL EARTHWORK :—A rectangular ditch 30 to 40 feet broad which measures 370 feet on the north, 252 feet on the east, 349 feet on the south, and 186 feet on the west side. A large corner, 95 by 80 feet, has not been included at the south-eastern angle. There is no earthen rampart within the ditch, and taking into consideration that it was not dug until after 1485, we must suppose it to have been dug for the protection of cattle from the moss-trooper rather than for purely military defence to the castle. At the north-western corner a small island has been formed, 34 feet east and west by 41 feet north and south, by cutting an L-shaped ditch across the corner of the castle-garth.

²⁶³ Cal. St. Pap., 1603-10, pp. 55x, 621.

²⁶⁴ Household Books, pp. 133, 285.

²⁶⁵ Edmund Sandford's *Cursory Relation*, 44, 45. Lysons say that Sandford evidently meant 100 feet; the transcript is so bad that he perhaps wrote it so. "Once" is surely for "one of," as written by Jefferson, *Leath Ward*, p. 275.



PLAN OF KIRKOSWALD CASTLE.

From C.&W.A.&A. Socy's *Transactions*, N.S., xii., 179.

AREA :—Three and a quarter acres.

CURTAIN :—A court surrounded by a massive curtain enclosing an area of 160 feet north and south and 140 feet east and west. Within this court the hall, 80 by 37 feet, and dwelling rooms took up the whole of the northern end. The great gate was in the centre of the west wall, whilst two towers flanked the two southern angles. The eastern one measures 23 by 22 feet, and the western one 27 by 21 feet, each having walls some $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet in thickness. A mural garderobe tower, wrongly shown on the plan as a staircase tower, remains behind the hall, 68 feet high and having two sides projecting anglewise from the face of the curtain.

PLAN :—The letters on the plan are for :—

A, A ; moat. *B, B* ; vaulted towers. *C* ; garderobe turret. *D* ; site of gateway. *E* ; postern-gate. *F* ; hall. *G* ; courtyard. *H* ; outer gate and draw-bridge. *I* ; island. *K* ; foundations.

REFERENCES :—*Transactions*, O.S., ii., 1 ; N.S., xii., 164.

X.

 THE SCOTTISH WARS OF INDEPENDENCE
AND THE RISE OF THE PELE TOWER.

NOW before we can fully realize the necessity for the fortified houses of the knights and squires, in the years that followed—those square gaunt towers rising storey above storey, each floor consisting of but one apartment, with the walls thick and the window openings narrow and jealous—we must study for a moment the local history of our Western March during the wars for Scottish Independence.

As soon as Balliol had secured his position on the throne of Scotland, through the instrumentality of Edward I., whom he and the other competitors acknowledged as Lord Paramount of Scotland, he set about the task of throwing off the English yoke. Taking advantage of the King of England's quarrel with Philip IV. concerning possessions in western France, Balliol opened up negotiations for an offensive alliance with the French, so that they should "harass England between them."²⁶⁶ Common hostility to England drew these two nations together, and the Franco-Scottish League lasted so long as these historic conditions prevailed. In October, 1295, Balliol formally renounced his homage and assembled his army, whilst to support him the French monarch equipped a "numerous fleet to burn up all England." Curiously enough Robert Bruce, the son of "the competitor," was Constable of Carlisle Castle at this time,

²⁶⁶ The Treaty signed at Paris, 23rd October, 1295, is printed in Rymer's *Fœdera*, ii., 695.

and it fell to his lot to strike the first blow for the English monarch whose decision had shut him out from succession to the Scottish crown. He seized upon Penrith and the other Scottish manors in Inglewood Forest, which were never afterwards returned.

On the 26th of the following March, according to the Chronicles of Lanercost and Walter de Hemyngford, Balliol's army under seven earls of Scotland, together with John Comyn and several barons, invaded Cumberland. They burned the suburbs of Carlisle, but, failing in their attempt to gain the city—the very women mounting the walls to throw stones and boiling water upon them—they ravaged the district as far as Corbridge. Doubtless the Chroniclers exaggerate, but they relate how that many churches filled with refugees were burned to the ground, including the little nunnery at Lambley, and how that in their fury the Scots killed the aged, outraged the nuns, and transfixed the children on spears holding them aloft until they died.

“Corbridge is a town, they brent it when thei came,
Two hous of religion, Leynercoste and Hexham.
Thei chased the canons out, their gods bare away,
And robbed all about; the bestis took to pray.”

Peter Langtoffe, Canon of Hexham.

Edward responded by the sack of Berwick, perhaps the darkest stain on the chivalrous memory of the Great King, and led his forces through Scotland as far north as Elgin. It was on this occasion that he received the homage of all landowners over the district through which he passed, and enlisted on the famous Ragman Roll the names of nearly two thousand Scottish barons, knights and ecclesiastics who swore fealty on the Gospels and renounced all connection with the Franco-Scottish League. Balliol was deposed.

Notwithstanding, no sooner had Edward turned his back than the national spirit again began to give trouble.

At first this feeling revealed itself in the numerous bands of outlaws who infested the roads and plundered the English wherever they were to be found. Becoming more numerous, and, with none to hinder them, more venturesome, they attacked even places of strength. Raw and undisciplined they may have been, but by their continual acquaintance with danger and their knowledge of the country, by their hardiness, subtlety and swiftness, they were the very material most needed at the time by the Nationalists. The wild and restless sons of respectable families were drawn irresistibly into the vortex of such a life ; indeed, they quickly became the leaders and gave point to the lawless raids. Among these was a young fugitive from justice²⁶⁷ who soon rose to the highest pitch of fame. William Wallace, the descendant of Richard Walensis, seldom returned unsuccessful from his enterprises. Although he received scant sympathy from the nobles who held manors south as well as north of the Tweed, his fiery genius attracted the great bulk of the nation to his standard and found its triumph, against the insane tactics of the Earl Warrenne, at the battle of Stirling Bridge.²⁶⁸ Elated beyond expression, Wallace issued proclamations in the name of King John Balliol and pursued his career by making a fierce inroad into Northumberland, Durham, and Cumberland. For twenty-eight days he invested the city of Carlisle, only to be taunted with "Come and take it like a conqueror." Wallace, however, found his revenge in the luckless Lanercost and then returned to Scotland without any further consolation. Robert, Lord Clifford, raised the men of Cumberland and somewhat retaliated by ravaging Annandale, but King Edward now came down and made Carlisle the base of his operations against the enemy. In the following year, with the whole feudal levy of

²⁶⁷ Maxwell, 74.

²⁶⁸ 11th September, 1297.

England at his back, he answered Wallace on a hill-side two miles south of Falkirk.²⁶⁹ It was a battle won by archery directed against the Scottish plan of schiltrons, or impenetrable masses of pikemen, followed by a charge of the English cavalry. Wallace's short-lived ascendancy was broken, for while he was absent on the Continent for the purpose of enlisting the help of Philip IV. and the blessing of the Pope, Robert the Bruce, another lad of twenty-four years of age, undermined his authority and stepped into his place.

We cannot dwell upon the Pope's command to Edward to desist from molesting a kingdom that owed allegiance to none save Holy Church, nor upon the famous "Hands off!" reply that went back to Rome with the seals appended of over one hundred English earls and barons; but the sad part of the story is that, during this period, the great Bruce was acting with a duplicity past understanding. Nominally Edward's man, the son of the Constable of Carlisle, attending the English parliament by right of his English possessions, constantly swearing fealty,²⁷⁰ consenting to the doom of Wallace and receiving letters of praise from Edward for his diligence in crushing the rebellion, yet all the time he was negotiating with Philip for England's undoing. The climax came when, for some cause, he slew the Red Comyn of the rival house of Balliol,²⁷¹ threw off allegiance to Edward, received the crown of Scotland,²⁷² and brought to the aged Edward the necessity for another war.

²⁶⁹ July 22nd, 1298.

²⁷⁰ In 1297 Bruce swore fealty to Edward in Carlisle Cathedral on the sword of St. Thomas; in April, 1302, both he and his tenants in Carrick owned Edward as their rightful King; in 1303 he was summoned to join the King's army at Roxburgh; in 1304 he attended Edward's parliament at St. Andrew's; and in June, for the fourth time, solemnly swore fealty on becoming heir to his father's English estates; in September, 1305, he attended parliament at Westminster when John of Brittany was elected as Governor of Scotland, and again swore an elaborate oath of allegiance on the Lord's Body, the Holy Relics and the Four Evangels.

²⁷¹ 10th February, 1306.

²⁷² 29th March, 1306.

Defeated at Methven, near Perth, by Aymer de Valence,²⁷³ King Robert wandered for months among the Highland hills and Western Isles, until in the following May, with his "gillie-lightfoots," he won that marvellous battle of Louden Hill which proved the turning point in his fortunes. With such news King Edward felt the necessity of taking the field again, and on the 28th June hung up his horse litter in the ruined Cathedral at Carlisle. Trusting that action would restore to him the strength which age and dysentery had impaired, he mounted once more his war-horse and busied himself with his naval base at Skinburness. It was too forced an effort, however, to be continued for long, and as he passed by the village of Burgh-by-Sands he expired on the 7th July, 1307, leaving for his epitaph, "Edwardus Primus Scotorum Malleus," The Hammer of the Scots.²⁷⁴

Nothing could have been more propitious to the cause of Bruce, as Edward II. inherited neither his father's resolute spirit nor his aptitude for war.²⁷⁵ Emboldened by the dissensions created by the disreputable Piers de Gaveston, King Robert spread dismay and devastation without hindrance over the whole of our district. Enriched by the ransoms of their prisoners and by the indemnities levied on the towns they spared, they seem never to have tired of raiding as far south as possible, plundering on all sides and destroying with fire everything

²⁷³ 26th June.

²⁷⁴ On Burgh Marsh, about a mile north of the village, is a monument to his memory. It was erected by the Earl of Lonsdale, in 1803, upon the site of an earlier one, and bears the following inscription:—"Omni veneratione prosequens inclytam Edwardi primi famam, optimi Angliæ Regis, columnam hanc humi fusam dirutamque, hic reponendam curavit Gulielmus vice-comes de Lowther, anno salutis MDCCCIII." The earlier column referred to is mentioned by Bp. Gibson in his edition of Camden as follows:—"A very fair square Pillar, nine yards and a half in height. On the west side of it is this description in large Roman letters: *Memoriæ æternæ Edwardi I Regis Angliæ longè clarissimi, qui in Belli apparatu contra Scotos occupatus, hic in Castris obiit, 7 Julij, A.D. 1307.* On the south side: *Nobilissimus Princeps, Henricus Howard, Dux Norfolciæ, Comes Mareshall, Angliæ, Comes Arund.* . . . ab Edwardo I Regi Angliæ oriundus P. 1685. On the north side: *Johannes Aglionby J.C., F.C. [i.e., juris-consultus, fieri fecit].*

²⁷⁵ Maxwell, 127.

that lay in their way. Blows from England were returned with interest, and defeat only drove them back to regather their strength and mature their plans for another raid. Indeed, on either side hatred of the opposing realm was almost the religion of the militant borderer; the game of plunder and reprisal became his chief occupation, whilst to spoil the enemy and slaughter the pawns in his game was considered the highest conception of patriotism. Our sister counties groaned under an accumulation of miseries; indeed, it is difficult for us to realize the awful sacrifices and heroic deeds that must have formed the almost daily existence of those who lived within a night's ride of the border, at a time when it was considered a rash thing even to go forth in broad daylight without an armed following.

It would be wearisome to follow in detail the long succession of wasteful raids; suffice it therefore merely to glance at some of the more important ones:—

On the 12th August, 1311, Robert the Bruce penetrated through the barony of Gilsland to Lanercost, where he stayed at the monastery for three days burning all the land round about. Thence the Scots proceeded, destroying the town of Haltwhistle and a great part of Tynedale before they returned home laden with a very considerable booty in cattle. So helpless were the counties of Northumberland and Durham that each compounded for the sum of £2,000 to be left in peace for a short period. In a similar way the people of Cumberland and Westmorland redeemed themselves, but, as they could not raise at once so large a sum, they gave up the sons of their chief lords as hostages.

Contrary to these terms of redemption, and on the plea that Cumberland had not paid up an instalment, although the hostages were still held in full security, Edward Bruce forced his way down through Carlisle on the 16th April 1314. Finding the Bishop, John de Halton, fully engaged

in defending the castle, he made for his residence at Rose, where he stayed for three days. Thence he sent out strong detachments to burn what was perishable, to take prisoners those who could pay a ransom, and to collect cattle from Inglewood Forest.

In June came Edward II.'s crowning folly and historic disaster of Bannockburn, when for the next fifteen years, *i.e.*, till the battle of Dupplin Muir in 1332, England was on the defensive. They were years in which the northern counties lay at the mercy of the Scots, who came, be it remembered, not to conquer but to ravage, not to meet the enemy in battle but to carry home safely all the plunder that they could gather. So soon as the following August we find Edward Bruce and Sir James of Douglas devastating with fire the eastern border, and, crossing over Stainmoor, burning the towns of Brough, Appleby, Penrith and Kirkoswald. Domestic buildings at this period were entirely of wood, so that it was no very difficult matter to destroy a town; but it must have needed great courage to rebuild it, as the inhabitants of Penrith did on this occasion, knowing that the new town must be as inflammable as the old.²⁷⁶

With everything thus going in their favour, and elated as much by the receipt of so much money as by their spoils, the Scots again returned to the attack on the 22nd July, 1315. On this the seventeenth anniversary of Falkirk, King Robert invested the city of Carlisle for eleven days, trampling down all the crops, wasting the suburbs, and driving in from Allerdale, Coupland and Westmorland a great number of cattle to provision his army.

The contemporary Chronicle of Lanercost describes how that "on every day of the siege the Scots assaulted one of the three gates of the city, sometimes all three at once; but never without loss, because there were

²⁷⁶ Cal. Fine Rolls, ii., 238.

discharged upon them from the walls such dense volleys of darts and arrows, likewise stones, that they asked one another whether stones bred and multiplied within the walls. Now on the fifth day they set up a machine for casting stones next the church of Holy Trinity, where their King stationed himself, and they cast great stones continually against the Caldew gate,²⁷⁷ but they did little or no injury to those within, except that they killed one man . . . The Scots set up a certain great berefrei like a kind of tower [see illustration opposite to p. 71] which was considerably higher than the city walls. On perceiving this, the carpenters of the city erected . . . a wooden tower loftier than the other . . . Moreover, the Scots had made many long ladders, which they brought with them for scaling the wall in different places simultaneously ; also a sow for mining the town wall, had they been able ; but neither sow nor ladders availed them aught. Also they made great numbers of fascines of corn and herbage to fill the moat outside the wall on the east side, so as they might pass over dry-shod. Also they made long bridges of logs to reach across the width of the moat, but . . . neither fascines sufficed to fill the moat, nor those wooden bridges to cross the ditch, but sank to the depths by their own weight. Howbeit, on the ninth day of the siege, when all the engines were ready, they delivered a general assault upon all the city gates and upon the whole circuit of the wall, attacking manfully, while the citizens defended themselves just as manfully, and they did the same next day . . . Wherefore on the eleventh day, to wit, the feast of S. Peter ad Vincula²⁷⁸ the Scots marched off in confusion to their own country, leaving behind them all their engines of war." Thus ended, to the honour of Andrew

²⁷⁷ The late Chancellor Ferguson found, whilst excavating near the Irish Gate, three or four stone balls about $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter. *Transactions*, O.S., iv., 42.

²⁷⁸ 1st August.

de Harcla and the townsmen of Carlisle, one of the most famous sieges in the history of Border warfare.

The initial letter to a charter, granted to the citizens of Carlisle shortly afterwards by Edward II., contains a most spirited little vignette representing the siege. Andrew de Harcla, clad in full armour, and easily recognisable by his heraldic insignia, is on the loftiest tower, whilst around him armed citizens hurl stones from the walls and work their springalds against half-naked Scotchmen.

On the 24th June, 1316, they came again *via* Richmond, and turning westward laid waste everything "as far as Furness, whither," as the Chronicle records, "they had not come before."

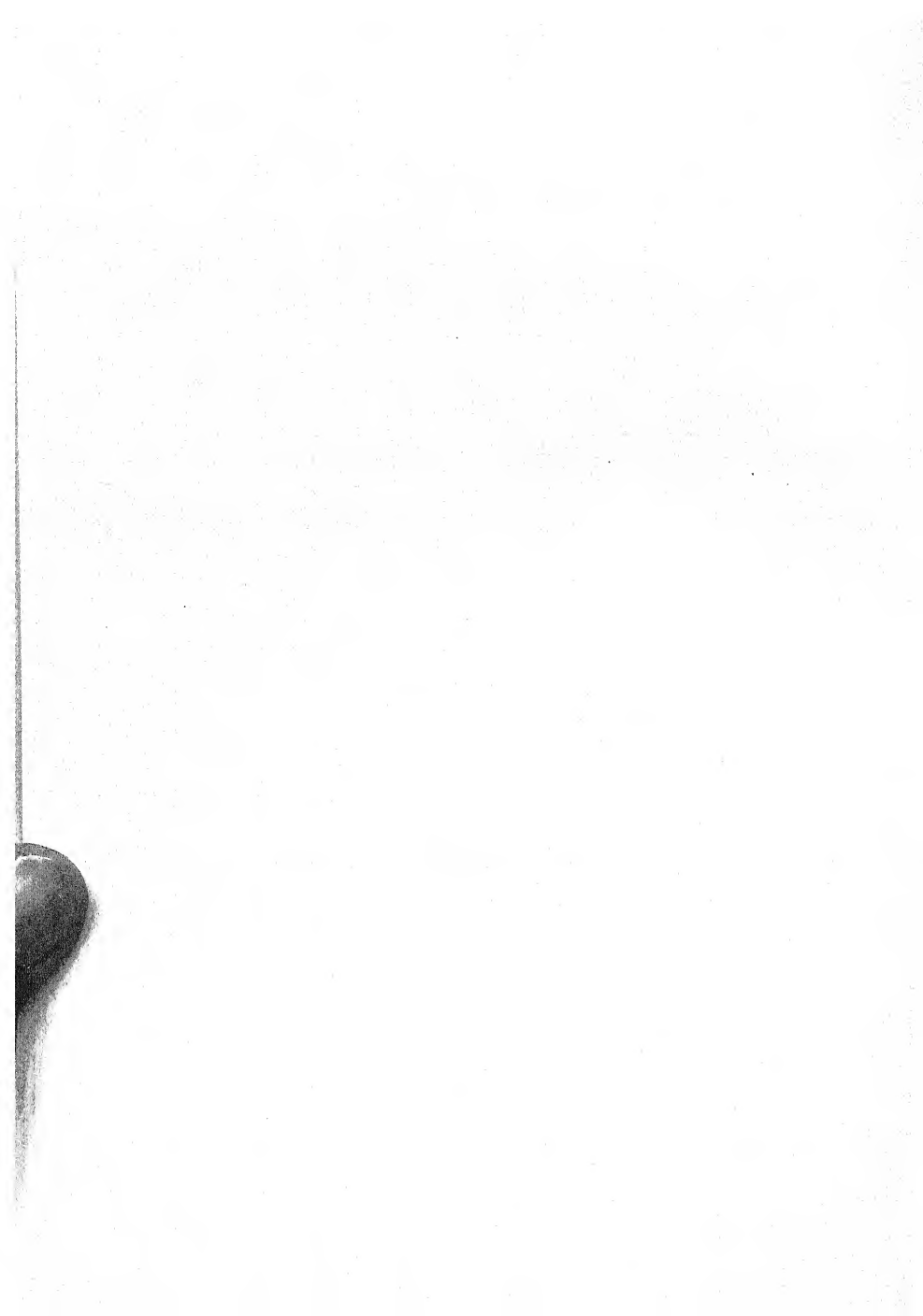
So badly was the district ravaged by these frequent incursions that Edward II. found it necessary to issue a writ-in-aid to the sheriffs of the counties of Gloucester, Somerset, Devon and Dorset, to purvey victuals to Skymburnesse for the provisioning of the town and castle of Carlisle. Likewise to Adam de Skelton to supervise the carriage of such victuals from the port.²⁷⁹ Again in the following year, the King issued another writ-in-aid, but this time to the sheriff of Chester, to purvey provisions to the value of £300, with a mandate to the Justice of Chester to provide ships for their conveyance.²⁸⁰

About the 1st of November, 1319, the Scots came again under the Black Douglas. Destroying all the barns filled with the year's corn, they marched through the barony of Gilsland to Brough-under-Stainmore, from whence they continued westward through Kirkby Stephen, Orton and Shap, and so up again into Cumberland, causing as much wanton destruction as they could.

On 17th June, 1322, King Robert broke into Cumberland with a large division, to whom the road had now become

²⁷⁹ 26th October, 1317. Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1317-21, 36.

²⁸⁰ 10th August, 1318. *Ibid.*, pp. 198, 215.



familiar, burned the bishop's palace at Rose and then plundered the abbey of Holm Cultram, notwithstanding that his father's body lay buried there. From thence he proceeded to waste and plunder Copeland and so on toward the Abbey of Furness, where the Abbot met him and paid ransom not to be pillaged again. After ravaging around Cartmel Priory they crossed the Morecambe Sands and burned ancient Lancaster to the ground, "so that the castle alone survived their fury." For eighteen days they remained destroying the villages of Hornby, Samlesbury, and other places.²⁸¹ Collecting on their way prisoners and cattle and piling their wagons with valuables, they returned to Carlisle and lay before the city for five days, trampling and destroying as much of the crops as they could, and finally re-entered Scotland on the 24th of July.

Within two months they were here again, Bruce staying five days at Beaumont, where are waths over the Eden, to harass the country before entering into Cleveland. Indeed so great was the consternation caused by these invasions that King Edward ordered the cattle of Cumberland and Westmorland to be driven into Yorkshire for greater protection.²⁸²

Such a summary provides very monotonous reading, but nothing can give any adequate notion of the utterly defenceless condition into which the lamentable rule of Edward II. allowed the northern counties to fall, nor of the horror and cruelty of this kind of warfare and the absolute need for stone-built dwellings. A petition was sent to the King telling how dreadful were the sufferings of the people and that they had nothing but their naked bodies to give to his service,²⁸³ but the great Warden of the Western March knew how little could be expected

²⁸¹ Rot. Lit. Claus., 17 Edw. II., m. 16.

²⁸² Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1321-24, p. 140.

²⁸³ Royal Letters, No. 4342 Cal. Doc. Scot., *Scot. Rec. Pub.*, iii., 148.

from such a ruler. That Sir Andrew de Harcla realized the hopelessness of it all is clearly shown by his endeavour to come to some understanding with Bruce. At Lochmaben, on the 3rd January, 1323, he pledged himself, his heirs and their descendants, to advise and assist with all their might in maintaining Bruce, his heirs and successors, in independence of any homage due to England, also to oppose with force all those who would not join in or consent to such a treaty. On the other hand, the King of Scots pledged himself upon honour and with all his might to assist and protect Harcla in his Wardenry, and further, should Edward II. give his consent to the independence of Scotland, then he would, within a year, not only build a monastery for the perpetual commemoration of and prayers for the souls of all those slain in the wars, and pay within ten years 80,000 merks of silver to the King of England, but would also grant the heir male of Scotland in marriage to any lady of English royal blood.²⁸⁴

It can hardly be thought that Harcla intended treason, for he had been appointed a commissioner to deal with Bruce,²⁸⁵ but, in his anxiety to stay this destructive warfare, he seems to have given his assent and unwarily agreed to compel allegiance to the compact, without any definite instructions from the Parliament or consent of the King. It was an unfortunate episode, for which he suffered execution as a traitor.²⁸⁶ And yet Harcla agreed to little more, if not to less, than what the King himself offered a few months later. This was during his dispute with Queen Isabella, when he wrote to Bruce freely giving up not only the land and realm of Scotland, to be held independently of any King of England, but also a great part of the northern lands of

²⁸⁴ Bain's *Cal. Dom. Scot.*, iii., 148.

²⁸⁵ *Pat. Rolls*, 15 Edw. II., pt. ii., m. 29.

²⁸⁶ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1321-4, pp. 240, 260; see also the *Lanercost Chronicle*.

England, including Cumberland, upon the sole condition that the Scots should assist him against his queen, her son and their French confederates.²⁸⁷ Fortunately for England the barons became aware of the intention and frustrated his design.

To the Scots, who were thus on the very eve of obtaining that for which they had fought for so many years, the deposition of Edward²⁸⁸ was a heavy blow. And they showed their vexation by at once invading England in three columns²⁸⁹ under the banners of the Earls of Moray and Mar and of Sir James Douglas. King Robert was detained by that leprosy which was so soon to terminate his life. Once more the beacons flared along the Border, to signal the approach of the dreaded enemy, as they penetrated through the wild frontier of Cumberland and came down upon Weardale. The campaign that followed is memorable for the first appearance of crests on the helmets and of cannon.²⁹⁰

“Twa novelryis that day tha saw
That forouth in Scotland had bene nane;
Tymbris for helmis was the tane,
That tham thocht of gret beaute,
And alsua wondir for to se;
The tothir crakis war of wer
That tha befor herd nevir er.
Of thir twa thingis tha had ferly.”

Barbour's Brus, cxli., 170-177.

With his strength fast failing, Bruce took the precaution of renewing the Franco-Scottish League,²⁹¹ and

²⁸⁷ Lanercost Chronicle.

²⁸⁸ 20th January, 1327.

²⁸⁹ 15th June, 1327.

²⁹⁰ This is the first authentic date for the use of gunpowder. The first reference to it by Froissart is in 1339, while at Crecy in 1346 there were a number of cannon used. These early pieces were of small calibre and the powder was very indifferent. It was not until the fifteenth century and the invention of bombards capable of throwing heavy spherical shot that fortified buildings had anything to fear.

²⁹¹ Memoirs concerning the ancient alliance between the French and the Scots, iv., 10.

the immediate sequel proved, from the Scottish standpoint, the foresight of this transaction. For on the death of Charles IV.,²⁹² without issue, Edward III. regarded himself as rightful heir to the French throne, and, in order to direct his energies upon enforcing his claim, he released the Scots from all exaction and claim of overlordship and from any homage to be done to the Kings of England. It must be remembered that he was only a boy of sixteen years acting under the advice of his mother, the French Isabella. He also restored to them that piece of the Cross of Christ which the Scots call the Black Rood, likewise the Ragman Roll containing the submission of all the chief men of Scotland, and granted his sister, Joan, in marriage to David Bruce, a lad of only four years of age.

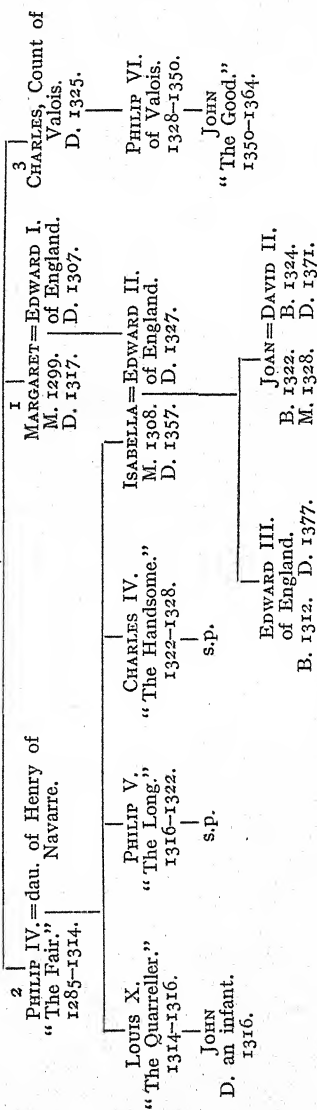
“To all Christ’s faithful people who shall see these letters, Edward, by the grace of God, etc. Whereas, we and some of our predecessors, Kings of England, have endeavoured to establish rights of rule or dominion over the realm of Scotland, whence dire conflicts of wars waged have afflicted for a long time the kingdoms: we having regard to the slaughter, disasters, crimes, destruction of churches and evils innumerable which, in the course of such wars, have repeatedly befallen the subjects of both realms, and to the wealth with which each realm, if united by the assurance of perpetual peace, might abound to their mutual advantage . . . We will and grant by these presents . . . that the kingdom of Scotland . . . shall belong to our dearest ally and friend, the magnificent prince, Lord Robert, by God’s grace illustrious King of Scotland, and to his heirs and successors, separate in all things from the kingdom of England, whole, free and undisturbed in perpetuity, without any kind of subjection, service, claim or demand, etc. Given at York on the first day of March, in the second year of our reign.”

Of course this meant peace—to England, peace with shame; to the Bruce, peace with honour. It meant that for which torrents of blood had flowed, and that

²⁹² 31st January, 1328.

Claim of Edward III. to the French Crown.

PHILIP III., "The Bold"
(1270-1285).



for which thousands of homesteads had been given to the flames and the industry and commerce of both countries squandered. The treaty of Northampton, however, provided for the reinstatement of certain English barons in their Scottish possessions, which had been forfeited and granted away by Bruce to his adherents. Unfortunately with the death of the great Bruce²⁹³ there was no hand strong enough to enforce the fulfilment of this part of the treaty. The boy Edward made a demand upon his infant brother-in-law, but the regent Moray would not or could not comply. Therefore, but not until the demand had been repeated, the disinherited barons took the matter into their own hands, landed an invading force in Fife, and defeated the regent at Dupplin Muir.²⁹⁴

With renewed hostilities the Franco-Scottish League proved a great trial to the English, as it necessitated, at the same moment, vigilance and strength both on the southern and northern borders—a division of forces that prevented Edward's full fighting strength from being concentrated against either foe. Thus, to give effect to the urgent request made by Philip VI. for co-operation, Lord Archibald Douglas entered the barony of Gilsland²⁹⁵ and spread desolation for thirty miles round about, whilst Philip and King John of Bohemia fitted out 715 ships to harass the southern coast. Edward, with the Earls of Cornwall, Warwick, Lancaster, Lincoln and Hereford, entered Scotland from Carlisle, and, in conjunction with another force from the eastern coast, "freely marched through all the land on this side of the Forth,"²⁹⁶ but in his absence Philip succeeded in capturing

²⁹³ 7th June, 1329.

²⁹⁴ 9th August, 1332. Professor Oman, in his *Art of War* [Mediæval, p. 584], considers that the battle was won by the judicious combination of archery and dismounted horsemen; where there was no cavalry to meet, the Scottish schiltrons of pikemen were useless, and massed together were helpless in the face of an incessant shower of arrows.

²⁹⁵ 22nd March, 1333.

²⁹⁶ Lanercost Chronicle.

and holding, for a short time, the town and harbour of Southampton.

Then again, at the instigation of the French, the Scots came in force on 7th August, 1337, by way of Arthuret, burning about twenty villages and taking prisoners and an immense number of cattle. Sir Thomas Wake, Lord Clifford, Bishop John de Kirkby and others replied to this raid during the following month by leading the men of Cumberland and Westmorland into Scotland, where, in conjunction with the Earl of Warwick's army from Newcastle, they marched through Teviotdale, Moffatdale, and Nithsdale, for twelve days, driving off cattle and burning houses and corn. This year's rubber was finished by the return of the Scots on the 15th October, when they challenged the city of Carlisle to open battle. After burning the hospital of St. Nicolas in the suburbs, they went off to Rose and set fire to the "obnoxious bishop's house." Next day they burned many villages in Allerdale and detached part of their force against Copeland to lift cattle. But on the third day they departed as Lord Percy and Lord Nevil hastened to the relief of the district.

While Edward was laying siege to Tournay the French King sent over forces to Scotland that they might assist Sir William Douglas "to carry on so bitter a war in England, that King Edward should be obliged to desist."²⁹⁷

To harass Edward while he was supporting the cause of John IV. of Brittany, Sir William Douglas made a desperate inroad by way of Carlisle on the 25th October, 1345, burning Gilsland and Penrith with the adjoining villages:—

"Gleaning the ravaged land with hot assays."

Before the battle of Crecy, and to oblige Philip, David II., now a lad of twenty-two years of age, personally led his army over the border by way of Liddel Motte. This

²⁹⁷ Froissart, i., c. iv.

was in July, 1346, and we must put down to the impetuosity of his youth, his ignorance of chivalry, and his wish to "show off," that inhuman atrocity which he committed there [see p. 25]. With such a record to commence his career, David pushed forward to Lanercost where he entered "the holy places, threw out the vessels of the temple, stole the treasures, smashed the doors and reduced [in nihilum] into nothingness everything they attacked." From this time the Priory relapsed into obscurity and seems never to have been able to lift up its head again.²⁹⁸

While the King was carrying on the siege of Calais [1347] Philip took pains to foment a rising of the Scots, but Queen Philippa proved herself too strong for them.

Again, the Scottish invasion of 1355, just before the battle of Poitiers and in response to the summons of King John of France, backed as it was by a contribution of 40,000 moutons d'or, exposed Scotland in return to the visitation of a formidable English invasion, led by Edward III. in person.²⁹⁹ On neither occasion, however, did these interventions avail to avert disaster from France; Edward gained the victory over Philip at Crecy, and the Black Prince repeated his father's exploits against John at Poitiers, where two hundred Scots, under William and Archibald Douglas, fought on the French side, as representatives of the alliance.

For a time after this the active alliance seems to have dwindled, for we find that Edward was enabled to conclude a treaty of peace with Scotland for a period of fourteen years, and to withdraw his army from the border in the year 1369, whilst he proclaimed himself King of France. And although Robert II., who succeeded

²⁹⁸ *Transactions*, o.s., i., 108.

²⁹⁹ Fordun, i., 371, 373, 375; Froissart, v., 332-39. The *mouton d'or* was a French gold coin bearing the figure of the Lamb of God [whence the name], current in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The *mouton*, issued by Edw. III. and Henry V. for use in the English possessions in France, is said to have had the value of five shillings sterling. *Oxford English Dictionary*.

David II., in 1371, renewed the League he did not intervene actively in the Anglo-French war during the remainder of Edward's reign.

The following two items from the State Papers shew us how the gentry were not only compelled to bear arms but also to remain upon their territories in readiness to be called upon. "February 18th, 1379.—Commission to Roger de Clifford, John de Haryngton, Hugh de Dacre, Matthew de Redman, John de Derwentwater, Gilbert de Culwen and others to array and equip with arms all men in the county capable of defending it, so as to resist all hostile invasion. March 13th, 1380.—Appointment of Roger de Clifford and Matthew de Redman, as a provision for the defence of the marches of Scotland against hostile attack, to compel, by distress and imprisonment if necessary, all lay persons having lands and rents of inheritance in the counties of Cumberland and Westmorland of the value of 100 marks and upwards, to remain upon them; and also to see that all castles and fortalices within three or four leagues of the frontier are fortified, repaired, suitably manned and provisioned."

War broke out again in 1383, when the Scots worried the town of Penrith. Two years later, in the month of May, John de Vienne, Admiral of France and one of the most experienced captains of the age, equipped a fleet in the interests of Scotland, with a thousand lances, knights and squires, the very flower of the French army, and with about the same number of cross-bowmen and common soldiers. On their arrival at Edinburgh they were received with great joy by the Scottish nobles, who had also raised an army for the purpose of making conjointly "such a fatal irruption into England that it would never recover the blow." Together they marched as far as Alnwick, but on witnessing the strength of the English forces arrayed against them, they turned aside and came into Cumberland. Here they overran the

entire district and ravaged it with awful ferocity "to amply revenge themselves." After having "burnt and destroyed large tracts of country they entered Westmorland, and burnt on their march several large villages . . . for all men-at-arms were with the King . . . but the city of Carlisle they could not conquer." Jealousies, however, broke out between the allies as sickness and privation reduced them to a wretched condition, so that when they returned again to Edinburgh the Admiral sought to disband his following. "Divers poor knights and squires were allowed passage and returned into Flanders or wherever they could land, as wind and weather drove them, famished, without arms or horses, cursing Scotland and wishing that their King would make a truce with the English so that he could march to Scotland and utterly destroy such wicked people." The Admiral and barons, however, were detained until treasure arrived from France to recompence and satisfy the hungry Scots for all the money expended and the damage done to their country.³⁰⁰ Thus ended an expedition on the great effects of which the French reckoned so much and were so grievously disappointed.

During all this dismal period, both sides of the Border suffered terribly. The military castles were hard hit, but the timber houses of the knights and squires were constantly burned to the ground. Indeed, the more important the owner the more frequently his dwelling was attacked. The tenant farmers, likewise, who by their land tenure were obliged to muster whenever bidden, were rendered desperate, not only by this service but by the loss of their cattle, the trampling of their crops, and the destruction of their farmsteads; whilst

³⁰⁰ Froissart, ii., chapters clvi., clx., clxix. to clxxiv.

the labouring classes died in great numbers from sheer famine and pestilence. Throughout it all, one point made itself manifestly felt, and that was that the flaming brand was the chief weapon used against them. The enemy had little thought of offering battle in manly fashion, so long as, in speeding forward, they could set light to gathered hay, ripened corn or thatched dwelling.

The hopelessness of it all, as we have seen, made itself apparent during the chaotic reign of Edward II., when a few of the leading landowners sought the fire-resisting capabilities of stone walls, but it was not until the following reign that their example became enthusiastically copied. The rectangular keep of the castle was adopted as a model, and so characteristic of the Border did this type of manor-house become, that, with sundry modifications, it was retained for effect right down to the end of the sixteenth century. Indeed, it is scarcely possible to examine any ancient farmstead without finding at its core the remnant of a tower around which the rest of the buildings have gathered.

The word "pele" was applied to the circumambient palisade only, either from the Anglo-Saxon *pil* [Latin *pilum*], or from the French *pel*, a pale or stake. Dr. George Neilson, in his scholarly treatise on the subject, has proved beyond dispute "the transition of the conception of peel as denoting a strength of wood, to its now universal acceptance denoting a tower of stone, irrespective of any correlative or antecedent sense." At first the single pale; secondly, the entrenched palisade, transformed later into a stone wall; and thirdly, when a curtain was no longer necessary for defensive purposes, the tower, itself so thoroughly identified with the pele, by insensible gradations became known by its name. Referring to the castle of Dumfries, he tells us that a stone tower was there before the pele was set up round about it by Edward I., in the autumn of 1300.

During the month of September, Friar Robert of Ulm and many others were busy in Inglewood Forest "making the peel." The exigences of war demanded haste; cordage and other necessities were purchased "to bind up the timber for conveyance to the peel"; whilst at Dumfries, ditchers, carpenters and smiths toiled hard. Four years later, repairs were executed because a storm had broken down a bit of the pele and fosse.³⁰¹ Or to take one other instance, in 1327, Roger de Manduit, Constable of Prudhoe, was ordered to construct a certain pele *without the gates* of that castle, at the expense of 20 marks.³⁰²

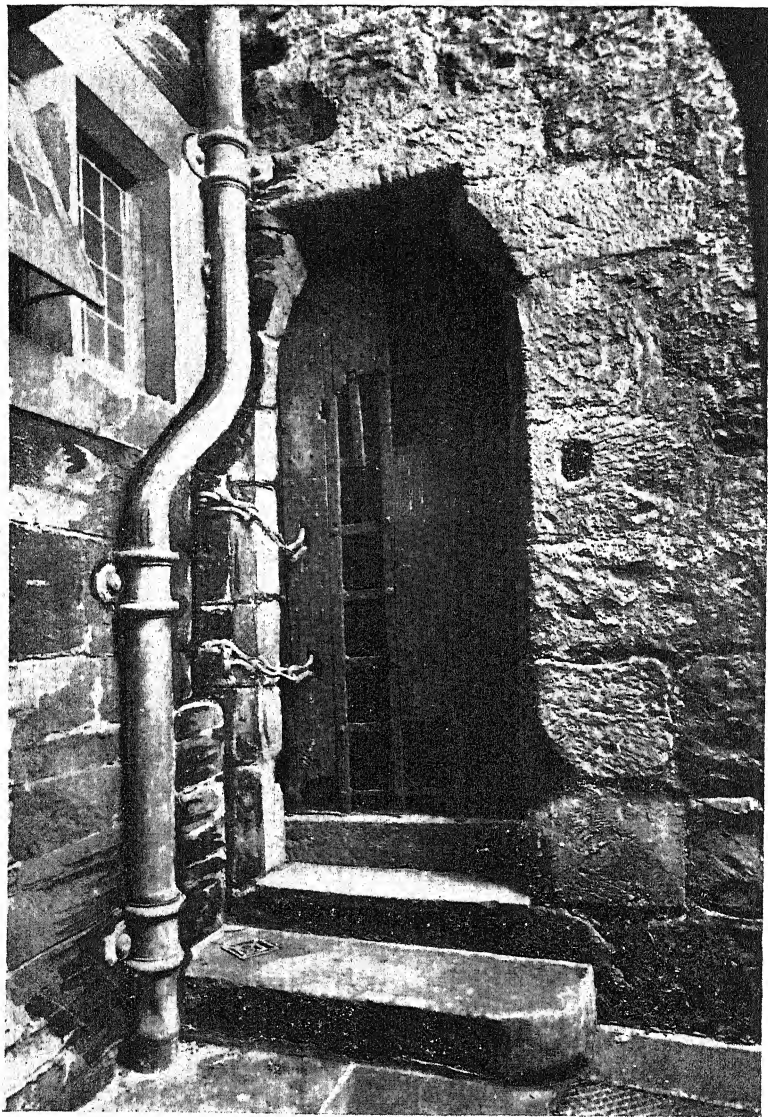
With the exception of the square towers of Millom, Naworth, and Rose, they were always oblong rectangular buildings, usually placed with their longer axis as near east and west as possible. The massive walls range from ten to four-and-a-half feet in thickness, never less before the end of the fourteenth century. In sandstone districts they were built of hammer-dressed ashlar-work with a plinth, notably at Askham, Newbiggin, Penrith, Rose, and Yanwath; but in the limestone districts we find them erected with huge blocks of unhewn rubble, without any plinth but with an abundance of excellent mortar. As originally built, no string course marked the different stages, neither was there any sort of projection whereon scaling-ladders might be hitched. In no instances do we find the flat angle pilasters which formed the distinguishing feature of the Norman keep.

The fourteenth century towers usually consisted of a vaulted basement, with two, or three, storeys above it.³⁰³

³⁰¹ *Peel, its meaning and derivation*, pp. 3 and 4.

³⁰² Abb. Rot. Orig., i., 299.

³⁰³ The Scottish Pele Towers are similar; the Marquis of Bute, in his book, *The Early Days of Sir William Wallace*, says that "the tower was three or four storeys high with one room in each storey, the ground floor a vaulted cellar." Closeburn in Nithsdale, however, has both the first and top floor also vaulted; whilst the old tower of Neidpath has each of its four storeys vaulted over.



NAWORTH CASTLE: DOORWAY TO DACRE'S TOWER.

Photo. by Rev. G. J. Goodman.

TO FACE P. 175.

With the exception of Kentmere and Rose, the entrance was on the ground level, usually at the north-east corner, and beneath a very low and slightly pointed arch that led into the basement. From out of the jamb of the entrance another low doorway opened into the newel staircase. Now it was of little use to vault the basement and take other precautions against the flaming brands of the enemy, if with but little trouble they could actually gain access to the tower by simply burning down this entrance door.

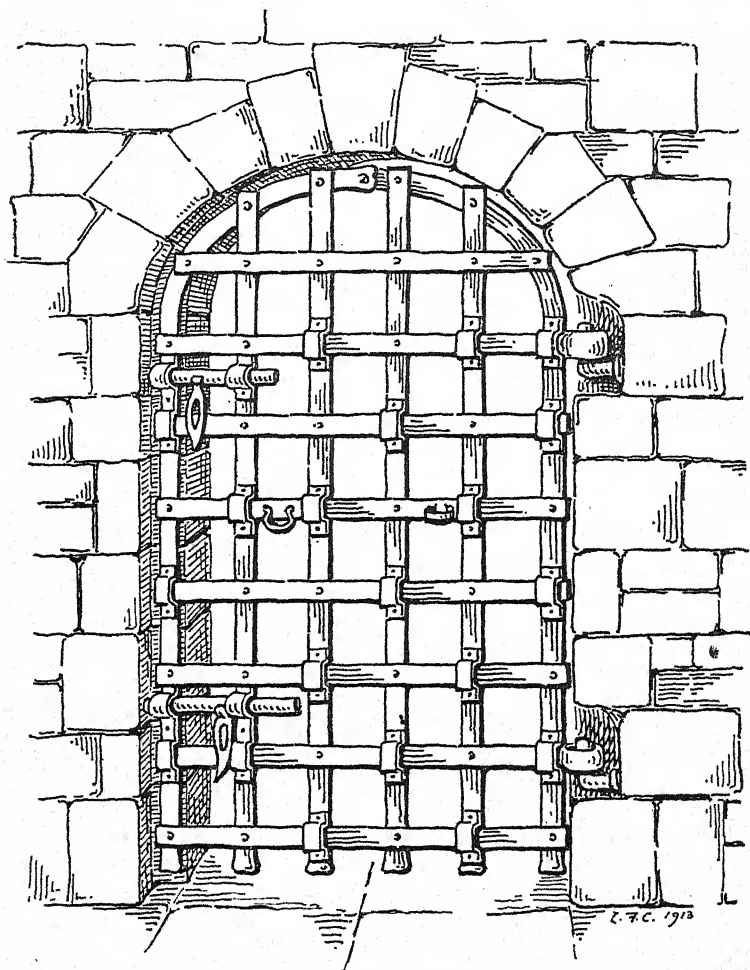
“Thei layed corne and straw to the dore,
And burnt it both rofe and flore
And so smoked theym out.”

Therefore, I think we may take it for granted that, like the towers across the Border, these doorways were all originally protected by cross-barred doors of hammered iron. If so, they have mostly disappeared from our district, but there are still four excellent examples to be seen at Naworth and Dalston;³⁰⁴ one in each of the two churches of Burgh-by-Sands and Great Salkeld; whilst another good example can be seen at Bywell-on-Tweed.³⁰⁵ Indubitable proof, however, alike of their number on the Borders, and of their strength, is to be found in an Order issued against them by James I. when he came to the throne of England. On the 25th February, 1605, he appointed a commission for the pacification of the Border and directed that “the haill of the Irone yettis in the houssis on the Bordouris to be removit and turnit in plew ironis or other necessar work.”

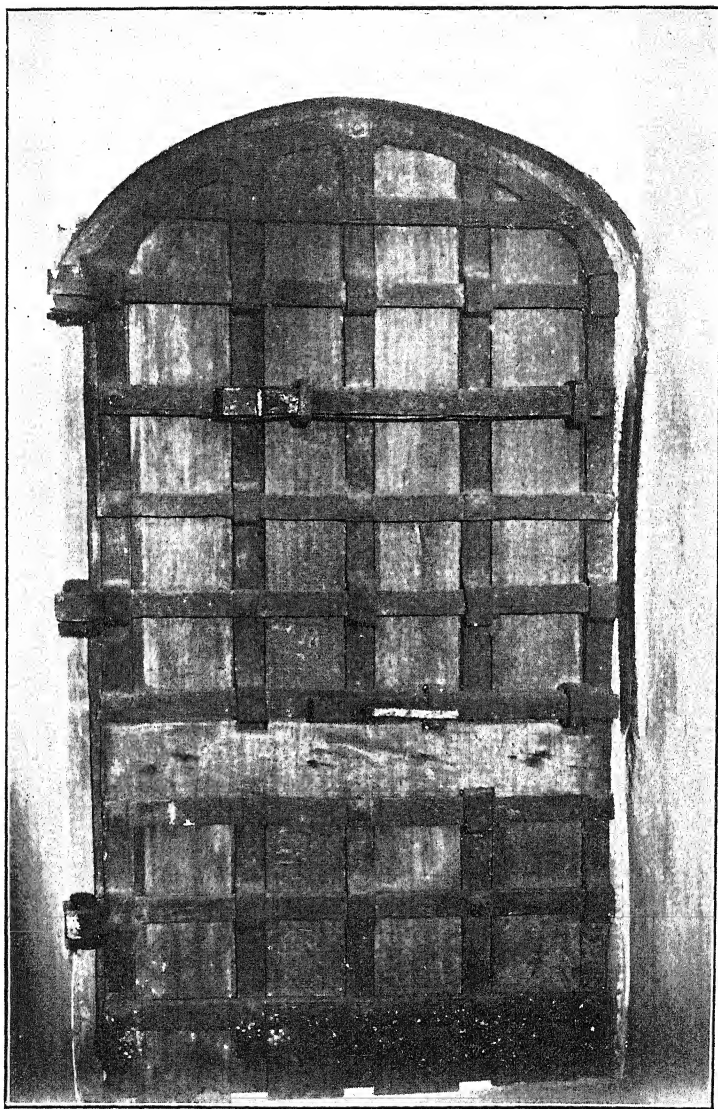
In construction our Cumberland examples bear common characteristics. Unlike the twenty-four known examples

³⁰⁴ I am greatly indebted to Mr. E. W. Stead for the measurements that he has supplied of his door at Dalston, and to Mr. Henry Penfold for drawing my attention to those at Naworth.

³⁰⁵ In Viollet le Duc's *Military Architecture* grilles are mentioned as having been in common use to defend the entrances and passages of mediæval castles in France.



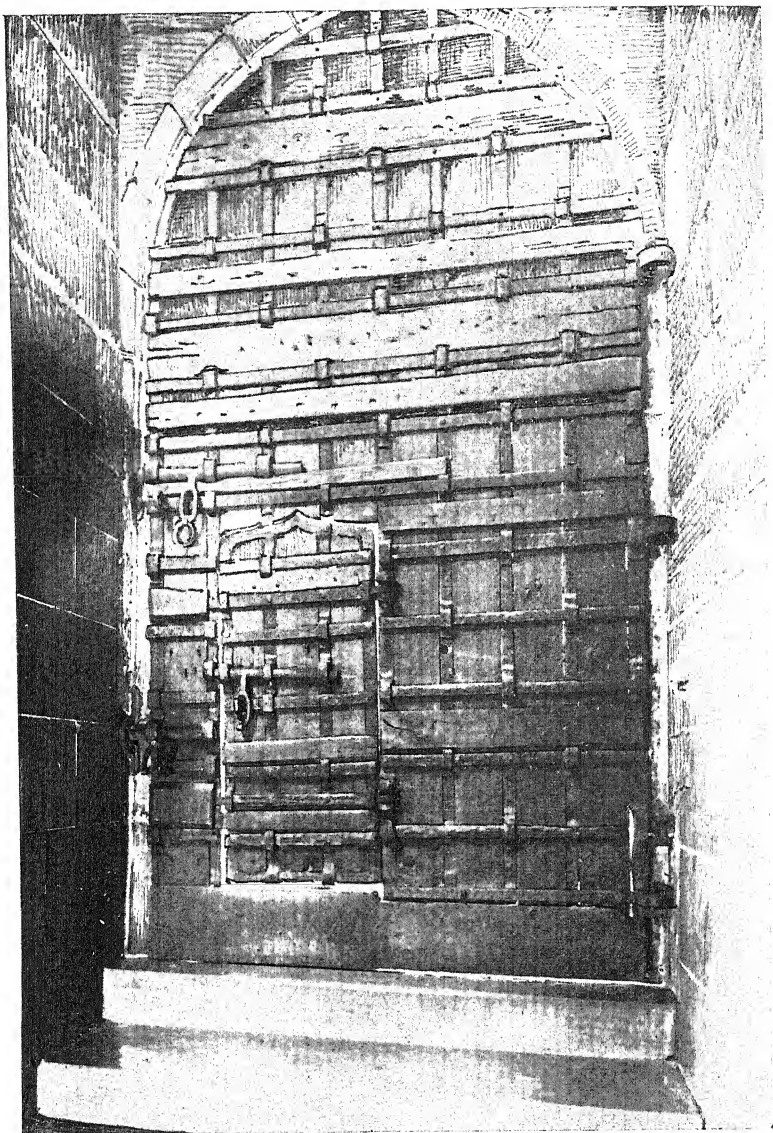
ENTRANCE DOOR TO DALSTON HALL.



GT. SALKELD CHURCH.

Photo, by Mr. A. Smith,

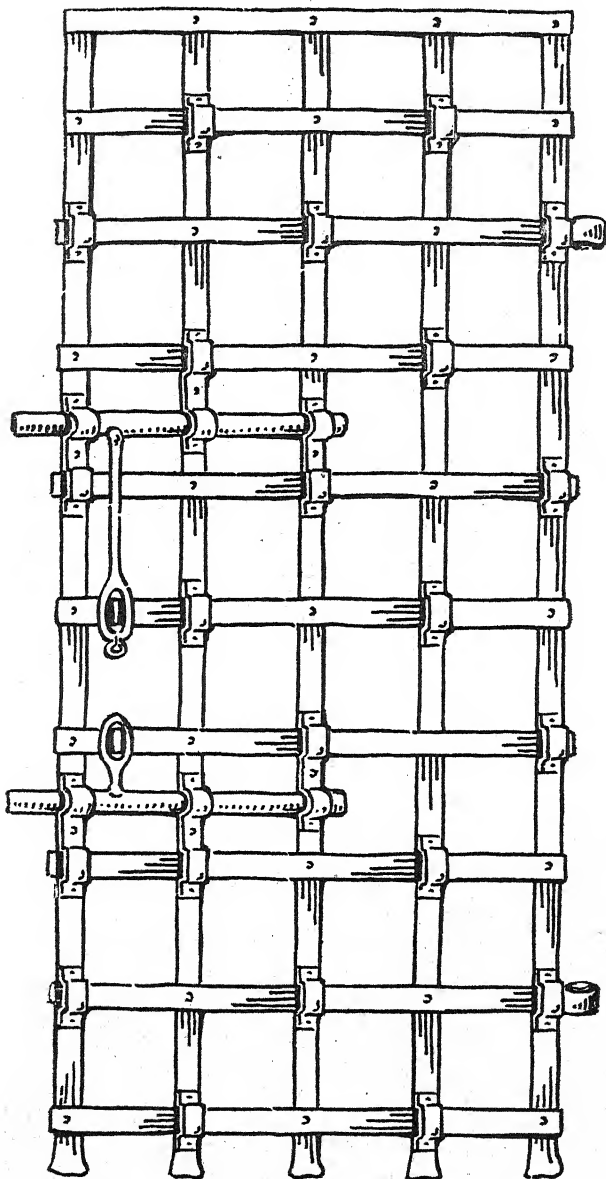
TO FACE P. 176.



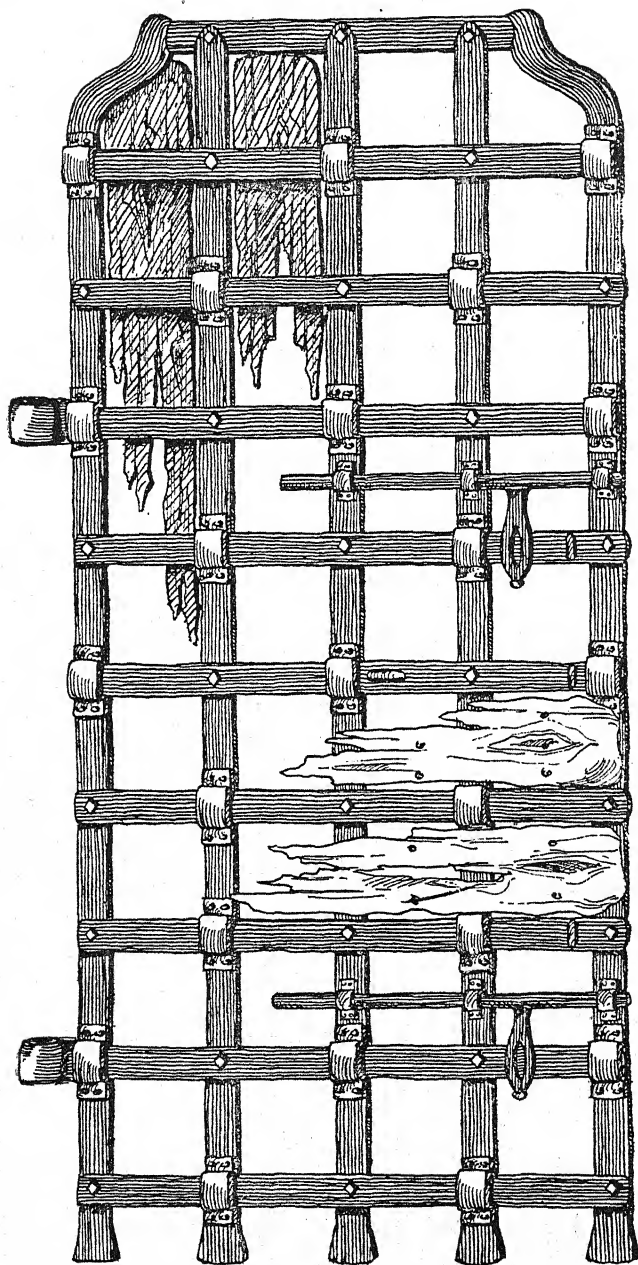
NAWORTH CASTLE: GREAT PORTAL.

Photo. by Rev. G. J. Goodman.

TO FACE P. 177.



Naworth - Lt William Howard's Tower
6' 0" x 2' 8"



BURGH-BY-SANDS CHURCH.

in Scotland, where the iron bars alternate in penetrating one another, our plan seems to have been to lay the upright bars on the face of and in front of the horizontal bars. At their intersections they were fixed to each other alternately by rivets and clasps. Again, in the Scottish examples we find two separate doors—the outer door of oak and the inner grille of iron. But by the English method of laying the bars across the face of each other, it became possible to board the front of the door vertically between the upright bars, and likewise to board the back of the door horizontally between the horizontal bars, thus uniting, as it were, the two separate doors in one. The late Dr. Christison wrote³⁰⁶ that he had not met with any instances in Scotland of this method of planking the two faces of the grille. The doors were secured with massive iron bolts that ran into prepared holes in the wall and were fixed in position by a hasp, closing over a staple, and fastened by a padlock. In all instances the door was hung so near to the soffit of the archway that it could not be lifted off its hinges.

Unlike the Norman castles, the basement of the fourteenth century tower is found vaulted over in stone. If the area was thought to be too great for a single vault, twenty feet being considered a fair limit, then it was divided by a thick cross wall pierced with a connecting doorway, and from which a vault was thrown across each section, as at Sizergh. The vaulting assumed the form of the waggon-shaped arch as a rule, but occasionally it is slightly pointed, as at Burneside, Dalston, and Linstock. There is a peculiar feature at Burneside, where the basement is divided into two cellars by a passage-way, four feet wide, that runs right through the tower from side to side. The passage has a pointed vault and probably gave access to an enclosure beyond, into which the cattle may have been driven for additional safety.

³⁰⁶ *Proceedings of the Society Antiq. of Scotland*, N.S., v., p. 98.

The basement was aired, rather than lighted, by one or more narrow loopholes in each face, very widely splayed within and sometimes stepped up to, on the inside, as at Dacre, Howgill and elsewhere. It is not probable that these slits formed any material part in the defence of the tower; the width of the range in front offered but limited scope, and the space within was too cramped for effective use of the long-bow. They merely aired what was nothing more nor less than the store-room, wherein the winter's food was kept. For during the autumn all oxen, sheep and pigs were slaughtered, except a few for breeding purposes, because there were no roots or winter stuffs to feed them on. Mangel-wurzels were first introduced into Cumberland by Philip Howard of Corby, in the year 1756, and, to show the conservative nature of our people, it was some forty years before the farmers freely began to follow his example. The flesh, therefore, of the slaughtered animals was cut into "collops" and preserved in tubs of brine, or salted and hung, or potted and covered over with lard. Hence we have the term "Collop Monday," signifying the date when such provisions were all supposed to be finished, *i.e.*, before the commencement of the lenten fast; also the term "Larder," denoting the place where such larded tubs were kept. The old German name for the month of November was *Slagtmonat* [Schlachtmonat] or slaughter month, and the Anglo-Saxon name was *Blōtmōnath* or month of sacrifice, hence connected with slaughter.³⁰⁷ The characteristic occupations of the various months are sculptured on the late fourteenth century capitals in the choir of Carlisle Cathedral, and there December, on the most north-easterly column, is represented by a man with a pole-axe, grasped by the handle in both hands, slaying an ox.³⁰⁸ Anything that

³⁰⁷ Bede, *De temp. rat.*, cap. xv.

³⁰⁸ *Transactions*, O.S., ii., 291.

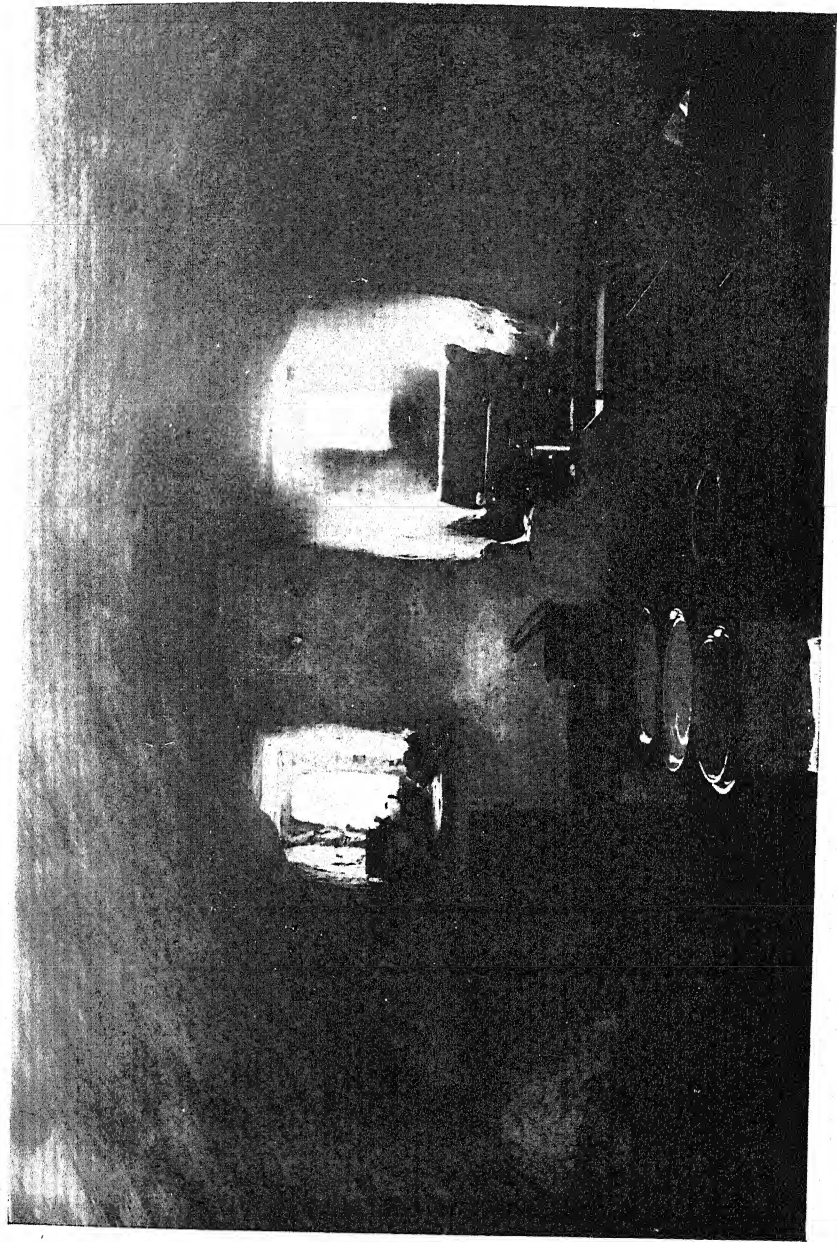


Photo. by H. Bell.

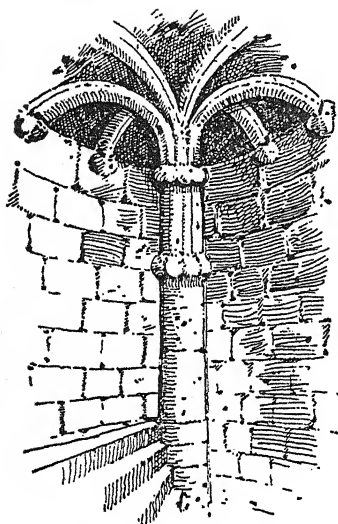
UBARROW HALL: THE CELLARS.

could vary or palliate such a salted diet, from Michaelmas to Midsummer, was eagerly cultivated; hence we find fish-ponds in which carp and tench were fattened for the table, warrens of conies, and pigeon-houses in the immediate neighbourhood of the castle, manor-house or rectory. For a long period the aristocracy only were allowed to keep pigeons, and even as late as 1615 we find the Lord Chief Justice Coke sending instructions to the constables of every hundred that "no dove-houses were to be erected or maintained by any but the lord of the manor and the parson."³⁰⁹ We have noticed the triangular pigeon-holes at Brough Castle and the dove-cot at Kendal Castle. Besides these, pigeon-houses are still to be found at Hutton-i'-th'-Forest [octagonal with 450 nests], Rose [square, 800 nests], Highhead [octagonal, 520 nests], and Corby [square, 750 nests]; at Barrock Park [octagonal], Bunker's Hill near Carlisle [circular, 560 nests], Crookdake Hall [square, 700 nests], Edenhall, Great Blencowe [square, 268 nests], Hutton John [square], and Wreay Hall [octagonal, 530 nests].³¹⁰ Bishop Nicolson, in his *Account of the Diocese of Carlisle*, mentions pigeons breeding in the very churches of Warwick, Skelton and Morland, whilst at Aspatria and Plumbland [square, 600 nests] Vicarages there are pigeon-houses capable of holding a large number of these destructive birds. So numerous were they that they became a veritable scourge to the helpless peasants.

The strength of the tower was increased by the principle of a narrow winding staircase, that could not possibly be rushed, and up which only one person could ascend at a time. In the larger towers this staircase was formed wholly within the thickness of the wall, but where this was impracticable the internal angle was encroached upon to receive it. Generally it led right up to the roof, but

³⁰⁹ Cal. St. Pap., vol. xl., 70.

³¹⁰ *Transactions*, O.S., ix., 422, *seqq.*



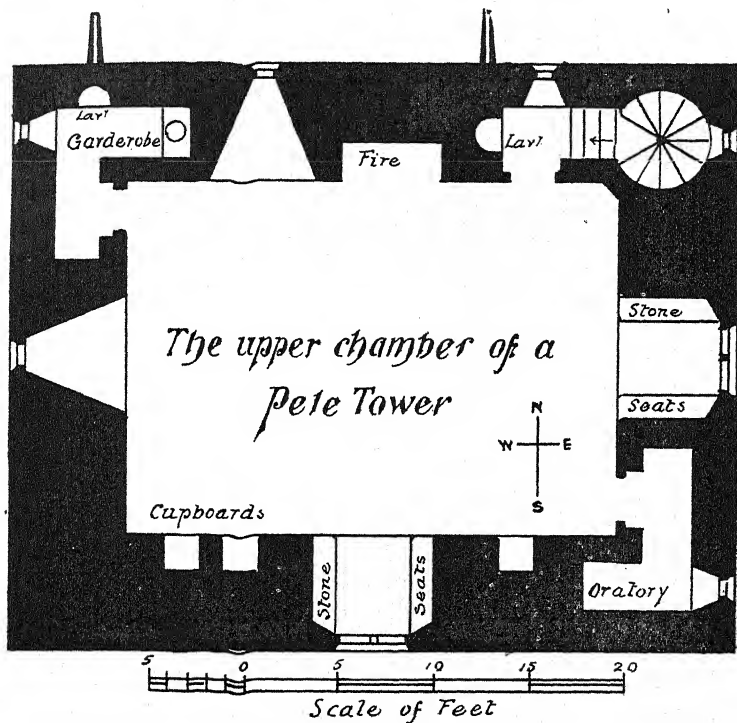
JOHNBY NEWEL.

sometimes it was finished off in good architectural fashion, as can be best seen at Cockermouth Castle and Johnby Hall, near Greystoke. Here the newels are branched out into moulded and arched ribs to support the groining of the roof vaults above.

The first floor of the tower was the Common Room, where the family met together with their guests, where they ate, and where at night-time the squires and friends slept. Above this again was the lady's bower,

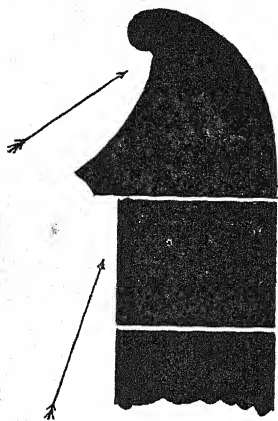
a special sleeping room, and which also served as a state reception room. Neither of these floors seems to have been divided by any partitions. Although the lower windows had to be of necessity very narrow and small, the lady's bower was provided with double-light decorated windows, ornamented with cusps and trefoils, as can still be seen at Catterlen, Dacre, Hazleslack, Kentmere, Sizergh and Yanwath. At first these windows were merely furnished with lattice or shutters affixed on the outside to the window head, and pushed up and kept raised by a prop of wood or iron. The inmates, who sat upon the stone seats flanking the window jambs, had to choose between light or warmth. Large owners, however, as a sign of great magnificence, sometimes had loose casements made of the rare and expensive glass, which could be placed into the openings and easily taken out again for removal to another room or tower. In later centuries and with the advance of peace and refinement, these windows were gradually replaced by large horizontal openings divided by mullions

and glazed with small leaded panes. Recessed into the walls at different points are square lockers or cupboards, and, where the thickness of the walls allows of it, we find mural chambers and "cabinets of necessity" within the angles. Not infrequently we find also, cut in the stone at the head of the newel staircase, washing basins or



sinks, the waste waters from which were projected by gargoyles from the face of the tower. The internal door-heads took the form of a corbelled lintel, or what is known as the Carnarvon-arch; at first the openings were very narrow, but by the fifteenth century they widened out very perceptibly, as we find at Isel—indeed, in our towers, the width of the Carnarvon-arch doorway is a very fair guide to the age of the building.

The flat roof on the summit was the real fighting-deck, so that here we find the parapet embattled, with merlons to protect the archer as a shield, and with embrasures or



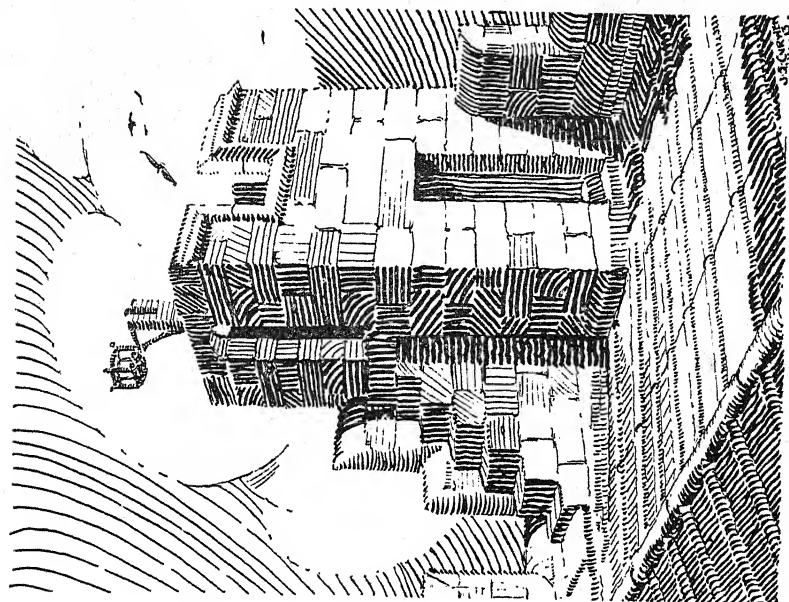
crenelles through which to shoot. I am not prepared to admit that the coping stones were originally designed, as we are led to believe, with a roll upon the top for ornament and with a projecting lip below for throwing the rain off from the face of the wall. Military architecture was not so careful for ornament nor so fadsome about the rain. As the enemy shot from beneath, I venture to suggest that these coping stones were scientifically constructed to prevent

the arrows that hit the wall from glancing up the face and ricochetting against the defenders.

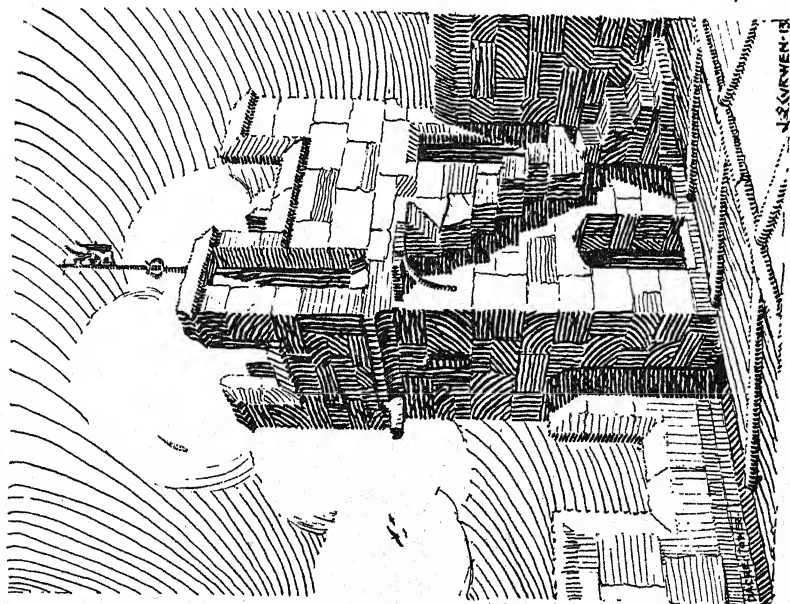
Fortified house building was, from a very early period, considered as a privilege to be granted solely by the Crown. During Stephen's reign, it was so great an object to get fortresses built quickly that the royal prerogative seems to have been allowed to lie dormant, but at his death Henry II. commanded the wholesale destruction of all these "adulterine castles"⁸¹¹ which had been built to withstand his mother, and thus clearly revived the claim. With Henry III. a regular form of licence had to be applied for and granted, either by the Crown or by the Lord Warden of the March, before a house could be lawfully fortified. It is no doubt owing to our having no record of the licences issued by the Lord Wardens that the accompanying list [p. 188] is so incomplete.

In most cases the roof is flat and covered with strong lead, but we have a few examples, such as at Dacre and

⁸¹¹ *Adulterinus* = spurious, counterfeit, unlicensed.



GUARD TURRET AT YANWATH HALL.



GUARD TURRET AT NAWORTH CASTLE.

Clifton, where there is a low pitched roof with an alure inside the battlements giving a flat walk to the defenders. The ridges seldom rise above the level of the parapet. The high pitched roof and stepped gable of Kirkandrewson-Esk is a notable exception, and speaks clearly of Scottish influence, if not of Scottish construction. At some prominent position a watch turret rose above the battlements, consisting of a guard chamber capable of containing some dozen men, and of a crenellated platform above, that was reached by an external flight of steps. The guard for the time being sheltered within the chamber, whilst one or two of their number took sentinel turn on the platform. A constant day and night watch was kept for the approach of a raiding party, or for the alarm-fire calling for help from a neighbouring tower.

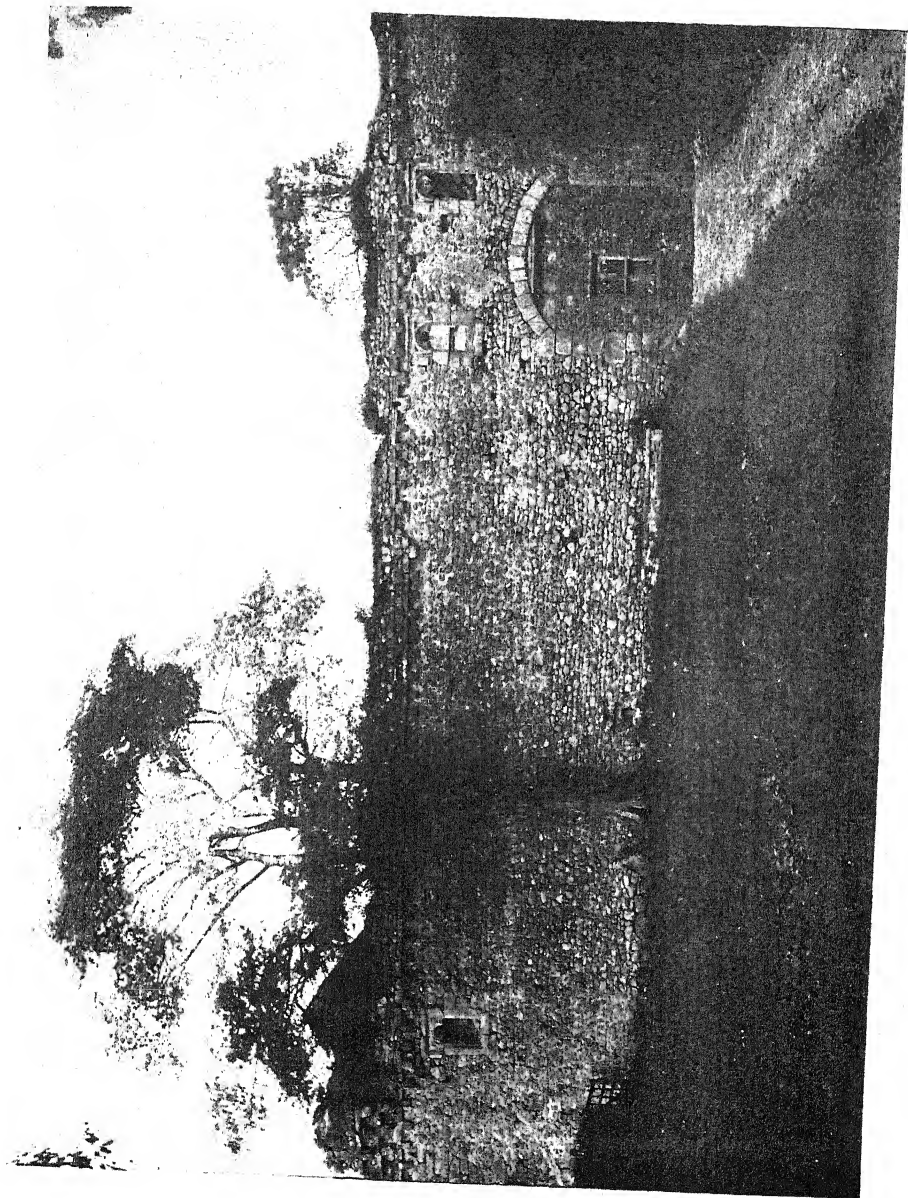
“They watch, to hear the bloodhound baying;
They watch, to hear the war-horn braying;
To see St. George’s red cross streaming,
To see the midnight beacon gleaming.”

Scott, *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*.

The standard of the owner flew from the battlements, and prouder still was he if he could gain the right to erect a weather-vane. In France, and I believe that the custom prevailed in England likewise, it was considered a privilege of gentility to place vanes upon a mansion, moreover it appears that the form of the vane varied according to the chivalric rank of the owner.³¹²

There would seem to be no doubt that at first these towers were girdled with a close palisading only, that toward the end of the fourteenth century a high curtain wall gradually took its place, and that the name of “pele”

³¹² Parker, *Glossary of Architecture*, 505. “Les créneaux et les tours qui servaient à la défense des châteaux en marquaient la noblesse, et les gentilhommes seuls avaient le privilège de parer de girouettes la façade de leurs maisons. Ces girouettes étaient en pointe comme les pennons, pour les simples chevaliers, et carrées comme les bannières pour les chevaliers bannerets.” *Essai sur les Girouettes*, par E. de la Quêrière, 1846.



MIDDLETON HALL, CURTAIN AND GATEHOUSE.
From C. & W. A. & A. S. Transactions.

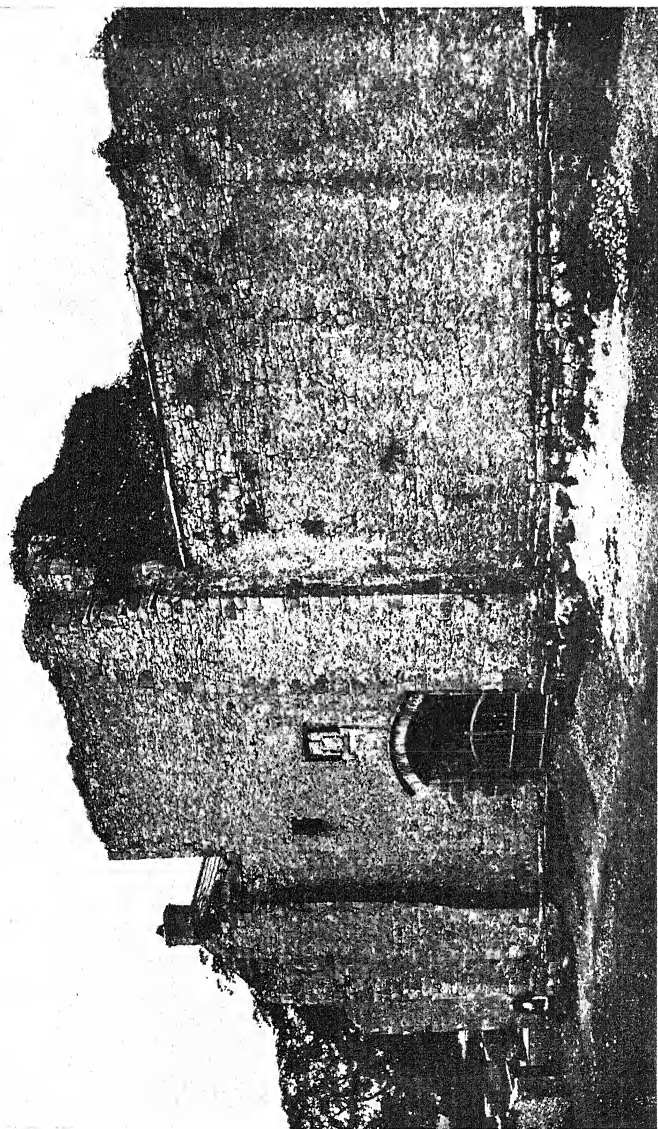


Photo. by H. Bell.

WHARTON HALL, CURTAIN WALL AND GATEHOUSE.

TO FACE P. 187.

was extended to it. Unfortunately there are not many towers where these curtains survive, but remnants of them are still to be found at Beetham and Burneside, Nether Levens and Middleton, Wharton and Yanwath. They were erected on a broad basis and with the parapet projecting on corbels so as to allow further width for a rampart walk along the top. The court thus enclosed was entered through a strongly defended gatehouse, set astride the curtain, and of one or two storeys in height for the working of the portcullis and for the accommodation of the porter. From a grille within the gate the traveller, whoever he might be, was interrogated; if cautiously admitted, he would be passed on to the petty constable, who, fierce with ignorant superstition and vigilant with habitual hostility, either seated him as a guest at the table or confined him as a spy in the dungeons beneath.

Such were the homes of those who, by their deeds, have left a lasting mark upon our local history. Strong impenetrable boxes, as it were, situated on the southern bank of a river so as to interpose the water between it and the northern enemy; unassailable by fire, against which the artillery of the time was powerless, and in which a few resolute defenders could shut themselves up and resist attack. It is true that they might be starved out, but then the raiders had no time or inclination to prolong a siege, and, moreover, help from a neighbouring tower was always at hand.

LICENCES FOR CRENELLATION :—

LICENCES ISSUED BY EDWARD II.

1307, August 24th. Drumburgh Castle.

Ricardus le Brun . . . mansum suum . . .

Drombogh in marchiâ Scotiæ, Cumb^r.⁸¹⁸

1307, August 24th. Dunmalloght Castle.

Willielmus de Dacre . . . mansum suum . . .

Dunmalloght in marchiâ Scotiæ, Cumb^r.⁸¹⁴

1307, August 24th. Scaleby Castle.

Robertus de Tylliol . . . mansum suum . . .

Scaleby in marchiâ Scotiæ, Cumb^r.⁸¹⁵

1318, July 12th. Wythop Hall.

Hugo de Louthre . . . mansum suum . . .

de Wythehope in . . . Derwentefelles, Cumb^r.⁸¹⁶

1322, March 13th. Aykhurst.

Rex omnibus ballivis et fidelibus suis ad quos etc. salutem. Sciatis quod de gratia nostra speciali concessimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris dilecto et fidei nostro Roberto de Leyburn' quod ipse mansum suum de Aykhurst in Comitatu Cumbriensi muro de petra et calce firmari et kernellare, et mansum illud sic firmatum et kernellatum tenere possit sibi et heredibus suis imperpetuum sine occasione vel impedimento nostri vel heredum nostrorum vicecomitum aut aliorum ballivorum seu ministrorum nostrorum quorumcumque. In cujus etc. Teste Rege apud Derby xiiij die Marcii.⁸¹⁷

LICENCES ISSUED BY EDWARD III.

1327, September 26th. Piel Castle.

Abbot and Convent of Fournays to crenellate their dwelling house of Fotheray in Fournays, Lancaster.⁸¹⁸

1335, July 27th. Naworth Castle.

Ranulphus de Dacre . . . mansum suum . . .

Naward, Cumb^r.⁸¹⁹⁸¹⁸ Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1307-13, p. 11.⁸¹⁶ Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1317-21, p. 189.⁸¹⁸ Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1327-30, p. 169.⁸¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 11.⁸¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 8.⁸¹⁷ Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1321-24, p. 82.⁸¹⁹ Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1334-38, p. 168.

1335, August 24th. Millom Castle.

Johannes de Hodleston . . . mansum suum . . .
Millum, Cumb^r.³²⁰

1336, April 9th. Rose Castle.

Sciatis quod de gracia nostra speciali concessimus
et licenciam dedimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris
uenerabili patri, Johanni episcopo Karliolensi, quod
ipse mansum suum de la Rose muro de petra et calce
firmare et kernellare et mansum illud sic firmatum
et kernellatum tenere possit sibi et successoribus suis
episcopis loci predicti imperpetuum, etc.³²¹

1340, February 4th. Triermain Castle.

Robertus de Vaux . . . mansum suum . . .
Treuermane in Marchi' Scociæ.³²²

1342, October 6th. Highhead Castle.

Willielmus Lengleys dilectus valletus noster . . .
manerium suum de Heyvehead.³²³

1346, April 10th. Penrith.

Homines villæ de Penereth quod ipsam villam
predictam muro de petra et calce firmare et kernellare
. . . Penereth.³²⁴

1348, October 13th. Wolsty Castle.

Abbas de Holmcoltram . . . manerium infra
limites de Holmcoltram . . . Wolmsty, Cumb^r.³²⁵

1353, October 4th. Harcla Castle.

Thomas de Musgrave . . . mansum manerii
. . . Harcla Westmorland.³²⁶ The Roll adds
"quod prope Marciam Scociæ situatur et per Scotos
inimicos nostros sæpius ante hæc tempora com-
bustum extitit et destructum." There was another
patent issued in 1360.

³²⁰ Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1334-38, p. 167.

³²¹ Pat. Rolls, 10 Edw. III., pt. i., m. 27, or Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1334-38, p. 245.

³²² Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1338-40, p. 417.

³²³ Pat. Rolls, 16 Edw. III., p. 2, m. 18.

³²⁴ Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1345-48, p. 69.

³²⁵ Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1348-50, p. 194.

³²⁶ Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1350-54, p. 493.

1353, October 5th. Greystoke Castle.

Willielmus, Baro de Craystok . . . mansum . . .
Craystok, Cumb.³²⁷

1355, June 25th. Rose Castle.

Gilbert, Episcopus Karliol . . . mansum . . .
La Rose.³²⁸

LICENCES ISSUED BY RICHARD II.

1380, March 4th. Workington Hall.

Gilbertus de Culwen, miles quandam . . . domum
per ipsum ut dicit apud manerium . . . suum de
Wyrkyngton, Cumb.^r juxta Marchiam Scotiæ muro
de petro et calce edificatam firmare et kernellare.³²⁹

1397, February 13th. Bishop's Tower, Penrith Castle.

Willielmus Stirkeland, clericus, quod ipse . . . quan-
dam cameram suam in villa de Penereth in Marchia
Scotiæ muro de petra et calce firmare et kernellare.³³⁰

1399. Willielmus Stirkeland . . . unum mantelettum
suum in Penereth March. Scociæ. The Roll recites
the previous grant thus :—" Sciatis quod cum nuper
per literas nostras patentes de gratia speciali con-
cesserimus dilecto ligeo nostro Willielmo de Stirke-
land licentiam faciendam et kernellandam de petra
et calce quandam cameram in villa de Penereth
super Marchia Scociæ prout in eisdem literis plenius
continetur. Nos de uberiori gratia nostra conces-
simus eidem Willielmo licentiam quod ipse unum
mantelettum de petra et calce facere et cameræ
prædictæ conjungere et mantelettum prædictam
kernellare et illud sic kernellatum tenere possit
sibi et heredibus suis imperpetuum in auxilium et
succursum ville predicti et patrie adjacentis."³³¹

³²⁷ Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1350-54, p. 495.

³²⁸ Pat. Rolls, 29 Edw. III., pt. ii., m. 19; Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1354-58, p. 252.

³²⁹ Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1377-81, 447.

³³⁰ Pat. Rolls, 20 Rich. II., pt. 2, m. 22.

³³¹ Pat. Rolls, 22 Rich. II., pt. 3, m. 37; *Transactions*, N.S., vii., 288.

Fourteenth century towers, given in the order of their size.

V. & 2 = Vaulted basement and 2 storeys over ; D.V. = Double vaulted basement.

| Name. | Size. | Height. | Axes. | Base-ment Walls. | Floors. | Present Condition. |
|----------------------|----------|---------|---------|------------------|----------|--------------------|
| Piel | 80 by 76 | 45 | N. & S. | 10 | 3 | Ruin. |
| Howgill | 64 „ 33 | — | N. & S. | 10 | V. & 2 | Farm. |
| Sizergh | 60 „ 39½ | 58 | E. & W. | 9½—7 | D.V. & 3 | Mansion. |
| Broughton-in-Furness | 54 „ 44 | 60 | E. & W. | 7—5 | D.V. & 3 | Mansion. |
| Millom.. .. | 50 „ 50 | — | Sq. | — | — | Farm. |
| Dacre | 48 „ 37 | 66 | E. & W. | 8½—7 | D.V. & 2 | Farm. |
| Levens | 46 „ 25 | — | N. & S. | 4½ | V. & 2 | Mansion. |
| Lammerside | 45 „ 37½ | — | E. & W. | 5 | V. & 2 | Ruin. |
| Arnside | 45 „ 31½ | 50 | E. & W. | 4½ | 4 | Ruin. |
| Burneside | 45 „ 30 | — | E. & W. | 4½ | D.V. & 2 | Farm. |
| Dalton.. .. | 45 „ 30 | — | N. & S. | 6—5 | 3 | Courthouse. |
| Cliburn | 45 „ 29½ | — | E. & W. | 5½—4½ | V. & 2 | Farm. |
| Beetham | 45 „ 27 | — | E. & W. | 4 | 3 | Farm. |
| Workington | 43 „ 34 | — | E. & W. | 9½—7 | V. & 2 | Mansion. |
| Denton Foot | 42½ „ 26 | — | E. & W. | 5 | 2 | Farm. |
| Scaleby | 40 „ 30 | — | — | 8—7 | V. & 3 | Mansion. |
| Yanwath | 38 „ 30 | 55 | N. & S. | 6 | V. & 2 | Farm. |
| Ormside | 36 „ 27½ | — | E. & W. | 6—5 | 3 | Farm. |
| Asby | 36 „ 24 | — | E. & W. | 6 | V. & 1 | Rectory. |
| Branthwaite | 34 „ 27½ | 39 | E. & W. | 4½ | V. & 2 | Farm. |
| Irton | 33 „ 22 | 66 | E. & W. | 6 | 3 | Mansion. |
| Linstock | 32 „ 25½ | — | N. & S. | 6 | V. & 2 | Farm. |
| Hutton-in-Forest | 32 „ 24 | 41½ | E. & W. | 6 | 3 | Mansion. |
| Denton | 31 „ 27½ | — | E. & W. | 6½ | 2 | Farm. |
| Kentmere | 31 „ 23 | — | E. & W. | 5 | V. & 3 | Farm. |
| Naworth | 29 „ 29 | 76 | Sq. | 9½—7½ | V. & 2 | Mansion. |
| Rose | 29 „ 29 | — | Sq. | 7½ | V. & 2 | Mansion. |
| Sockbridge | 28 „ 22 | — | — | 6 | — | Farm. |
| Randalholme | 27½ „ 26 | — | E. & W. | 5½ | V. & 2 | Farm. |

XI.

PROTECTIVE DYKES.

BEFORE proceeding to notice in detail the Border Peles, it is necessary to interrupt the train of thought for a little to examine those earthen dykes that were thrown across or around certain areas, and, whatever may have been their origin, were certainly used as a protection against the Scots. The real defence of a castle or tower lay at first in its forewarning. To be forewarned was to be forearmed. So that in situations remote from a beacon or neighbouring tower we have instances where an outwork was either constructed, or else made use of, and upon which watch and ward were regularly kept.

BASCO DYKE, AINSTABLE. C. 32, S.W.; 40, N.W.

Early maps show a dyke running from Ainstable towards Ruckcroft by the name of Basco, and its former existence is indicated by the names of three farms, a short distance to the west of the main road going south, called Bascodyke Foot, Bascodyke, and Bascodyke Head. From the latter farm it seems to have taken a right-angled bend toward the east, passing in a straight line High Dykes to Low Castledyke; from here it seems to have taken another straight line to the south-east, where there is now a lane, crossing Croglin Water at the ford, and thence down to Crindledyke. Mr. T. H. B. Graham says, "All traces of dike and cross-dike have vanished, but their object was evidently to fence the cultivated land, near the Eden and Croglin water."

REFERENCE:—*Transactions*, N.S., xiii., 30.

BISHOP'S DYKE, DALSTON.

C. 23, S.E., S.W. ; 30, N.W., S.W.

This dyke, or *Fossa Episcopi*, traversed, for some three or four miles, those north and west sides of the manor of Dalston, which were the more open to attack from Scottish incursions. It seems to have commenced on the river Caldew, near Cummersdale, and then passed behind Dalston Hall in a north-westerly direction, crossing the road from Dalston to Carlisle at a place called East Barras, until, a couple of hundred yards beyond, it took a right-angled bend to the south-west. From this bend it widens from 37 to 83 feet, and soon passes through a morass, when all trace of it is now lost. It is picked up again, however, in a strip of wood just beyond, where the outer rampart is well preserved. From here it continued to West Barras at Barras Brow foot. After crossing Barras lane it proceeded up what is now called Bewbank lane, at the head of which it crossed the road from Dalston to Cardew at Bruntgate. From Bruntgate it followed the present footpath to Bellgate, and, continuing in a south-westerly direction, finally ran on to the steep banks of Shawk Beck, the utmost boundary of the manor of Dalston in that direction.



The earthwork consists of a *terre pleine*, i.e., an artificially raised causeway, on either side of which is a rampart of earth with a deep ditch outside, and, as a further obstacle, a wide margin of whins or scrub beyond. It varied very much in width, but throughout its length the outer ditch and rampart are deeper and larger than those on the inner side.

At the four positions where the dyke crossed the roads, bar-houses were placed with gates and chains thrown across the openings. The place names alone are a sufficient indication of their origin.

It is alluded to in the Orders of the Watches for 1552, "From the head of Cardewmire to Little Dalston bars, the lordship of Dalston to watch and keep the Bishop-dyke, according to their ancient custom in the same."

The watch of the dyke was manorial, and by a law of 1593 it was ordained that "everye one, both man and woman, shall kepe watch upon the Byshoppe Dicke when their night comethe." At the northern bend where there is an extensive view, the beacon of Lingeyclosehead was always ready to flame up and give them warning at the approach of an enemy.

The burden of the dyke's upkeep rested upon the tenants; trespass upon it was visited with punishment, whilst meddling with or breaking it down was a penal offence.

Only a small portion about Dalston Hall Wood now remains. It is probable that the western section was obliterated when the waste lands were enclosed in 1807.

REFERENCES :—Dr. James Wilson, *Rose Castle*, pp. 184-199; Whellan, 161; *Transactions*, O.S., vii., 271; N.S., xiii., 24.

BISHOP'S OR BARON'S DYKE, LINSTOCK.

C. 17, N.W. AND S.W.

Although this dyke formed the boundary between the Bishop's manor of Crosby and the Barony of Gilsland, it none the less protected the vulnerable east side of Linstock against such Scots as chose, for their incursions, the open country over the wild mosses of Bewcastle.

It runs in a southerly direction for a distance of two miles from the Roman Wall near Bleatarn to Newby. Mr. T. H. B. Graham well describes its course thus:—"The white gate, hung across the road which follows the line of the Roman Wall, is the starting point. A sike draining White Moss . . . flows in what has perhaps been the accompanying ditch . . . and [the dyke] suddenly comes to an end just where the sike makes an elbow westward and again turns south. The moss itself was here an impassable barrier, and if the rampart was constructed across its spongy surface, it has sunk beneath the mire. But at the further side of the moss is a narrow plantation which contains a fragment, 60 feet long and about 2 feet high . . . another section of the original dyke occurs in a plantation belonging to Mr. Little of Watchcross. Here . . . the earthwork consists of an outer rampart on the east four feet high, and an inner rampart of from two to three feet high, with a space of ten feet between them . . . Half a mile further south it reached its terminus at the west end of Newby."

REFERENCES:—Dr. James Wilson, *Rose Castle*, 190; *Transactions*, O.S., vii., 277; N.S., xiii., 26.

GREAT ORTON. C. 22, N.E. AND S.E.

Traditional report says that the whole village was surrounded by a large rampart, with the earth thrown up from ditches on either side, as a protection against the frequent incursions of the Scots. At the extremity of a lane that extends 300 yards northward of the village, a portion of this rampart remains, 8 to 12 feet wide, where also was the Barras Gate. The entrance from the east had a similar gate defended by chains.

REFERENCES:—Whellan, 175-6; Br. and Br., 186.

PENRITH. C. 58, N.E.

The northern portion of the town was protected by a dyke, all trace of which appears to be lost. Mr. Daniel Scott tells me that the old parish register for March, 1601, contains the following suggestive entries:—"This tyme such watching in Penreth on the night as was not a hundreth yeres before, fiftie watchers neightlie." Again, "April the 3rd day was the Townedyke at the over ende of Penrith newly casten again by the Townsmen for the defence of the towne and invasion of the borderers who do threat the same."

SALKELD DYKE. C. 50, N.W.

That Great Salkeld was formerly surrounded by a ring fence for protection against the Scottish raiders, seems to be evident. Canon Loftie states in his handbook on the parish, that there were, within memory, gates on the high-road at either end of the village, that on the north being known as "Hogg's Gate" and that on the south as "Oliphant's Gate." Mr. T. H. B. Graham traces the dyke along a now disused roadway, passing the hamlets of North Dyke and South Dyke to a point where it turned due east for half a mile to join the main road, one mile south of Nunwick Hall. "Outside the dike," he says, "all was waste, as is testified by such names as Scale Hill, Wan-fell, and Fell cottage."

Hutchinson, quoting J. Simpson, of Grasmere, says, "that in that part of Great Salkeld called the Dyke, on the right hand of the road to Penrith, upon the fell, there is an encampment thrown up, about 1200 feet in length, and 12 feet high; close to the encampment is a bason of water, circular, and about 50 or 60 yards in diameter, and four or five yards deep: as all the ground near to the encampment is a plain, probably materials were dug out of that bason to form the vallum."

REFERENCES:—*Transactions*, N.S., xiii., 28; Hutchinson, i., 283; Br. and Br., 148.

SCOTS DYKE.

C. 6, S.E., S.W., AND N.W.

An entrenched rampart, lying between the rivers Sark and Esk, and thrown up as the boundary between England and Scotland when the Debateable Lands were divided in 1552.

It is so nearly allied with our subject that perhaps the following short description will not be considered out of place. It is about four miles in length, and the bank is now some four to five feet high. Mr. T. H. B. Graham says that "half a mile west from the road [leading from Longtown to Canonbie] Dimmisdaill syke rises in a plantation where are yet to be seen remains of the original dike, a rough mound of earth . . . running westward for half a mile until it is cut by the picturesque glen of the Glingerburn. Three-quarters of a mile further west, the course of the Scotsdike is interrupted by the channel of another little stream, known in Scotland as the Glenzier beck, and in England as the Beckburn. From here to Reamy-rigg (or Crawsknow, as the Scotch call it), a distance of one mile and a half, the dyke forms a causeway through the wood, flanked, now on this side, now on that, sometimes on both sides by a deep drain . . . On the road side at Reamy-rigg, the long plantation comes to an end, and so do all vestiges of the Scotsdike, but there can be little doubt that it originally continued due west and reached the top of the steep wooded bank of the Sark."

REFERENCE :—*Transactions*, N.S., xii., 47.

BORROWDALE, WESTMORLAND.

W. 28, N.W. AND S.W.

We have a notable instance of a similar barrier raised in Westmorland, not earlier than the conquest of Carlisle in 1092.³³² It is described as a *plessicium*,³³³ or slashed hedge, which served as a stockade against the Scots, and is so named in the following grant, dated about 1180, when its origin and use must have been well known.

"Grant by William de Lancaster to the monks of St. Mary at Byland, of his part of Borrowdale [Borgheredala] by the great way [? Kendal to Shap] which goes by Ernestan³³⁴ to the plessicium which has been made on account of the Scots; and by the brow of the hill of Bannisdale, which is toward Borrowdale, as long as Bannisdale continues, and so to Borrowdale Head, and so to the bounds of Westmorland [? Barony of Kendal], in perpetual alms, and for the settlement of the complaint which Wimund, late Bishop of the Isles, had against the father of the grantor."³³⁵

The precise position of this dyke has not been ascertained yet, but there are a good many local place names which seem to point to it. For instance, five miles north of Kendal we meet with "Gateside" and "Green Yate," whilst two-and-a-half miles further along the road we meet with "Hollow Gate." From this point there is a track $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles across the moor eastward, known as

³³² Dr. James Wilson, *Rose Castle*, 193.

³³³ Cf. Plessis-les-Tours of Louis XI. in France.

³³⁴ Mr. W. G. Collingwood suggests Erne's stone, eagle's stone, *arnar-steinn* in Icelandic. Cf. "Anne of Geierstein" and various Eagle Crag, Raven Crag, and the like. It might be a rock, or a crag, or a big boulder and still suit this derivation. Big boulders were frequently used as landmarks.

³³⁵ Hist. MSS. Com., 10th Report, Levens Hall, Appendix iv., 323.

"Breasthigh,"³⁸⁶ which comes out near Tebay where there is a farm called "The Dyke."

On the other hand, these place names may only refer to an ancient park mentioned in the following note. 12 Edw. III., William English had a grant of free warren in Tebay and Rounthwaite with licence to impark 100 acres of land there.

³⁸⁶ Mr. W. G. Collingwood says, *Breidh-stigr* is Icelandic or Old Norse for "broad path" and would be pronounced "breasty" or "braisty" [by slurring the *dh* before *st*, and by dropping the unvoiced *g* and the letter *r* which is only the case ending of the nominative. Cf. Breasty in Satterthwaite where an old road went from Hawkshead to Low Furness.

CROSBY RAVENSWORTH DYKE. W. 21, N.E.

There are the remains of a dyke, some three-quarters of a mile long, running parallel with the Lyvennet beck north and south, and lying midway between the British settlements of Ewe Locks, on the west, and Borwans, Crosby Lodge, on the east. If this dyke turned eastward, it may be the one referred to in the following grant made by Ivo de Vipont, who died in 1239.

“ Know ye that guided by charity, for the safety of my soul . . . I have given and granted . . . to God and the poor (brethren) of the Hospital of St. Leonard of York, Garethorn with its belongings according as the underwritten limits and boundaries show: that is to say, from the older mill pond of Garethorn to the Ghil next the ploughland as far as the great dyke, and then across the way which comes from Kendal, [? Tebay to Appleby] up to the great stone, and then to the end of the four stones; thence descending to the lower head of Windecoteghil and thence going to Rudekeldsike; in Rudekeldsike descending by the stream of Driabecghile [Drybeck] to the bounds of Hof; thence transversely to the boundary between Asby and Garethorn to the stream of Asby, and thence ascending to the aforesaid old pond.”

If this be so, and in order to fit the boundaries of the charter, then the dyke must have crossed the Lyvennet and continued for some way round the fertile parts of the valley.

REFERENCE:—*Transactions*, N.S., xi., 316.

XII.

FOURTEENTH CENTURY PELE TOWERS,
OF WHICH WE HAVE THE RECORD OF THEIR LICENCE TO
CRENELLATE.

DRUMBURGH CASTLE. C. 15, S.W.

Drumboc, or *Drumbegh*, said to be "the bog of the bitterns." *Drumburgh* is not met with before the time of Elizabeth.

EARLY FORTIFICATION :—Here was a Roman station on the Wall.

FOUNDATION HISTORY :—1307. A tower was crenellated here by Richard le Brun, but it is doubtful whether any portion of his building now remains.

c. 1500. On the site, a fortified hall was built by Thomas, Lord Dacre, who died in 1525.

1539. "At Drumbuygh the Lord Dakers Father builded upon old Ruines a pretty Pyle for Defens of the Contery. Drumbuygh ys almost yn the mydde way bytwyxt Bolnes and Burgh. The stones of the Pict Wal wer pulled down to build Drumbuygh. For the Wal ys very nere yt."³⁹⁷

1580. "Drumbewgh, This house neyther castle nor tower, but a house of a convenyent strength and defence, doth belonge to ye heires of y^e late L. Dacre, standinge about 6 miles west and by north frō Carlile and two miles from Scotland, a very fitt

³⁹⁷ Leland, vol. vii., fol. 69.

place for defence of that p^{te} of ye border p^{tly}
decayed, y^e repaireinge whereof is esteemed to be
lx^{li}.³³⁸

1593. King repeats Christopher Dacre by saying that it
is "neither castle nor tower, but a house of strength
and a very fit place for defence."³³⁹

1678. John Aglionby purchased the property from
Henry, Duke of Norfolk, and repaired the ruins.
He afterwards exchanged it for the Nunnery to Sir
John Lowther.

1681. Sir John Lowther considerably rebuilt the hall,
using the stones of the Roman wall as his quarry.
On the large wooden door-locks are the initials
J.L. 1681.

LICENCE TO CRENELLATE :—24th August, 1307. Licence
to Richard le Brun to crenellate his dwelling place
of Drombogh in the Marches of Scotland.³⁴⁰

³³⁸ Christopher Dacre's Survey, Cal. St. Pap. Dom. Add., 1580, vol. 27,
No. 44ⁱⁱⁱ.

³³⁹ Alexander King's (Auditor to the Exchequer) report.

³⁴⁰ Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1307-13, p. 11.

DUNMALLOGHT-ON-ULLSWATER. C. 66, N.W.

EARLY FORTIFICATION :—At the foot of Ullswater there is an isolated rock, which rises 335 feet above the level of the lake ; it appears to have been fortified from early Celtic days. Indeed it is quite possible that this was the spot where the historic meeting between King Æthelstan, Constantine, King of Scots, and Eugenius, sub-King of Strathclyde, took place on the 12th July, 926.

FOUNDATION HISTORY :—1307. The dwelling place for which William de Dacre received a crenellation licence, would scarcely be built upon the summit of Dunmallet, but it may have been close beneath it, and beside the margin of the lake.

1329. Nothing further is known of it beyond a statement made at an inquisition, held in 1329, by a certain Thomas le Sawyer of Temple Sowerby, who said that he was working seventeen years previously [1312] at a certain *pelam* of Dunmallock, belonging to Randolph de Dacre.³⁴¹

c. 1350. The building was probably allowed to fall into ruin when Dacre Castle was built, about the middle of the fourteenth century.

1485. At the inquisition taken after the death of Humphrey, Lord Dacre of Gilsland, the jurors found that his possessions included the manor of Dacre within which was a capital messuage on which was newly built [*sic*, rebuilt] a certain tower, Dacre Castle, and at Soulby parcel of the same manor was a wood called Dun Mallock containing 20 acres.³⁴²

LICENCE TO CRENELLATE :—24th August, 1307. Licence to William de Dacre to crenellate his dwelling place of Dunmalloght in the Marches of Scotland.³⁴³

³⁴¹ Cal. Inq. p.m., Edw. III., p. 190.

³⁴² Cal. Inq. p.m., 1 Hen. VII., p. 67.

³⁴³ Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1307-13, p. 11.

GREYSTOCK CASTLE. C. 58. N.W.

FOUNDATION HISTORY:—1353. William, Baron Greystock, received a licence to fortify his dwelling place.

1539. "Castel of the Lorde Dacors xiiij Myles frō Cairluel Sowth, and iii Myles West frō Perith."³⁴⁴

1570, 21st February. Taken into possession for Queen Elizabeth by Lord Hunsdon, when the rebel, Leonard Dacre, fled to Scotland after the "Rising of the North."³⁴⁵

1580. "This house or castel doth belonge to the heires of ye late Leonard Dacre standinge about 8 miles east and by south from Cockermouth Castle and about eighteen miles from Scotland, and yet newthelesse for sondry good consideracons meete to be repayred, ye charge whereof wth help of ye woods there belonging to ye lord and owner of ye same is esteamed to be cc^{li} besyde new castinge of the moote, w^{ch} is thought may be spared tyll a greater necessity."³⁴⁶

1648, June. The quadrangular building with four towers, was destroyed by fire at the order of Major Chomley, who led a detachment of General Lambert's army during the Civil War. Beyond a few fragments, nothing now remains of this mediæval fortress.

c. 1675. Rebuilt by Henry Charles Howard.

1789. Enlarged and altered by Charles, 11th Duke of Norfolk. "Greystoke Castle is a large, old building . . . It is only two stories high, but the Duke is preparing to raise it a third."³⁴⁷

³⁴⁴ Leland, vol. vii., fol. 72.

³⁴⁵ Holinshed; Cotton MSS. Cal., c. i., fol. 384.

³⁴⁶ Christopher Dacre's Survey, Cal. St. Pap. Dom. Add., 1580, vol. 27. No. 44ⁱⁱⁱ.

³⁴⁷ James Clarke's *Survey of the Lakes*.

1840. Restored to its present form by Henry Howard under the direction of Anthony Salvin, F.S.A.

1868, 4th May. A destructive fire occurred internally.

LICENCE TO CRENELLATE :—1353, 5th October. Licence for William, Baron of Craystok, to crenellate his dwelling place of Craystok.³⁴⁸

NATURAL DEFENCES :—A rivulet, which falls into the Peteril, flows by the Castle walls with some considerable rapidity.

ARTIFICIAL EARTHWORK :—A moat mentioned in Christopher Dacre's survey.

³⁴⁸ Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1350-54, p. 495.

HARTLEY CASTLE. W. 23, S.E.

FOUNDATION HISTORY :—" On the attainder of Roger de Clifford for adhering to the faction of the Earl of Lancaster, this place, with several others in these parts, was granted by Edward II. to Sir Andrew de Harcla."⁸⁴⁹

c. 1315. During his occupation the buildings were frequently burned by the Scots.

1323. On the attainder of Sir Andrew, the estates passed to Ralph Nevil, who subsequently sold them to Thomas de Musgrave of Musgrave.

1353. Sir Thomas de Musgrave built his stone tower and received a licence to fortify it.

c. 1600. By the addition of Elizabethan wings, Sir Richard Musgrave, who died in 1615, enlarged and transformed the fortress into a mansion.

c. 1650. Jacobean additions were made.

1671. "Hartley-castle, or rather Harcla-castle, is a stately house and seat, which hath received many additions by the present owner."⁸⁵⁰

1677. The Musgrave family removed to Eden Hall, when the castle was deserted and allowed to fall into ruin.

1677. "Hartley castle is a noble building, standing upon the edge of a fell."⁸⁵¹ Machel, in his sketch, shows an Elizabethan building consisting of an inner quadrangle surrounded by buildings, and an outer court to the north protected by a thick and high curtain wall. The entrance to it was approached through a gateway at the head of a flight of steps from the road. Directly opposite, an archway opened into the inner court; on the left, or eastern side, was the kitchen and buttery, with the hall beyond, entered

⁸⁴⁹ Pennant's *Tour to Alston Moor*, 127.

⁸⁵⁰ Sir D. Fleming, *Description of Westmorland*, 21.

⁸⁵¹ Machel's description.

by an external stair from the court ; the south end was occupied by the chapel and withdrawing rooms ; whilst on the western side there was a long gallery lighted by a large oriel window facing the quadrangle. From a drawing of the elevation, existing in Kirkby Stephen in Dr. Taylor's time, we learn that it was a lofty building of three and four storeys.

c. 1704-1735. Totally demolished by Sir Christopher Musgrave, who died in 1735.

1773. " Scarcely a wreck is left of the castle, which stood on an eminence above the village of Hartley. . . . For a long time it was kept in good repair, and with Eden-hall alternately inhabited ; but was demolished by the late Sir Christopher Musgrave, who removed the materials to repair his other seat."³⁵²

LICENCE TO CRENELLATE :—1353, 4th October. " Licence for Thomas de Musgrave to crenellate the dwelling place of his manor of Harcla, situated near the March of Scotland, which has been often burned and destroyed by the Scots in times past."³⁵³

NATURAL DEFENCES :—Elevated ground, bounded on the west by the river Eden, whilst two tributaries—the Hartley beck and the Ladthwaite beck—which descend from the heights of Hartley Fell and Nine Standards, nearly enclose the site.

CURTAIN :—Outer court surrounded by a thick and high wall. Dr. Taylor says,³⁵⁴ " the wall of inclosure still exists on the west and north sides," but now only a few of the lower courses remain.

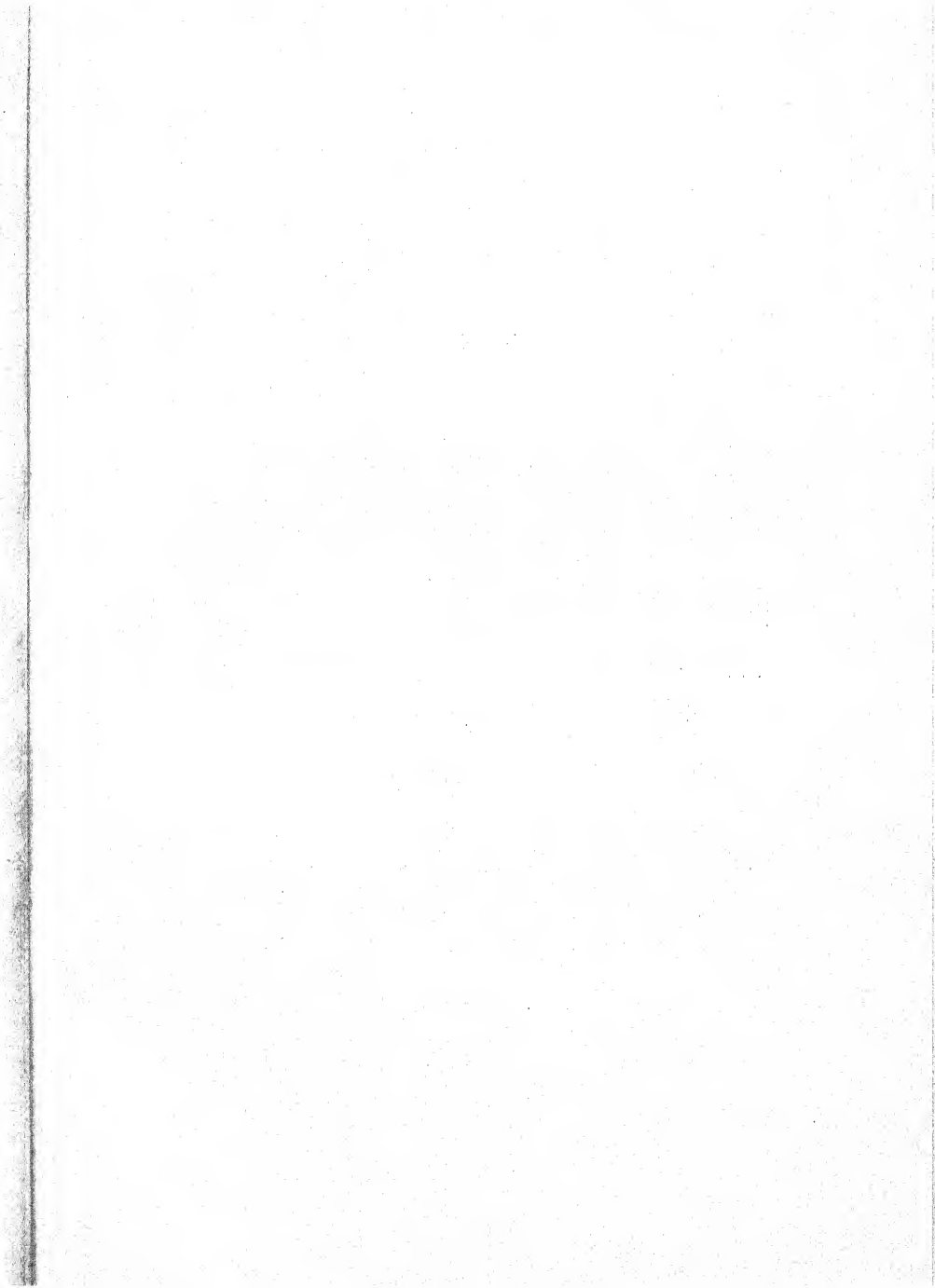
REMAINS :—A mass of masonry at the kitchen corner, in which is a vaulted cellar with a slightly pointed wagon arch.

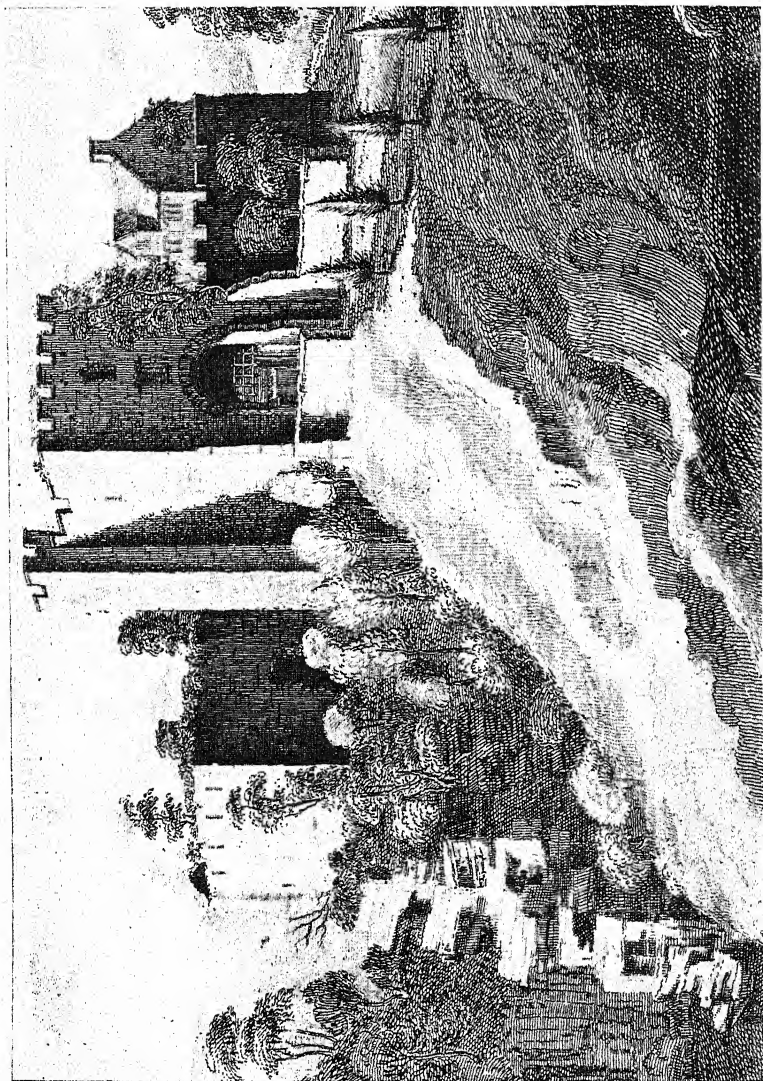
REFERENCE :—Taylor, 159.

³⁵² Pennant, *Tour to Alston Moor*, 129.

³⁵³ Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1350-54, p. 493.

³⁵⁴ *Manorial Halls*, 163.





HIGHHEAD CASTLE.

From Buck's View of 1739.

TO FACE P. 209.

HIGHHEAD CASTLE. C. 38, N.E.

"Pela de Hivehead"; Highereed;³⁵⁵ Heghheved.

FOUNDATION HISTORY:—1326. Ralph, Lord Dacre, had a grant of the custody of the castle of Hegheved nominally for ten years, but during the next year the custody was granted for life to William L'Engles.

1342. Licence to crenellate was granted to William L'Engles.

1358. Chapel in the Park, built by John L'Engleys.

1368. Licence "to S^r Stephen de Heyheved for saying Mass in the Chapple of Heyheved onely to S^r Will. Lengleys K^t and his family."³⁵⁶

1539. "Hyghhed castel, a vi or vij Myles frō Cairluel by Sowth. Yt stondesth on Yve Bek."³⁵⁷

1550. Tudor wing or Hall, 52 by 26 feet, on the west side, with walls 4 feet thick, erected by John Richmond.³⁵⁸

1744–1748. The pele was pulled down and the house almost totally rebuilt, in the Renaissance style, for Henry Richmond Brougham, by his uncle, John Brougham, who had lived much in Italy and had brought Italian workpeople over to execute some of the work.

"No remains of the old castle are standing, excepting that part of the building, the gable of which is seen to the right of the print; but that end has been new cased in a tower form to correspond with the other parts of the building."³⁵⁹

³⁵⁵ 10 Edw. II.

³⁵⁶ Bp. Appleby's Register, fol. 158.

³⁵⁷ Leland, vol. vii., fol. 72.

³⁵⁸ The original family name was Musard, but by virtue of their hereditary Constablership of Richmond Castle, the official name began to supplant the family name.

³⁵⁹ Messrs. Buck, *Castles and Abbeys*.

c. 1800. The house, being possessed in moieties, became deserted, owing to legal difficulties, and given up to the tenants as store-rooms and granaries.

c. 1874. Restored.

LICENCE TO CRENELLATE :—1342, 6th October. Licence for William L'Engleys to crenellate his dwelling place of Heyvehead.³⁶⁰

NATURAL DEFENCES :—Situated on the southern brink of a rocky precipice overhanging the river Ive, which loops round the castle on three sides.

CURTAIN :—The fourth or northern side was defended by a lofty curtain wall that stretched across the bend of the river, with a gateway tower of two storeys above the entrance arch. Buck says that "the castle was founded on rock and that the floor of the courtyard was a natural pavement."

REFERENCES :—*Transactions*, O.S., ii., 105 ; N.S., xi., 379 ; Jefferson, *Carlisle*, 392.

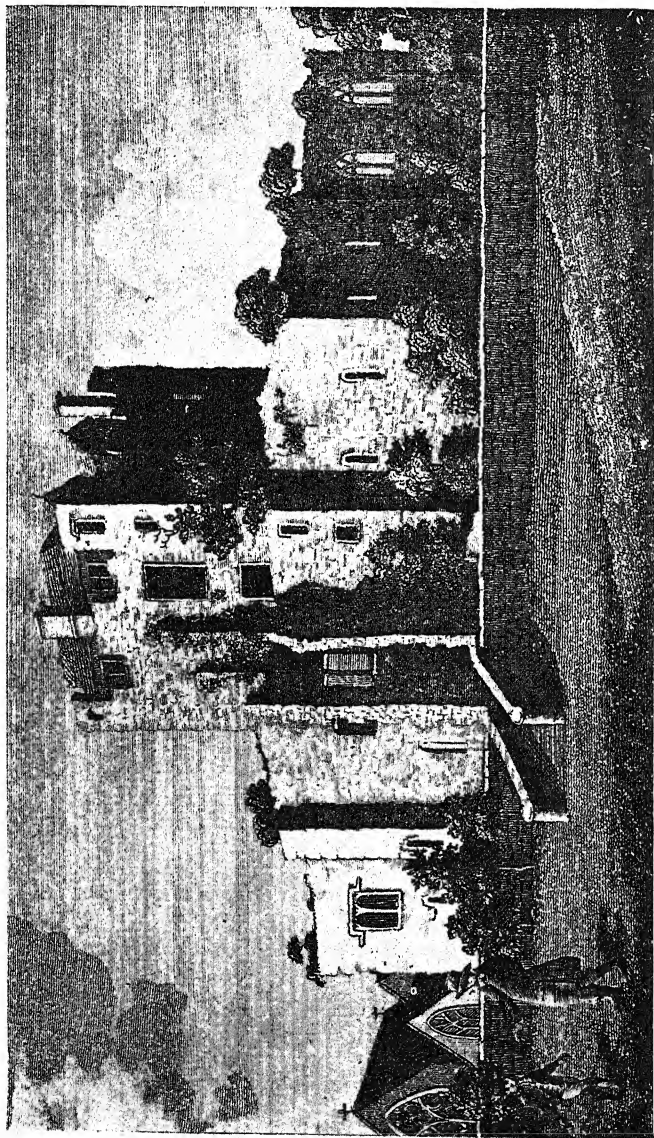
³⁶⁰ Pat. Rolls, 16 Edw. III., p. 2, m. 18.



HIGHHEAD CASTLE, The Gateway.

By kind permission of Mr. J. H. Martindale.

TO FACE P. 210.



MILLOM CASTLE.

TO FACE P. 211.

MILLOM CASTLE. C. 88, S.W.

FOUNDATION HISTORY:—1292. The policy of Edward I. was to lessen the power of the barons, and to this end he followed the example of the French King in issuing writs of "quo warranto," which required every landowner to produce the title to his estates.³⁶¹ The Lord of Millom proved his title before Hugh de Cressingham, 20 Edw. I.

1335-1355. Sir John Hudleston rebuilt large portions during the twenty years following his licence to crenellate. He is supposed to have built the entrance tower to the curtain and the hall.

c. 1450. Range of buildings erected on site of early hall.

1539. "A castel longing to S. John Hudestan standing on the River of Dudden."³⁶²

c. 1600. Great Tower erected, for which Ferdinand Hudleston received a further licence in 1622.

1610. "Millum castle, the antient seat and capital mansion of this manor, . . . through length of time threatens ruin. Howbeit the lords thereof make it still their dwelling place and abode, holding themselves content, that the old manner of strong building there, with the goodly demesnes and commodities which both land and sea afford them, and the stately parks full of huge oaks and timber woods and fallow deer, do better witness their antient and present greatness and worth, than the painted vanities of our times do grace our new upstarts."³⁶³

c. 1644. Partially destroyed by Parliamentary forces.

³⁶¹ The Earl of Warrenne is said to have cast a rusty sword before the commissioners and cried, "This is my title deed; with this sword my ancestors won their lands and with the same I will retain them."

³⁶² Leland, vol. vii., fol. 72.

³⁶³ John Denton's *Accompt*, 9.

1671. Ferdinand Hudleston is said to have commenced rebuilding.

1690. The discovery of iron ore within the lordship led to the partial destruction of the park.

1745. The castle was still occupied as a residence.

c. 1774. Purchased by the Earl of Lonsdale and shortly afterwards disparked.

LICENCES TO CRENELLATE :—1335, 24th August. Licence for John de Hodleston to enclose with a dyke and crenellate his dwelling place of Millum, co. Cumberland.³⁶⁴

1622, 10th March. Further grant to Ferdinand Hudleston of Millom castle to crenellate, etc.³⁶⁵

NATURAL DEFENCES :—A narrow-necked peninsular rising out of the Duddon Sands and surrounded by marsh on the west, south and east sides.

ARTIFICIAL EARTHWORK :—Surrounded by a moat, now partly filled up but visible on the south and west sides.

TOWER :—50 by 49½ feet.

Height :—43½ feet to eaves.

Axis :—East and west.

Walls :—7 feet in thickness.

Masonry :—Rubble with red sandstone quoins.

Projections :—None.

Entrance :—North-east corner to first floor.

Floors :—Double vaulted basement and four storeys over. The second floor above basement is a magnificent apartment, 36 feet square, with the Hudleston arms over the wide fireplace.

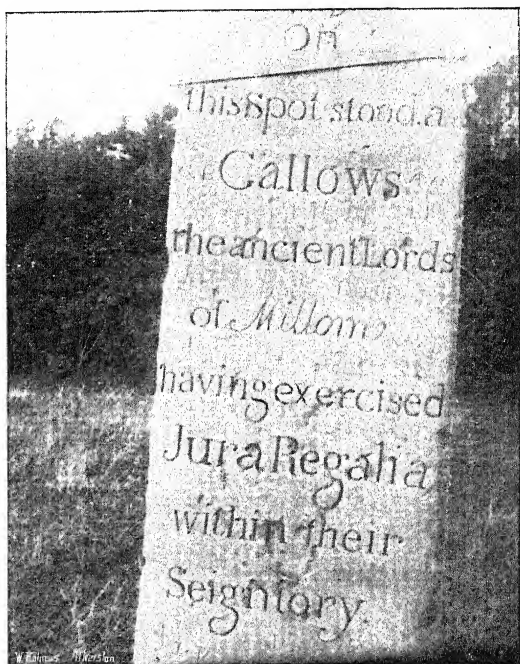
HALL :—43 by 30 feet.

GATEHOUSE :—The ruins of the Gatehouse and surrounding buildings still remain to reveal the former splendour of the castle.

REFERENCE :—*Transactions*, O.S., i., 275.

³⁶⁴ Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1334-38, p. 167.

³⁶⁵ Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1619-23, p. 357.

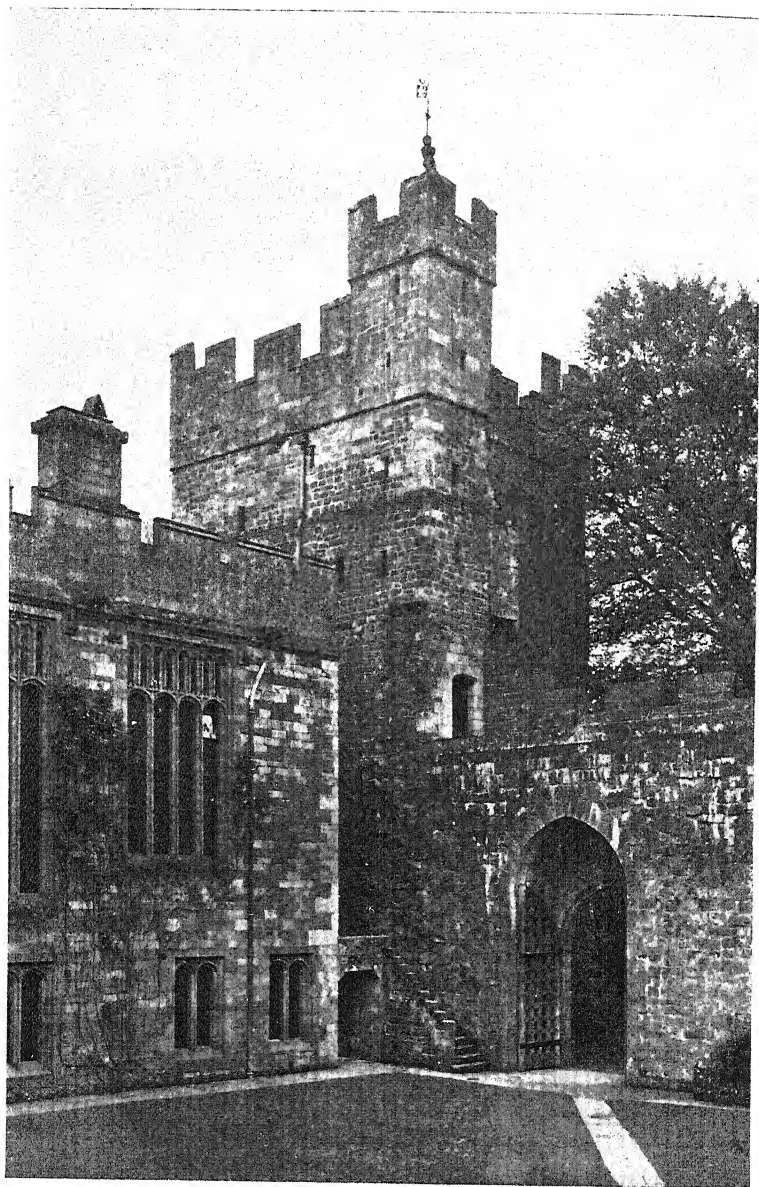


MILLOM CASTLE.

The Hangstone on the Marsh close beside the Furness Railway.

By kind permission of W. Holmes, Ulverston.

TO FACE P. 212.



NAWORTH CASTLE: DACRE'S TOWER.

Photo. by Rev. G. J. Goodman.

TO FACE P. 213.

NAWORTH CASTLE. C. 18, N.W.

Worth, a hall or courtyard; cf. Cambridge Gospels, Matthew xxvi., 69—"Peter sat without in the *worth*"; also Mark xiv., 54—"The *worth* of the High Priest"; Sweet's Anglo-Saxon Dictionary on Backworth, Killingworth, Warkworth, and Kenilworth gives *worth* as an enclosure adjoining the house.

EARLY FORTIFICATION :—Leland refers to Naworth as the homestead of Gospatric, Earl of Northumberland, temp. William I. The ancient caput of Gilsland, however, was at Castlestead, Irthington. There is on the summit of a hill within the park a circular ring fort, with double ramparts of exaggerated proportions, known as Tower Tye.³⁶⁶

FOUNDATION HISTORY :—1335. Ranulph de Dacre, who acquired possession of the barony by his marriage with Margaret, heiress of the Multons, erected his tower and enclosed a court with a curtain wall, for which he received a licence to crenellate them in 1335. There is no architectural reason, and certainly no history, to support the supposition, made by some writers, that any stone building existed here in the thirteenth century.

1346. The Scots marched against Naworth, but finding the pele too strongly protected to warrant an attack, they returned again without striking a blow.³⁶⁷

1461. Ralph Dacre, having assumed the Red Rose, fell at the battle of Towton, when the victorious King Edward seized Naworth. He afterwards restored it to Humphrey Dacre, who, taking the part of the Yorkists, was created Lord Warden of the Marches.

³⁶⁶ Perhaps from *Twr*, British for tower, *Ty*, for house.

³⁶⁷ Holinshed's *History of Scotland*.

c. 1520. Thomas, Lord Dacre, rebuilt the upper part of the Dacre tower, adding the top storey upon which he set his coat of arms. He further erected a tower at the eastern angle of the court, on the site of the one now known as the Howard Tower, and rebuilt the Great Hall behind it, along the north-eastern side of the court. He also strengthened the entrance by erecting a Barbican in front of the gate.

1539. "My Lorde Dakers of Gillesland told me that the Castelle of Nawarde belongid sumtyme onto the Vaulx; and that it cam by Heires Generale yn to the Handes of the Dakers afore or ever the Landes of the Barony of Greistoke felle onto them. . . . Sins I lernid of Mr. Bowes that Cospatrik the chief Lorde of Westmerland, Cumbreland and Northumbreland lay at Naward Castelle sumtyme as a Place of his owne. But he thinketh that the Vaulx were Reedifiers of it."⁸⁶⁸

1570. "The place was held in great force [by Leonard Dacre]; there were ordenance and gones levied at every corner . . . the entrance is very straitly kept and the whole land is kept bare so that it could not be approached."⁸⁶⁹

1571. After Leonard Dacre's defeat, Naworth continued for a long time uninhabited and fell partly into ruin.

1580. "Naward Castel is one of ye chefe and principall mansion houses belonging to ye heires of ye late Leonard Dacre, standinge xii miles east and by north frō ye castel of Kirkoswald and about x miles frō Scotland; p^{ty} decayed, ye reparacōns whereof wth help of the woods there belonging to the lord and owner of ye same is esteemed to be c^{li} if ye same be repayred before any greater decay happen."⁸⁷⁰

⁸⁶⁸ Leland, vol. iv., fol. 6.

⁸⁶⁹ Lord Hunsdon's Report to Queen Elizabeth.

⁸⁷⁰ Christopher Dacre's Survey, Cal. St. Pap. Dom. Add., 1580, vol. 27, No. 44ⁱⁱⁱ.

1589. "A faire Castle called Nawarde Castle, it is of good strength and built foure square with a gate house to the same. One of the squares thereof hath never been finished further than the walles thereof, of two or three stories high. It is all covered with leade and the said Castle is scituat about vij myles from Scotland, it is nowe in verie grait decay in all partes and the outhouses and other houses and offices are utterlie decaied."³⁷¹
1598. "The Carletons have all the Queen's houses of strength in Gilsland in their own hands, and have placed divers Scots in them . . . Lancelot Carleton has Naworth Castle demeane and parke."³⁷²
- c. 1604. With the accession of James I. the fortunes of the House of Howard began to rise, when Lord William commenced to transform the ruined fortress into a stately mansion. It would seem that first of all he rebuilt the upper portion of Thomas Dacre's tower, at the eastern angle, for his own private quarters, and which are still known by his name. He then re-edified the central south-eastern frontage between the two towers. At this time Lord Dacre of the South was dismantling Kirkoswald Castle, from whom Lord William purchased the ceilings of the hall and chapel and applied them to his own hall and library.
1607. The work was still being carried on when Camden visited the castle. He says, "Here the Gelt empties it self into the river Irthing, which runs with a violent and rapid stream along by Naworth castle, now belonging to William Howard, who is repairing it."
1619. Lord William next turned his attention to the Dacre Tower at the southern angle and thoroughly restored it.

³⁷¹ Exchequer [King's Remembrancer] Misc. Books, vol. 42, folios 33, 38.

³⁷² Cal. Border Pap., ii., 558.

1624. By this year we are told that Lord William and his lady were settled at Naward, together with all their family—sons and daughters and their wives and husbands. Tradition says that they numbered 52 in the family.

“It exhibited the appearance of a mansion belonging to some giant of romance, rather than the dwelling of an English nobleman. Being made Warden of the Borders, he prepared himself for the unthankful office, by strengthening his castle, and securing his own apartments in every possible manner, to prevent attack from without, and filling it with 140 soldiers, to enable him to carry on his offensive operations. A winding staircase, dark and narrow, admitting only one person to ascend at a time, guarded by a succession of strong doors plated with iron, which, on their massive hinges turning grated harsh thunder, and when shut, defied all human strength to open, led to the rooms which he occupied; a library, a chapel, and a bed-chamber.”³⁷³

c. 1700. Charles Howard, Earl of Carlisle, erected a music gallery and screen in the hall. Bp. Creighton says,³⁷⁴ “Vanburgh adorned the Hall with a music gallery after his kind.”

1773. “The whole house is a true specimen of ancient inconvenience, of magnificence and littleness: the rooms numerous, accessible by sixteen staircases, with most frequent sudden ascents and descents into the bargain.”³⁷⁵

1802. “This structure, and its whole interior arrangement, operates very forcibly in recalling ideas of feudal oppression and manners. The old windows are narrow and grated; the doors almost entirely

³⁷³ Richard Warner's *Northern Tour*, vol. ii.

³⁷⁴ English Illustrated Magazine, No. 17.

³⁷⁵ Thomas Pennant, *Tour from Downing to Alston Moor*, p. 173.

cased with iron, moving on ponderous hinges, and guarded with massive bolts. The chambers dark, hung with gloomy furniture, and the approaches intricate, and without regularity."³⁷⁶

1844, 18th May. The castle was destroyed by fire, when the interior was almost gutted, and the fine wainscotting from Kirkoswald destroyed; Lord William Howard's tower was saved by the iron-grated door.

1845. Addition of the Morpeth tower, when the castle was restored and refitted by George, 6th Earl of Carlisle, under the direction of Anthony Salvin, architect.³⁷⁷

1881. Addition of the Stanley tower at the north-west corner.

LICENCE TO CRENELLATE :—1335, 27th July. Licence for Ranulph de Dacre to crenellate his dwelling place of Naward, co. Cumberland.³⁷⁸

NATURAL DEFENCES :—The castle stands upon a rocky precipice of triangular shape formed by the swift flow of the Castle-beck on the north and the Capon Cleugh which flows round the south and west sides to join the former. The banks of these streams

³⁷⁶ Britton and Brayley, *Beauties of England and Wales*, iii., p. 124.

³⁷⁷ Such an important architect, and one who did so much for our district, deserves a short notice. Born in 1799, and educated at Durham, he went up to London to study architecture with John Nash. Having served his apprenticeship, he started on his own account, and practised in London for nearly sixty years. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Institute of British Architects in 1836, became Vice-President in 1839, and Gold Medalist in 1863. He was elected Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries in 1824, and continued a Fellow until his death in 1881. So thorough was his work that he became gradually recognised as the greatest authority on mediæval military architecture, and a large number of ancient fortresses were entrusted to him. The Prince Consort chose him to restore the Curfew Tower, the Hundred Steps, the Embankment, and Henry VII.'s Library at Windsor; also Beauchamp's Tower, White Tower, St. Thomas' Tower, and the Traitor's Gate at the Tower of London; the castles of Carisbrook, Carnarvon, Bangor, Newark-upon-Trent, Durham, Warwick, Warkworth, and Alnwick in turn were restored by him. In our district he directed the works of preservation of Lanercost Priory; he restored the mansions of Naworth, Greystock, Whitehall, and Muncaster; built parsonage houses at Keswick and Denton, restored Patterdale Church and built the County Hotel at Carlisle.

³⁷⁸ Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1334-38, p. 168.

become exceedingly steep as they approach the point of junction.

ARTIFICIAL EARTHWORK:—On the remaining side the ground slopes upward toward the main road, so here it was necessary to cut two deep ditches, stretching from stream to stream, to isolate the area. One is now filled up, whilst the other forms a sunken terrace in the garden.

CURTAIN:—The curtain, 26 feet high to Rampart Walk, enclosed a quadrangle with the tower projecting beyond the southern angle. The gateway is close beneath it, through the south-eastern wall.

TOWER:—Dacre's Tower is 29 feet square externally, or the same size as Rose.

Height:—The battlements to guard-turret are 17 feet above the roof, and 76 feet above ground level.

Walls:—About $9\frac{1}{2}$ to $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet in thickness.

Masonry:—Red sandstone coursed in large blocks.

Projections:—A low plinth, but no string course of any kind on the original portion. The upper floors were added c. 1520, so here we find a set-on to mark the level of the top floor and a projecting battlement above.

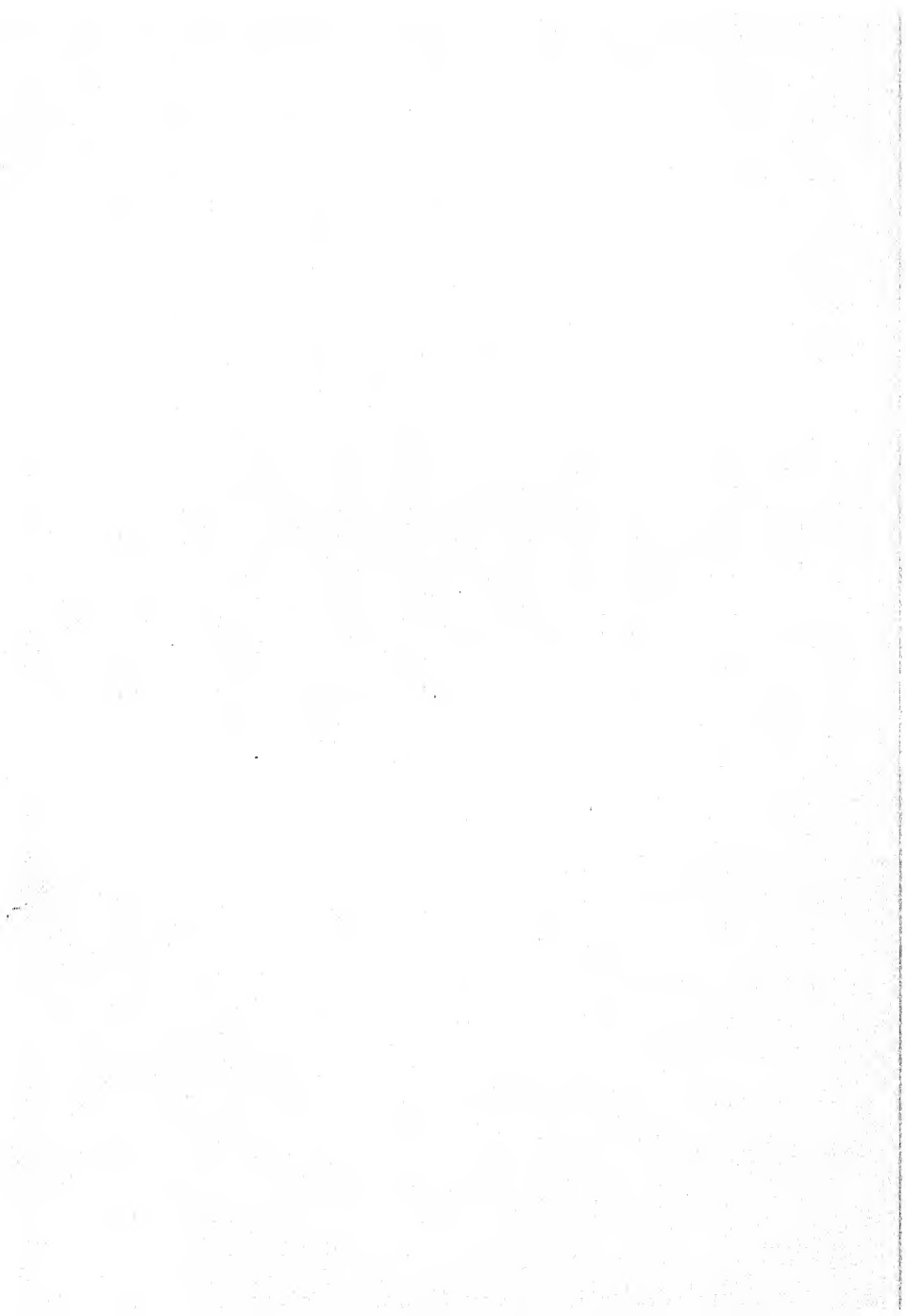
Entrance:—From the court on the north-east side. A straight mural stair to the 1st floor and from thence a newel stair in the east angle.

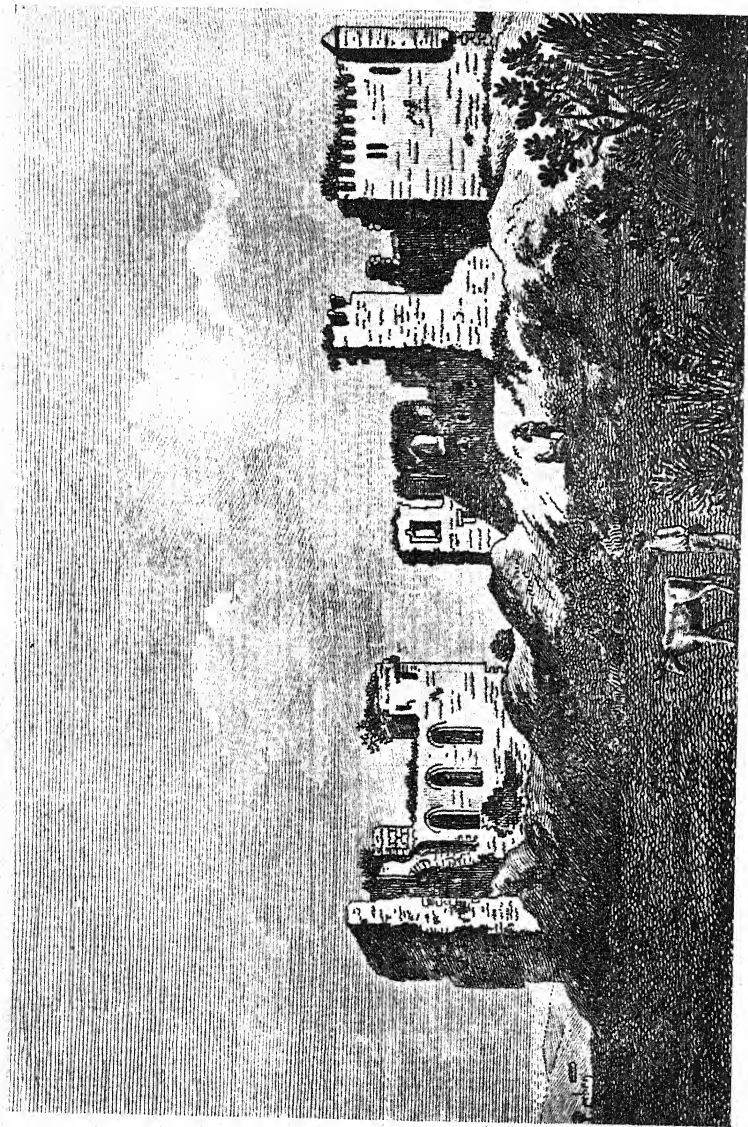
Floors:—Vaulted basement³⁷⁹ with originally two storeys above.

HALL:—A Lord Warden's banqueting hall, 72 by 24 feet.

REFERENCES:—*Transactions*, O.S., iv., 486; Br. & Br., 120; Jefferson, *Carlisle*, 339.

³⁷⁹ Since the dungeons.





PENRITH CASTLE.

S. Hooper, 1784.

TO FACE P. 219.

PENRITH CASTLE. C. 58, N.E.

FOUNDATION HISTORY :—1237. There could have been no castle in Penrith when the manors of Penrith, Scotby, Langwathby, Carleton and Sowerby were granted to Alexander II., as the grant was of territory "lying without the towns where castles stood."
[See page 60.]

1314. Neither is there any mention of a castle when the town was burned to the ground by Edward Bruce and Sir James Douglas.

1345. During October of this year the town was again completely burnt to ashes by Sir William Douglas, in consequence of which "the men of Penrith" received in the following year a royal licence to erect a wall of stone and lime around their new town.

1383. The Scots returned and worried the town, but still there is no mention of a castle.

1397, 13th February. William Strickland, clerk, obtained a licence to strengthen and crenellate his house within the town of Penrith. This would be a pele tower standing alone as the solitary stone building amid the timber dwellings of the town, which were ranged outside his enclosure but within the town walls. It was clearly not considered as a castle when, in the following year, the manor and town were granted to Ralph Nevil.

1399. The next year, however, a further licence was granted "by special grace to our beloved William Strickland" to build a curtain wall of stone and lime and join it to the said house.³⁸⁰ The pele tower was developing, and during the next seventy years must have grown to some pretensions.

³⁸⁰ Pat. Rolls, 22 Rich. II., pt. 3, m. 37.

1471. Richard, Duke of Gloucester, and "Guardian of the West March toward Scotland," was granted the lordship *and castle* of Penrith,³⁸¹ and he it was who caused another tower to be erected, a porter's lodge together with some detached buildings, and generally transformed the fortified dwelling into a royal castle.
1539. "Pereth . . . xvi myles fro Carluel, where as a strong Castel of the Kinges, and stondeth on a lytle Water by force cut owt of Peterel . . . Ther cummeth at Ingmer Medow owt of Peterel a Gut to Penrith, and at Carlton half a myle of yt runneth ynto Emot, alias Æymont. Strikland Bishop of Cairluel did the cost to dig it."³⁸²
1547. Stones from the castle were led away in large quantities.
1565. In a *Survey of the West Borders against Scotlande with an Estimat of ye charges for ye repayre of the forts there*, we find that the kitchen, private kitchen, private chamber, hall, great chamber, chapel with chamber under it are all decayed both in timber and lead. The outer gatehouse is "cleane for the most parte fallen downe to the ground." The survey enumerates the houses then standing covered with lead, as the Bishop's tower, the chamber between the tower and the kitchen, the Red tower, two stables, a brew-house and a bake-house. It would seem that the lead was taken off the most ruinous buildings and sold at Carlisle.
1572. On the 25th of June, a commission was issued by Queen Elizabeth to Henry, Lord Scrope, and Edward Braddyll to survey the castle. They report that there were two towers, one called the Red Tower, and the other the White, or Bishop's Tower.

³⁸¹ Pat. Rolls, 11 Edw. IV., pt. 1, m. 18.

³⁸² Leland, vol. vii., folios 71 and 72.

There was a bakehouse, a brew-house, and one great chamber joining the White Tower, in good repair, except some fault in the leads. Certain stones had fallen down, but with a small cost a good wall might be made from the bakehouse to the corner of the wall next the White Tower, "which would put the whole in a guardable state, sufficient for the protection of the tenants." The outer gatehouse was in utter ruin. The timber on three stables within the castle was rotten and ready to fall down. The chapel, the great chamber, the great hall, the two kitchens, and all other offices, were in utter ruin and decay, and not repairable. The windows of the prison, and other iron staunches of windows, bands of doors, etc., were worth £1 10s. for old iron. Richard Dudley, late Steward of Penrith, had taken from the castle 30 cart loads of stones, to build a prison in Penrith. Thomas Carleton had six loads; Cuthbert, bailiff of Penrith, three score of hewn stones, and several other persons had removed different quantities in the first year of King Edward VI.³⁸³

1580. "This house or castel doth belonge to her Maj^{ty}, standinge about 3 miles east by south from Graystock castle, about 20 miles frō Scotl' greatly decayed and for divers and great consideracons thought to be one of ye most meete to be pt'ly repaired, the charge of w^{ch} reparacons as before hath been is esteemed to 800^{li}, or to make ye same a sufficient house for such purposes as yt is neadefull and no more with helpe of ye stones of ye old decayed buildings y^t is there remaininge ccc^{li}." ³⁸⁴

1648, 16th June. Major General Lambert made his headquarters in the castle for a month, when his

³⁸³ Lord Scrope's Survey.

³⁸⁴ Christopher Dacre's Survey, Cal. St. Pap. Dom. Add., 1580, vol. 27, No. 44ⁱⁱⁱ.

army, consisting of 3000 horse and foot were "quartered in the town adjacent." The castle was dismantled soon after.

1695. "It is now in ruins."⁸⁸⁵

1739-1778. Bishop Strickland's tower fell between these years.

1794. "The castle stands on a natural eminence, of no great elevation. It is formed on a parallelogram, fortified with a rampier and a deep outward fosse, or ditch: the only approach was on the side next to the town, where an opening through the works still appears; which, it is presumed, was kept by a drawbridge. There is a considerable platform between the walls and the ditch. The erection is of red sandstone, with which the country abounds; it has nothing antique in its members or ornaments."⁸⁸⁶

1912. During an excavation made by the town surveyor, what is taken to be the entrance was discovered, at the eastern end of the north-east wall. The threshold was 6 feet wide and $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet below the ground, and the curtain wall above the plinth was found to be 4 feet 10 inches in thickness.

LICENCES TO CRENELLATE:—

1346, 10th April. Licence for the townsmen to build a wall of stone and lime and crenellate it.⁸⁸⁷

1397, 13th February. Licence to William Strickland, clerk, to strengthen his house within the town of Penrith in the Marches of Scotland, and to crenellate it.⁸⁸⁸

1399. Licence by special grace to our beloved William Strickland "to build a curtain wall of stone and lime and join it to his house for the protection of the town."⁸⁸⁹

⁸⁸⁵ Bp. Gibson's footnote to Camden.

⁸⁸⁶ Hutchinson, i., 317.

⁸⁸⁷ Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1345-48, 69.

⁸⁸⁸ Pat. Rolls, 20 Rich. II., pt. ii., m. 22.

⁸⁸⁹ Pat. Rolls, 22 Rich. II., pt. iii., m. 37.

NATURAL DEFENCES :—A steep slope to the north and east, and a marsh toward the south.

ARTIFICIAL EARTHWORK :—A rectangular ditch, about 63 feet wide and, in some places even now, 20 feet deep. The cut referred to above was made to water the town after the plague of 1380. Bishop Strickland made it in 1400, taking the water from the Petteril about two miles away. The cut extended by way of Sandgate, through the centre of the town, to the Eamont. It is now arched over.

CURTAIN :—A square fortified wall, some 5 feet thick, of about 132 feet each way.

TOWER :—The Strickland tower is a complete ruin, and there remains only sufficient to show that there has been no plinth, or off-set, and that it was built of ashlar work.

SEE APPENDIX IX.

REFERENCES : Hutchinson, i., 317; *Transactions*, N.S., vii., 281.

PIEL CASTLE.

FOUNDATION HISTORY:—Original stronghold erected in King Stephen's time, when he granted all his possessions in Furness and Walney to the Abbey of Furness, on condition of the brethren "making, sustaining, repairing and guarding there a fort in defence of the country against all the enemies of the said King moving against those parts."⁸⁹⁰

1316, 1317, 1322. Besieged by Robert Bruce.

1323, 12th February. "To the Abbot of Furneys. Order to deliver his peel near the abbey to John Darcy, sheriff of Lancaster, when required to do so by him, and to cause the peel to be provisioned and guarded whilst in his custody, according to the direction of the said John."⁸⁹¹

1327, 26th September. The present stone castle seems to have been built by Abbot John Cockerham, who received a licence for the Convent of Fourneys to crenellate their dwelling house of Fotheray in Fourneys, co. Lancaster.⁸⁹² It would seem as if "The monks of Furness, despairing of their abbey walls, took the spirited resolution of building a strong and spacious castle for their defence."⁸⁹³

1403. The Abbot John de Bolton is said to have "thrown down and annulled his castle called the Pele de Fotheray," finding the cost of keeping it in repair and garrisoning it beyond his means."⁸⁹⁴

c. 1429. Repaired and restored.

1487, May. Captain Martin Swartz and his mercenary troops landed and encamped here.

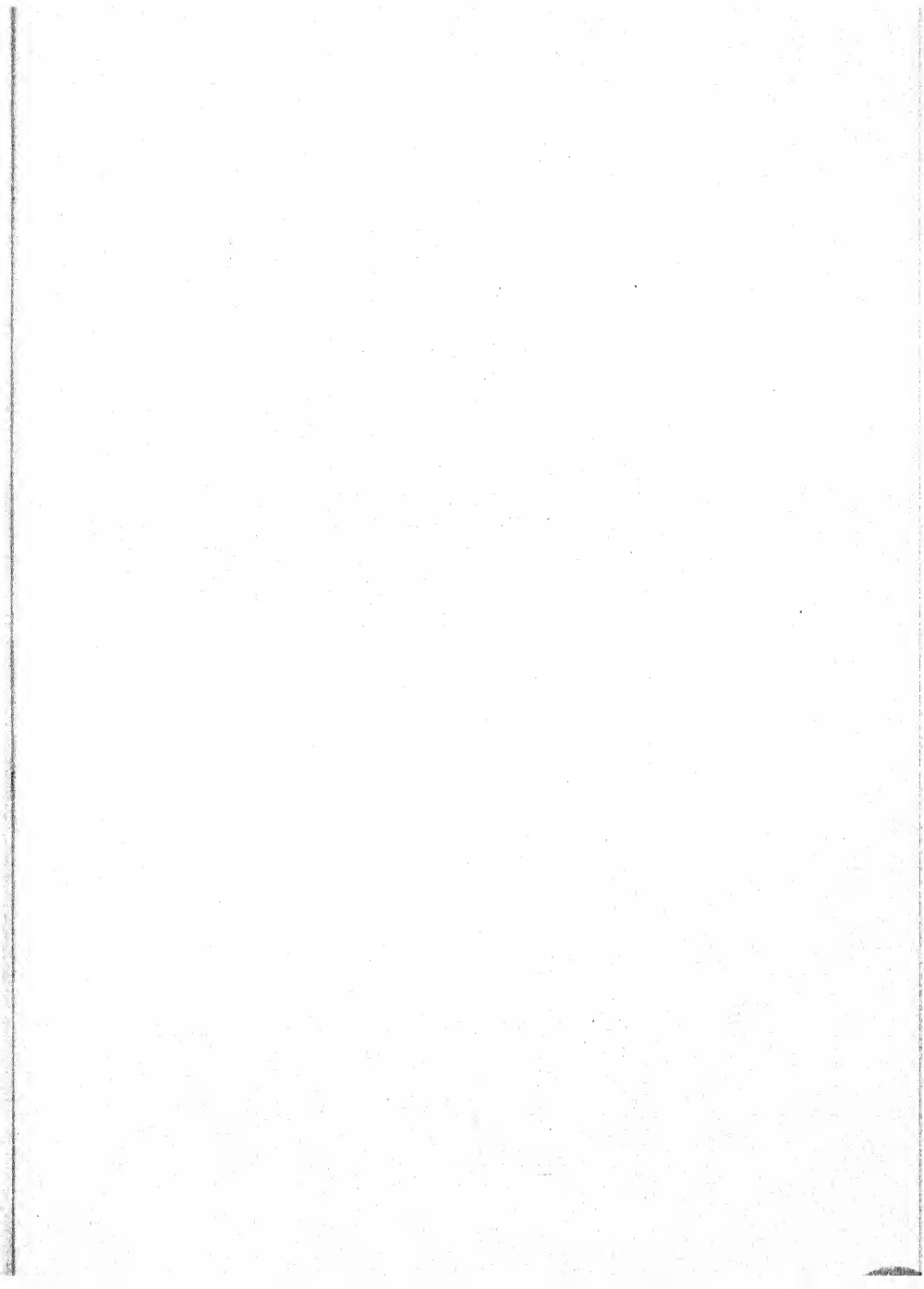
⁸⁹⁰ Beck's *Annales Furnesienses*, 281.

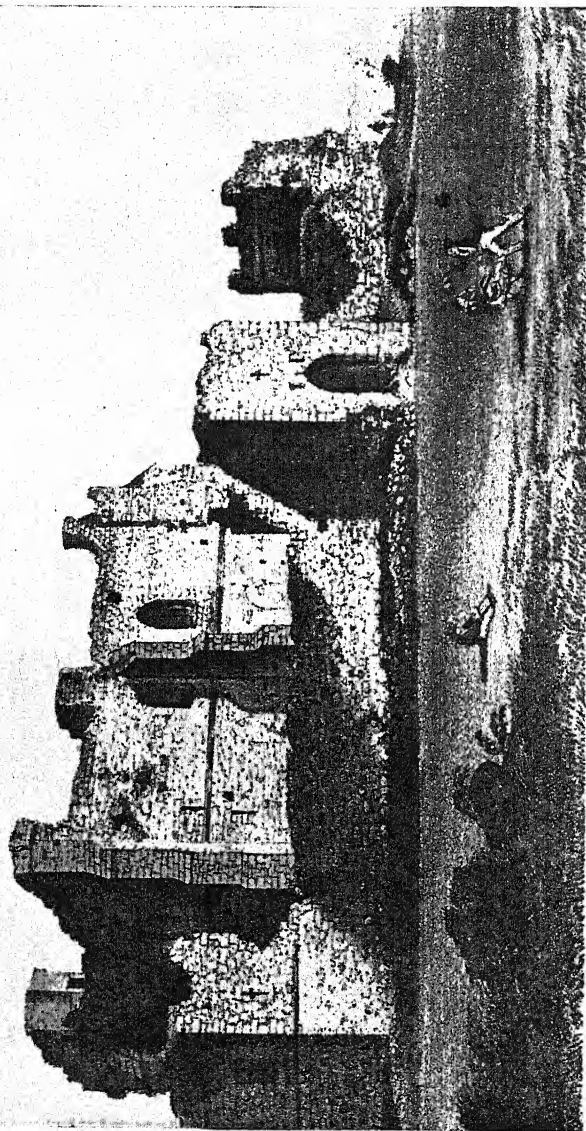
⁸⁹¹ Cal. Close Rolls, 16 Edw. II., m. 14, p. 627.

⁸⁹² Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1327-30, p. 169.

⁸⁹³ Whitaker's *Richmondshire*, ii., 374.

⁸⁹⁴ County Palatine of Lancaster Chancery Rolls, 5 Henry IV., No. 14; *Furness Coucher Book*, Chetham Society, p. 215.





PORT CASTLE FROM THE NORTH WEST.

1537. The Commissioners appointed for the destruction of the monasteries say, "Here is a havene wher as hath afore tyme arrayvyde divers strange Rebelles, a place very daungerus and a Pyle standyng ther by, very necessary to be kepte for the defence ther of."³⁹⁵ In the certificate of the possessions of the Abbey, the castle and peel of Fotheray are described as in "distaunce from the scyte about a ii myles, and stondithe in a lytell ylond herd upon the see syde . . . which castell and pele is now sore decayed and specially the coverynge and tymber werke therof, insomuch that hit ys thoughte that ccc^{li} wyll scarcely repayre hit sufficiently, etc."

After the suppression of the monastery the castle was allowed to fall into decay.

1588. "The same Pylle is an old decayed castell of the dowchie of Lancaster in ffurness ffelles, wher one Thomas Preestone, a Papyshe Atheiste, is deputye stewarde . . . What the Spanyerds meanes to do the Lorde knowes, etc."³⁹⁶ There is no mention of any reparation in view of the Spanish Armada landing here, and the probability is that the castle was by this time a total ruin.

1619. Drayton refers to the castle thus:—

"To Fournesse ridged Front, whereas the rocky pile
Of Foudra is at hand, to guard our out-layd Isle
Of Walney and those grosse and foggy Fells."

NATURAL DEFENCES:—A sea girt island of a very few acres.

ARTIFICIAL EARTHWORK:—Very broad and deep ditch on the north and west sides, dividing the castle from the rest of the island; also an inner ditch, 25 feet wide, outside the inner curtain wall.

AREA:—Outer ward 2.367 acres, inner ward .664 acres.

³⁹⁵ Miscellaneous Correspondence, temp. Henry VIII., 2nd ser., vol. xl., article 3.

³⁹⁶ Lansdowne MSS., cod. 56, No. 51.

KEEP :—Rectangular, 80 by 76 feet.

Height :—45 feet.

Axis :—North and south.

Walls :—10 feet in thickness, with mural staircases at each main angle leading up to the turrets.

Masonry :—Rough cobble grouted with liquid mortar.

Projections :—Double splayed plinth with a bold ogee string course at the second floor level.

Entrance :—To the 1st floor on the north side.

Floors :—The floor space is divided longitudinally into three compartments, each of three storeys in height.

Fireplaces :—Fourteenth century fireplaces to each of the rooms in the western compartment.

CURTAIN :—The curtain to the outer ward is 8 feet in thickness, and has the ruins of three towers upon it. At present it remains on the north and west sides only, but before the encroachment of the sea it doubtless continued around the east and south sides to join up with the towers on the inner ramparts. The curtain to the inner ward is likewise 8 feet in thickness, and upon it are the remains of three other towers.

GATEHOUSES :—Entrance direct from the sea on the eastern side. William Close describes how that at the north-east corner and on the extreme verge of the cliff there were twin towers, with a guard-room between them vaulted over an inner and outer gate. "We crossed the exterior ditch and entered the outer bayle through a ruinous guard tower, over-leaning a steep precipice formed by the surges of the sea. The ancient pass, where the drawbridge over the outer ditch was fixed, has been long washed away."³⁹⁷ The inner gatehouse is of two storeys, with an inner and outer pair of gates and defended by a portcullis.

REFERENCE :—*Transactions*, N.S., x., 271.

³⁹⁷ West, *Antiquities of Furness*, ed. Close, 369.

ROSE CASTLE. C. 30, S.W.

Rosa, or La Rose. "Indeed it is a rosey place."³⁹⁸

EARLY FORTIFICATION :—Two small tuns, one to the N.N.E. and the other to the S.S.W. of the present castle. Both about 50 yards square.

Motte and Bailey fortress :—The motte was situated just outside Kite's tower, and the present buildings occupy the site of the bailey.³⁹⁹ [See page 28.]

FOUNDATION HISTORY :—1230. The manor of Dalston was granted to Bp. Walter Malclerk.⁴⁰⁰

1255. Bp. Vipont was living at "La Rose" when he granted a concession to Alan de Berwise to build a private chapel on his property in Berwise. The deed is dated "Apud la Rose vii^o Kalend. marcii Pontificatus nostri anno primo."⁴⁰¹

1272. Bp. Chauncy issued a deed of concession of the Church of Laysingby, dated "Apud Rosam 6^{to} Kal. Maii, 1272."⁴⁰²

1275. Another deed by the same bishop is dated "Apud Rosam 10^o Kal. Novem. 1275."⁴⁰³ But it is likely that the residence at this time consisted of timber buildings only.

1297. To Bp. Halton is attributed the building of the first stone tower, soon after he became constable of Carlisle Castle. This may have been in consequence of the great raid made by Wallace when he burned the country for thirty leagues around Carlisle.⁴⁰⁴

1300. Edward I. and his court were entertained here by Bp. Halton for the greater part of September,

³⁹⁸ Edmund Sandford, *Cursory Relation*, p. 29.

³⁹⁹ Wilson, *Rose Castle*, 65.

⁴⁰⁰ Charter Roll, 14 Henry III., pt. ii., m. 10.

⁴⁰¹ Prescott, *Reg. Wetherhal*, 319.

⁴⁰² *Reg. Lanercost*, MS. ix., 14, quoted in Prescott, *Reg. Wetherhal*, 319.

⁴⁰³ *Ibid.*, x., 8.

⁴⁰⁴ Ancient Petitions, No. 4071.

Queen Margaret joining the King on the 18th. Edward paid for converting some of the outbuildings into stables for the Queen's draught-horses. From the fact of the King's sojourn, a building capable of defence must have existed at this period.

1314. Edward Bruce forced his way down through Carlisle and finding the bishop fully occupied in defending the castle there he made for his residence at Rose, where he stayed for three days. It was at this time that Bp. Halton made a treaty with him for the protection of his manors of Rose and Linstock "so that they shall not be burnt," on condition that the two brothers, Reynold and Alexander de Lindsay, should be released from Carlisle Castle. "And we, John, agree that if we do not make the deliverance . . . it shall be lawful to the said Sir Edward to harry us and our lands at his will."⁴⁰⁵ Political necessity prevented the good bishop from performing his part of the treaty, and in consequence we find him, in the following year, lamenting the burning of his manor houses and the loss of his acts, muniments and records.⁴⁰⁶

1322, June. King Robert le Bruce again burned Rose.

1332. Bp. John Ross died at "La Rose."

1336. It is doubtful, however, if any part of the present masonry dates back further than the middle of the fourteenth century, when Bp. John Kirkby obtained a licence to strengthen and crenellate his dwelling place "de la Rose," stating that it had lately been desolated by the Scots.

The curtain wall of immense thickness, with its string course and little projecting turrets on the north side, and also the curtain on the west front, appear to belong to this date.

⁴⁰⁵ Carl. Epis. Reg. Halton MS., fol. 172.

⁴⁰⁶ Carl. Epis. Reg. Halton MS., fol. 179.

- 1337, October. The Scots again wasted Rose because they held the bishop in the greatest hatred.⁴⁰⁷
1345. Likewise it is very improbable that the residence escaped, when Sir William Douglas penetrated to Rose, spreading devastation far and wide. On 10th May, 1346, the King remitted certain taxes to several manors including Dalston, which had been burnt and totally destroyed, with the corn, animals and goods therein, by the Scots at the previous Michaelmas.⁴⁰⁸
1355. Bp. Gilbert Welton is supposed at this time to have erected the Great Hall, and the Constable's Tower at the north-west angle, where now the Percy Tower is situated, for which he received a crenellation licence on the 25th June, 1355.
- 1400-1419. The tower at the north-east angle is mentioned in 1481 as the Lord's Tower, and was built, if not rebuilt, on the site of the original pele by Bp. Strickland.
1462. In the summer the great Earl of Warwick stayed at Rose, when the horses of his army depastured in the park, wholly consuming the herbage of "le Brademedewe."
1488. Bp. Bell repaired the drawbridge and pierced the north curtain to make way for his tower, which was built from the foundations. He also rebuilt the chapel.
1522. Bp. Kite "pesyd and mendyd" the west front, together with the tower known by his name, "with payn inough and metely gudd helth," as he wrote to Wolsey in the autumn. His arms—a chevron between three birds' heads, impaling the arms of Armagh, of which See he had been archbishop—are figured on stone beneath the battlements, together

⁴⁰⁷ *Chronicon de Lanercost*, p. 292.

⁴⁰⁸ *Cal. Close Rolls, 1346-49*, p. 30.

with his initials and the inscription "Deus misereatur nostr'."

1524. Writing from "my poore castell of the Roose" the bishop spoke of "reparaçon in my decayde mansyons and in dykkyng, qwyksettyng and other defensys abowt my house."

We have no date for the foundation of Pettinger's Tower, which occupied the south-west angle. It is so named in the Commonwealth Survey of 1649 and on Bp. Rainbow's plan, dated 1671. It gave way to more useful buildings during the overhauling of the castle by Bp. Percy.

1537. The Duke of Norfolk, in a letter to Thomas Cromwell, during Aske's Rebellion, speaks of "a strong little castle called the Rose, five miles from Carlisle, belonging to the Bishop."⁴⁰⁹

1539. "Rose a Castel of the Bishops of Cairluel a Myle fro Cairluel by Sowth. . . . Bisshop Kight made hit very fresh."⁴¹⁰

1577. After Bp. Barnes was translated to Durham, Lord Scrope, the Lord Warden of the Western March, took possession of Rose and fortified it as a place of defence against the Scots.

1642. After the death of Bp. Potter the castle again passed into civil hands.

1645. During the Civil War the castle, then held for the King by one of the Lowthers, was captured by a detachment of the Parliamentary Army and turned into a prison. During the siege of Carlisle the Commissioners frequently resided here.⁴¹¹

1648. The castle was recovered by the Royalists, until General Lambert sent a detachment of 200 foot from Penrith and took the castle by storm. He left

⁴⁰⁹ Cotton MS., Calig. B., vii., 224.

⁴¹⁰ Leland, vol. vii., fol. 72.

⁴¹¹ Cal. St. Pap., 1644-5, 614.

a garrison behind under Major Cholmley,⁴¹² who set fire to the place and retired on the approach of the Duke of Hamilton. The most habitable portions of the castle, on the south and east sides, were consumed to ashes.⁴¹³ "The Scots forces are come as farre as Roase Castle, a fine house belonging to the Bishop of Carlisle and five miles on this side of the city [Carlisle], but now burnt down because not tenable."⁴¹⁴ To complete the desolation great quantities of stone were pulled down from the broken walls and carried away.

1649. A decayed castle with a large mantle wall built of hewn stone . . . containing about half an acre with a void quadrangle in the middle of it about one rood, the house encompassing it: viz., the chapel on the north side, the great chamber and hall on the east side, the granary brewhouse and bakehouse on the south, and several decayed chambers on the west . . . One tower, called Constable's Tower, on the north quarter, one tower on the east quarter, called Strickland Tower, the kitchens and two little turrets on the south, and one tower called Pettinger's Tower on the west: the whole castle being full four square. About the wall are little watch-houses in great decay. The castle is a great part of it covered with lead . . . The surveyors were of opinion that the castle, to be sold to a gentleman who would purchase the whole demesnes and make it his habitation, was worth £1500.⁴¹⁵

1650. The castle was sold, with the manors of Dalston and Linstock, by the Parliament to William

⁴¹² "With Captain Bayar he was located in Cumberland in 1647 in charge of a squadron of horse for the safety of the county." Wilson, *Rose Castle*, 53. Rushworth, *Hist. Coll.*, vii., 833, 847.

⁴¹³ Thomas Denton, *Perambulation of Cumberland*, MS., fol. 83.

⁴¹⁴ *Bloudy Newes from the Scottish Army*, 1648, p. 3, quoted in Wilson, *Rose*, 52.

⁴¹⁵ Commonwealth Survey, quoted in Hutchinson, ii., 436.

Heveningham, a colonel in their army, for £4161 12s. 10d.⁴¹⁶ Heveningham restored the ruins of the west side, and for many years afterwards the principal entrance was by a doorway he made in Kite's Tower. This may be seen in Buck's view of 1739.

c. 1660. After the Restoration the castle was regranted to its original uses. Bp. Sterne temporarily rebuilt the chapel, measuring 46 by 21 feet, and consecrated it on 13th September, 1663.

1664. It was left to Bp. Rainbow to plan the rebuilding of the north and west sides on its ancient lines. To attempt to restore the other two sides of the quadrangle was beyond his ability. Ann, Countess of Pembroke, gave him her usual present of a lock, bearing her initials and date A.P., 1673, which still secures the front door.

1684. Bp. Smith, under the direction of Machel, the antiquary, made additions in the classical style, including a new tower at the north-west angle between the Constable and Kite Towers.

1702-18. During this period the castle was menaced by the Scots, but escaped without damage. Bp. Nicolson, writing to Archbishop Wake on 14th November, 1715, says, "The rebels had indeed once fully purposed to have given me a visit, and to that end hovered a whole day on the banks of the River Eden. But as providence ordered the matter, the rain had then so swelled the waters there, that they were not fordable. This preserved my beef and mutton for the present. They sent me word that these provisions were only kept in store for the Earl of Mar, who they said would assuredly be with me in ten days time."

1735-1747. Bp. Fleming erected a good deal of wainscoting.

⁴¹⁶ *Collectanea Top. et Gen.*, i., 290.

- 1762-1769. Bp. Lyttelton re-roofed Strickland's Tower which had been a ruin since the burning of 1648, and inserted new windows.
- 1769-1787. Bp. Law lowered the massive curtain wall, 9½ feet thick, between the Bell and Strickland Towers, to its present height.
1796. Bp. Vernon overhauled the north side of the castle. From the hall he cut a passage for 13 yards down the middle of the great curtain as far as Bell's Tower, the basement of which he also excavated and converted into a small robing room.
- 1828-31. Bp. Hugh Percy practically refaced the edifice. Under the superintendence of the Quaker architect, Thomas Rickman, he rebuilt the façades of the Percy Tower, upon which he placed his arms and initials. The two inner façades received windows in uniform style. He erected the oak staircase with its pierced balustrade ornamented with roses and coat armour, and set up the azure lion rampant on a golden field, as a vane on the roof of Strickland's Tower. It is estimated that his restoration cost some £40,000.
- 1869-92. Bp. Goodwin re-decorated the chapel.
- LICENCES TO CRENELLATE :—1336, 9th April. Licence to John Kirby, Bishop of Carlisle, to strengthen and crenellate his dwelling place of "the Rose" with a wall of stone and lime.⁴¹⁷
- 1355, 25th June. Licence for Gilbert de Welton, Bishop of Carlisle, to strengthen and crenellate his dwelling place of La Rose.⁴¹⁸
- ARTIFICIAL EARTHWORK :—A level plateau of half an acre, raised on the east side 30 or 40 feet above the meadows. Here the moat, supplied from a spring in the bank, can be seen best ; beneath runs a terrace some 20 or 30 feet above the bottom of the moat.

⁴¹⁷ Pat. Roll, 10 Edw. III., pt. i., m. 27, or Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1334-38, p. 245.

⁴¹⁸ Pat. Roll, 29 Edw. III., pt. ii., m. 19, or Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1354-58, p. 252.

On the south side the moat can be traced in its full length. On the west side no traces of a moat now exist, except near the gate where a shrunken segment without banks is visible to a depth of nearly 10 feet. Dr. James Wilson⁴¹⁹ points out that this part of the moat was filled up when the Norman *motte* was levelled to the ground.

STRICKLAND'S TOWER :—29 feet square, or the same size as Dacre's Tower at Naworth.

Walls :— $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet in thickness.

Masonry :—Red sandstone ashlar, probably a restored facing.

Projections :—Double splayed plinth. The projecting parapet is the work of Bp. Lyttelton.

Entrance :—To first floor on the south side.

Floors :—Vaulted basement, 3 feet below the ground, with two storeys above, also a small attic in the modern roof. Access to the basement was from the 1st floor; within the thickness of the wall a modern staircase has now been cut.

BELL'S TOWER :—20 feet square.

Floors :—Basement built solid with a heart of earth and rubble to a height of 15 feet from the ground. Above were two floors known as the Chaplain's chambers. The initials of the bishop, R.B., are displayed on the cornice. Bp. Vernon excavated the basement out in 1796.

KITE'S TOWER :—32 by 22 feet.

Axis :—North to south.

Walls :—Very thick.

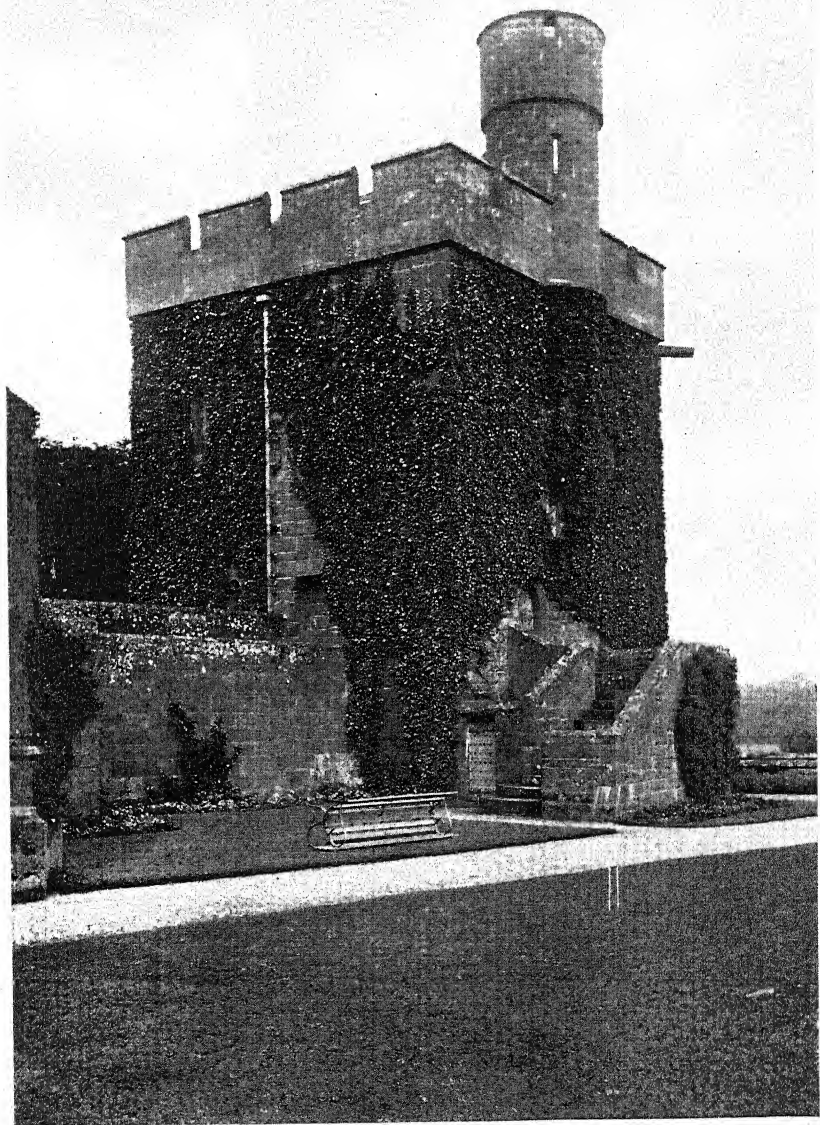
Floors :—Basement and two storeys above.

HALL :—About 50 by 24 feet.

SEE APPENDIX X.

REFERENCES :—Dr. James Wilson, *Rose Castle*; Jefferson, *Carlisle*, pp. 371-383; *Transactions*, O.S., ii., 152.

⁴¹⁹ *Rose Castle*, p. 65, 66.



ROSE CASTLE. STRICKLAND TOWER.

By kind permission of the Rev. James Wilson, M.A., Litt. D.



SCALEBY CASTLE. C. 17, N.W.

FOUNDATION HISTORY:—1307. It is doubtful whether any portion of the dwelling place, for which Robert de Tylliol received a crenellation licence, remains. Standing so near to the Scottish Border and owned by men of considerable position, the place must have been constantly battered. Unfortunately its fourteenth century history is entirely lost to us, and it may be likely that it lay waste for several generations.

c. 1450. The castle appears to have been remodelled, when the gateway protected by a portcullis was added on the western side of the courtyard.

c. 1550. The hall was raised up to the first floor over the cellars, which were sometimes used as dungeons.

1580. "The estates and title of this house or castell standeth in some question betwene S^r Henry Weston, K^t and Christopher Dacre, esquire, and standeth about fower miles west and by south from Askerton, and six miles frō Scotland, p^{ty} decayed, the repairinge whereof is esteamed to three scoore pounds, besides new castinge of the moote, w^{ch} hath bin used to be don by the tenants of that manno^r, as is aleadged."⁴²⁰

1596. Sir Edward Musgrave rebuilt a large portion of the castle.

1644. When Carlisle was being besieged, Sir Edward Musgrave placed the castle in a state of defence, and with his garrison, sustained a siege for a considerable time. It was, however, obliged to surrender to General Leslie in the following February.

⁴²⁰ Christopher Dacre's Survey, Cal. St. Pap. Dom. Add., 1580, vol. 27, No. 44ⁱⁱⁱ.

1648. The castle was again garrisoned by Sir Edward Musgrave, and attacked by a detachment of General Lambert's army. On this occasion it was not capable of sustaining a siege, and therefore surrendered to the Parliamentarians, who are said to have immediately set it on fire.⁴²¹

c. 1680. Rebuilt either by Richard or his son, William Gilpin.

1688. "The capital messuage here is an old castle, a place formerly of great strength, and now by its being lately repaired and new modelled hath made it a large and convenient habitation."⁴²²

c. 1735. After it had passed from the Gilpins, it was for a long time deserted, and allowed to fall into a state of decay.

1772. "This venerable pile has now undergone a second ruin . . . and is now a scene of desolation . . . The chambers unwindowed and almost unroofed, fluttering with rags of ancient tapestry, are the haunt of daws and pigeons . . . the floors, yielding to the tread, make curiosity dangerous."⁴²³

The castle was again repaired by Rowland Fawcett.

1814. "The castle consists of a very ancient octagon tower, now much decayed; a high square tower, also in ruins; and a more modern castellated building, a comfortable residence."⁴²⁴

1838. "Some of the more modern portion of the venerable structure, is at present being rebuilt in the Gothic style."⁴²⁵

LICENCE TO CRENELLATE:—1307, 24th August. Licence to Robert de Tyllioli to crenellate his dwelling place of Scaleby in the Marches of Scotland.⁴²⁶

⁴²¹ Kimber, *Baronetage*.

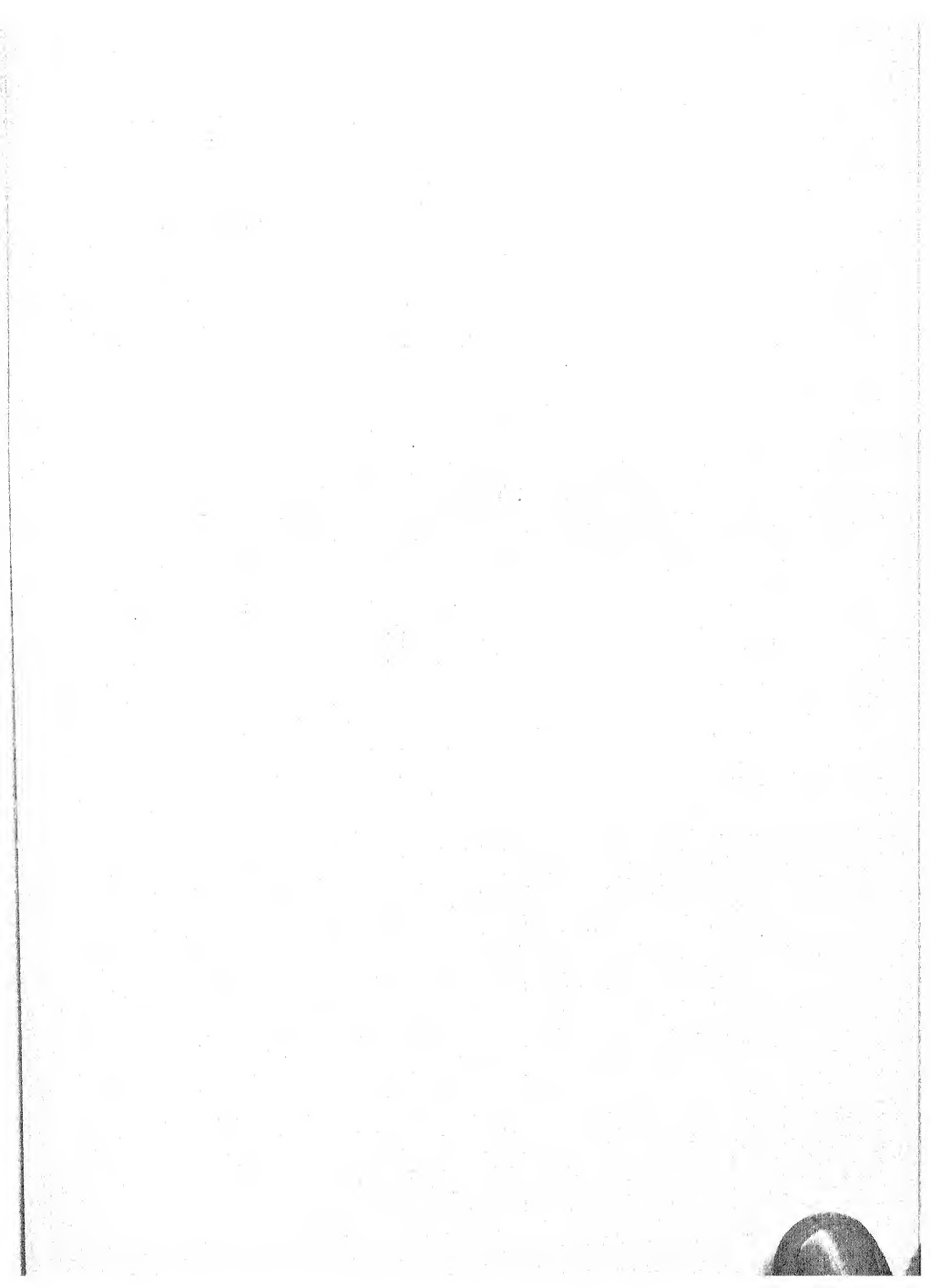
⁴²² Thomas Denton, MS.

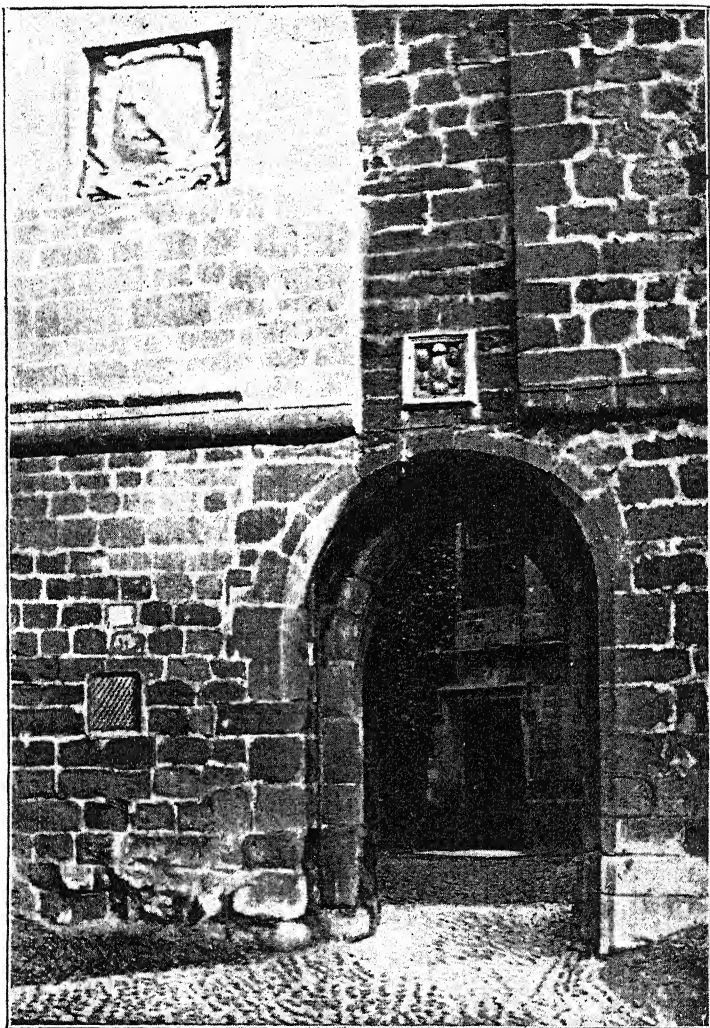
⁴²³ Gilpin, *Northern Tour*, ii., 124.

⁴²⁴ Walter Scott, *Border Antiq.*, ii., 117.

⁴²⁵ Jefferson, *Carlisle*, p. 385.

⁴²⁶ Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1307-13, 8.





SCALEBY CASTLE.
Outer Gateway leading into quadrangle.

TO FACE P. 237.

NATURAL DEFENCES :—None.

ARTIFICIAL EARTHWORK :—Treble moated, with the earth thrown up in the centre, upon which the castle was erected. The inner moat has been partially filled up, but the portion in front of the castle remains, and is now a piece of ornamental water. The outer moat, probably of late date and over which was a drawbridge, is still full of water and said to be nearly a mile in circumference.

CURTAIN :—A lofty strong curtain enclosing an area of some 80 by 70 feet with the tower at the north-west angle. The east curtain had three mural turrets projecting beyond the face, and there is another at the south-west angle. The entrance was in the western curtain, through a narrow gateway defended by a portcullis. Above was a mural chamber, 21 by 6½ feet, with arched and ribbed roof, from which the portcullis was worked.

TOWER :—40 by 30 feet, and roofless.

Walls :—7 to 8 feet in thickness, with many mural chambers and recesses.

Masonry :—Fine ashlar.

Projections :—Heavy plinth and three sets-off.

Floors :—Vaulted basement, 24 by 15 feet, and three storeys above.

REFERENCES :—Jefferson, *Carlisle*, 383 ; Gilpin, *Northern Tour*, ii., 124 ; *Transactions*, N.S., viii., 376.

TRIERMALN CASTLE. C. 12, N.E.

Treverman, 1295; *Threcherman*, *Thrathremane*, 1485;
Tradermayne, 1588.

EARLY FORTIFICATIONS:—Site owned by Celtic lords.
 Gilemore, son of Gilander, erected a chapel here of
 wicker-work which he endowed with land.

FOUNDATION HISTORY:—The manor was granted by
 Robert de Vaulx, 4th Norman lord of Gilsland, to
 his bastard brother Roland, living in 1212. It des-
 cended to his son Alexander, and through his son
 Ranulph, living in 1273, to Robert de Vaulx, living
 in 1295. The Robert who received a licence to
 crenellate his tower in 1340 was most probably a
 son of the last named Robert. Then succeeded
 several Rolands, but to which one of them Sir
 Walter Scott referred, in his *Bridal of Triermaln*,
 need hardly be asked. But, in his romance, Scott
 must have referred to a time before Askerton
 Castle was built to support the defence of the Border.
 Whoever Sir Roland was, we can well imagine that
 he must frequently have been reduced to that con-
 dition in which Sir Walter Scott depicts him:—

“ Sir Roland de Vaux he hath laid him to sleep,
 His blood it was fevered, his breathing was deep;
 He had been pricking against the Scot,
 The foray was long and the skirmish hot;
 His dinted helm and his buckler's plight
 Bore token of a stubborn fight.”

Sir Walter also imagines the state of things in the
 district, during the absence elsewhere of such a
 valiant knight, thus:—

" Bewcastle now must keep the Hold,
Speir-Adam's steed must bide in stall,
Of Hartley-burn the bowmen bold
Must only shoot from battled wall ;

.

Of wasted fields and plundered flocks
The borderers bootless may complain,
They lack the sword of brave de Vaux,
There comes no aid from Triermain."

Bridal of Triermain.

1580. " This house or castel doth belonge to the heires
of ye late Leonard Dacre, standinge about three
myles north-east frō Naward castel and 8 myles frō
Scotland, all for ye moste p^{te} fallen downe or decayed,
the repairinge or new reedifienge whereof wth helpe
of ye stones of ye old buildinge and ye woods be-
longinge to ye lord and owner of ye same is esteemed
to 300^{li} beside the new castinge of ye moote, w^{ch}
untill a greater necessitye may be spared."⁴²⁷

1589. " A faire castle called Tradermayne, a house of
great strength and of good receipt ; it stood and
was opposite to the wastes of Scotland and Tyndell
and about vi miles distant from Lydderesedell, and
was a very convenient place for both annoying of
the Enemy and defending the country thereabouts,
but now the said castle is utterly decayed."⁴²⁸

1598, 5th September. " The Carletons have all the
Queen's houses of strength in Gilsland in their
hands and have placed divers Scots in them . . .
Thomas Carleton has Tryermayne house and
demean," etc.⁴²⁹

1599. " Frome waltowne it [the Roman Wall] bendeth

⁴²⁷ Christopher Dacre's Survey, Cal. St. Pap. Dom. Add., 1580, vol. 27, No. 44ⁱⁱⁱ.

⁴²⁸ Alexander King's Survey. He was auditor of the Queen's Exchequer, and reported on all the manors and castles late in the possession of Leonard Dacre, attainted of treason.

⁴²⁹ Cal. Border Papers, ii., 558.

within half a myle of lanercost, wher all the monuments are utterlie gone and defaced save the tombe of L. humphrey Dacre . . . Ther is also painted this englishe ryme :—

'Rowland vaux that laitlie was, the Lord of Tridermaine
is dead, his bodie in lead, and low lyes under this stane.'⁴⁸⁰

"This Tridermaine an old castle, having the vauxes armes set in a stone very ancient on the gaitte howse, standeth a litle without the picts wall northward, on the water of King, wiche runneth into Irthing."⁴⁸¹

1832. A great portion of the ruin fell during this year.
LICENCE TO CRENELLATE :—1340, 4th February. Licence for Robert de Vaulx to crenellate his dwelling place of Treuermane in the Marches of Scotland.⁴⁸²

ARTIFICIAL EARTHWORK :—Moated around ; now traceable at the south-eastern corner only.

CURTAIN :—The castle appears to have had a curtain wall enclosing a quadrangle, turreted at the eastern and western angles. It seems to have been built with stones from the Roman Wall, which, in their turn, have been again taken away, so that now only a solitary shaft remains supported by buttresses.

SEE APPENDIX XI.

REFERENCES :—*Transactions*, O.S., iii., 175 ; N.S., xi., 250.

⁴⁸⁰ Cf. *Transactions*, O.S., xii., 312.

⁴⁸¹ Reginald Bainbrigg in a communication to Camden, *Cotton Julius*, F. vi. Professor Haverfield says that Bainbrigg is "the earliest Westmorland antiquary whose name is known . . . born at Hilton, four miles east of Appleby, about 1545 . . . came up to Queen's College from Westmorland, matriculated in 1572 at the age of 24, was afterwards Junior Founder of the college, and took his B.A. in July 1576, and his M.A. in July 1579. . . . came back to Appleby in 1580 as headmaster of Appleby Grammar School . . . here he worked till his death in 1606. . . . He was eager enough to make, in 1599 and 1601, two journeys along the line of the Roman Wall . . . journeys not to be taken in those years without real risk from brigands and thieves, such as deterred Camden in 1599 from visiting Housesteads." *Transactions*, N.S., xi., pp. 345-348.

⁴⁸² Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1338-40, p. 417.

WOLSTY CASTLE. C. 27, N.E.

EARLY FORTIFICATION :—Roman foundations near by.

FOUNDATION HISTORY :—Henry III. granted to the monks of Holm Cultram the privilege of keeping bows and arrows, that they might use them against the marauding Scots. According to Camden, Wolsty Castle was erected by the Abbot for the safe custody of the Convent's treasures, their books and their charters, against the sudden incursions of the Scots. 1348, 13th October. It received the royal licence to be crenellated.

1572. During an inquisition respecting the Crown manor of Holm Cultram, the Commissioners found the "castle ruinous and decayed in all the houses within the outer wall, viz. :—the Hall which will cost to be repaired . . . by estimacion £24 os. 4d. ; the chamber at the end of the Hall £21 4s. od. ; the Evidence House £17 6s. 8d. ; the Kitchen, Peat-house, Byer and Stable £44 19s. 4d. ; by estimacion in all £107 10s. 4d." And further they say, that if "the said castle be not maintained and upholden for the defence of that west coast, 14 townships of the yearly rent of £120 17s. od. should utterly be spoiled, destroyed and waist by that means and so should the Queen's Majesty lose all those rents."⁴³³

1580. "Woulstre. This house or castel doth belonge to her Ma^{ty} standinge about 7 miles west and by south frō Bownes toure, and a quarter of a mile frō the sea crick w^{ch} diuideth y^e Englishe and Scotishe borders and about 4 houres botinge ouer y^e same crick to Scotland ; p^{ty} decayed, y^e repairinge whereof, beside castinge of ye moote, w^{ch} ought

⁴³³ Hutchinson, ii., 339.

to be don by ye inhabitants there, as is aleadged, is esteamed to c^{li}, w^{ch} ought to be repayred by Thom^s Chambers, who hath y^e kepinge of ye same and by ye inhabitants there, havinge neade to ye defence of ye same."⁴³⁴

1593, 7th March. King repeats the first part of Dacre's survey.⁴³⁵

1638. A survey states that in 1596 Wolsty was granted to Robert Chamber with the fee of twenty shillings yearly for keeping thereof, which castle was for the most part fallen into ruin and decay: and that the said Robert had bestowed £100 in repairing the same at his own cost over and above £150 more at that time needful. After the death of the said Robert, Wolsty was granted to Richard Chamber, who assigned it to his brother William, who died in 1629. Robert, the son of William, began to repair the castle in 1630, and after expending £100 and upwards upon it "the said Robert, his wife, children and servants, to the number of nine, being in their beds, upon the 20th May, 1634, the roof of the bed-chamber did suddenly fall down . . . breaking down the loft on which their beds stood . . . though, praised be God, nobody therein was hurt thereby. And the said chamber is now built up again by Robert Chamber aforesaid."⁴³⁶

1663. The jurors found that "Thomas ffitch, late p'tended gouvernor of Carlisle, caused the castle of Wolstie to be ruinated and the material thereof he caused to be carried to the Citie of Carlile, and for the Land there remaineth [naught] save only the mote or ditch about the Walles."⁴³⁷

⁴³⁴ Christopher Dacre's Survey, Cal. St. Pap. Dom. Add., 1580, vol. 27, No. 44ⁱⁱⁱ.

⁴³⁵ Alex. King's Survey, St. Pap. Dom. Add., Elizth., vol. 32, 1593, p. 349.

⁴³⁶ *Transactions*, N.S., i., 203.

⁴³⁷ Restoration Survey, *Transactions*, N.S., i., 207.

1794. "Wulsty Castle stood nearly due west from the monastery, in a strong situation not far from the coast. A small part is now remaining, but sufficient to show it was a place of great strength, with a broad and deep ditch surrounding it."⁴³⁸

The building has now been razed to the ground, but the foundations of the curtain are traceable and its moat very distinct. No traces of a tower have as yet been discovered, so that the defence may have consisted only of an embattled wall with buildings within.

LICENCE TO CRENELLATE :—1348, 13th October. Licence for the Abbot of Holmcoltram to crenellate the manor house of Wolmsty which is within the limits of Holmcoltram, co. Cumberland.⁴³⁹

NATURAL DEFENCES :—A strong position near the coast.

ARTIFICIAL EARTHWORK :—A wide and deep moat, which surrounds an area of about 65 by 60 yards.

CURTAIN :—A large block of masonry, lying on the northern side, shews that the wall was at least 7 feet in thickness.

REFERENCES :—*Transactions*, N.S., i., 194 ; xi., 235.

⁴³⁸ Hutchinson, ii., 340.

⁴³⁹ Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1348-50, p. 194.

WORKINGTON HALL. C. 53. S.E.

EARLY FORTIFICATION :—Roman or other fort at Burrow Walls.

- c. 1092. Ketel, son of Eldred, granted the churches of Workington and Morland to St. Mary's at York.⁴⁴⁰
- c. 1120. Orme, son of Ketel, married Gunilda, the daughter of Earl Gospatric and the sister of Waltheof, 1st lord of Allerdale. They settled at Seaton "on the edge of an acclivity sloping rapidly seawards."
- c. 1150. Gospatric, son of Orme, was a benefactor to Holm Cultram, St. Mary's at Carlisle and St. Mary's at York. He was the first to take the name of de Wyrkington.
- c. 1191. Thomas de Wyrkington, his son, founded Shap Abbey, and his many gifts are recorded in more than one page of the *Monasticon*. He received from his cousin Roland, lord of Galloway, the great lordship of Culwen in Galloway and granted the same to his second son, Patric.

FOUNDATION HISTORY :—Patric de Culwen succeeded to the Workington estates on the death of his elder brother, and living amid the seething discontent of John's reign, he removed his tower to a stronger site on the opposite side of the river Derwent.

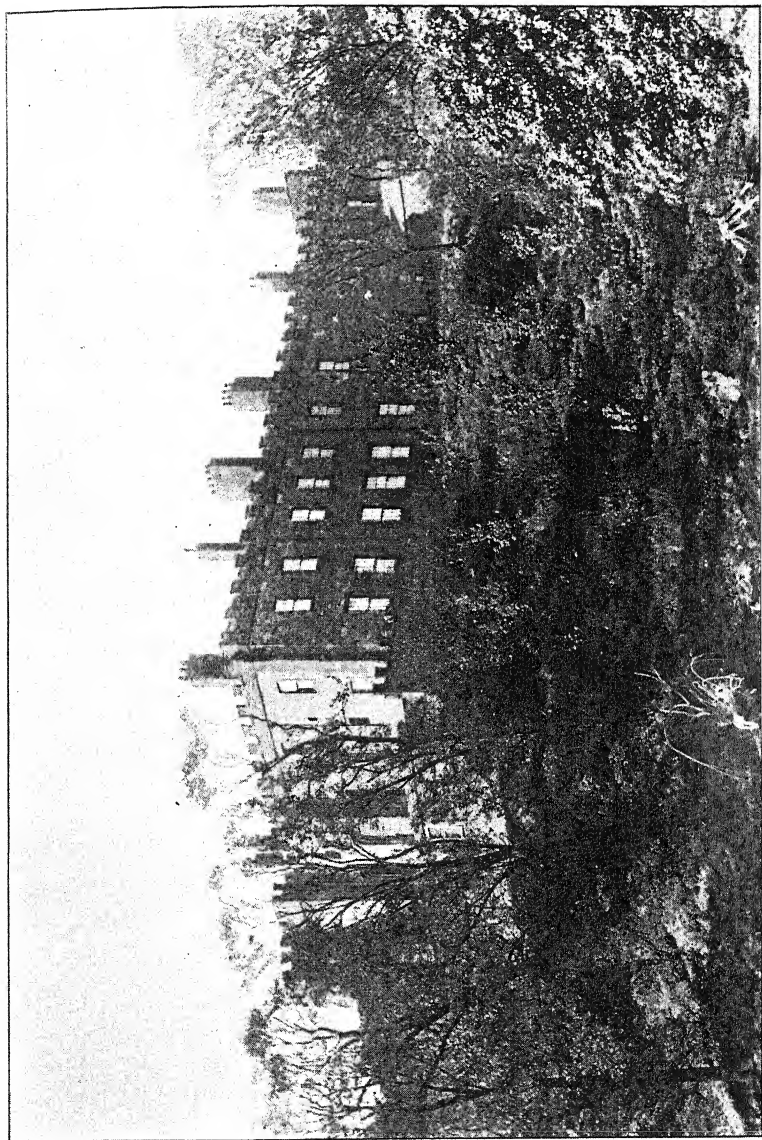
1362. His great-grandson "Sir Gilb^t Curwen K^{nt} built the chief tower at Workington, the stone was laid 8 May, the 36th of Ed: III. A.D. 1362."⁴⁴¹

1380, 4th March. Sir Gilbert de Curwen IV. obtained a licence to crenellate the dwelling.

c. 1404. The first hall was erected on the ground level, adjoining the northern face of the pele, probably by

⁴⁴⁰ Reg. Wetherhal, 371.

⁴⁴¹ Sir D. Fleming, *Description of County Cumberland*, p. 13.



WORKINGTON HALL, FROM THE NORTH-EAST.

TO FACE P. 244.

Sir Christopher Curwen. He was lord of Workington for nearly half a century, and received from Henry V., for his great services at Agincourt and Rouen, the castle and land of Canny.

1539. "On the West Syde of Darwent is a prety Creke wher as Shyppes cum to, wher as ys a lytle prety Fysshier Town cawled Wyrkenton, and ther is the chefe Howse of Sir Thomas Curwyn."⁴⁴²

c. 1540. The second hall was erected on the first floor, probably by Sir Thomas Curwen, the companion of Henry VIII., and from whom he received a grant of Furness Abbey. It will be noticed that the hall adjoins the Pele at the north-east angle only, *i.e.*, it was set back, as we shall also find at Whitehall, so that the existing hall could still be used during the great rebuilding.

1568, 16th May. Mary, Queen of Scots, landed and was entertained by Sir Henry Curwen.

c. 1597. The two long flanking wings were added and the court enclosed on the west side by a gatehouse. This was probably the work of Sir Nicholas Curwen, who is credited with the transformation of the old Border fortress into an Elizabethan mansion.

1610. "Workington Hall, now the mansion house and chief seat of Nicholas Curwen Esq., Lord of the manor of Workington in the barony of Egremont, and of the manor of Seaton on the other side of Darwent in the barony of Allerdale. A gentleman descended of an honourable and great parentage continually in the issue male from one Ketellus or Ketell his first ancestor who lived in William the Conqueror's time."⁴⁴³

1610. "Wirkinton now the seat of the antient knightly

⁴⁴² Leland, vii., fol. 71.

⁴⁴³ John Denton, *Accompt*, ed. R. S. Ferguson, p. 33.

family of the Curwens . . . Here they have a most stately castle-like seat ; and from this family (excuse me from vanity) I myself am descended by the mother's side."⁴⁴⁴

1671. "Workington, a stately seat on the south side of the river Derwent . . . The Hall is built a collegeway in the form of a quadrangle and now is the chief seat of Thos Curwen Esqr who is descended from Gospatric who lived in the time of William the Conqueror."⁴⁴⁵

1675. "Upon the arme o'th sea stand Workington and Seaton. Two great villages and manno^{rs} ; and in the north Termed Lordships : given by the Lord Meschins To a Kinsman and Colonell called Cospatrick with a great Trackt of the Contry up to Lampley oth fells eastward . . . Seaton, the Ancient sceit of Cospatrick, untill he Transpanted [*sic*] his house To Workington on east side of the river."⁴⁴⁶

1782-1828. The upper part of the tower was rebuilt, the adjoining library was added, and the courtyard was reduced in width by the erection of a passageway on the inner side of each wing, by John Christian Curwen.

LICENCE TO CRENELLATE :—1380, 4th March. Licence for Gilbert de Culwen, Knt., to crenellate a house which he has built at his manor of Workington, which is within the Marches of Scotland.⁴⁴⁷

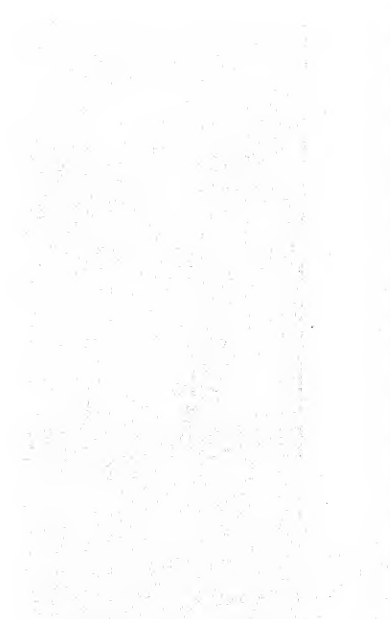
NATURAL DEFENCE :—A steep knoll rising very abruptly some seventy-five feet up from the deer-park and river Derwent.

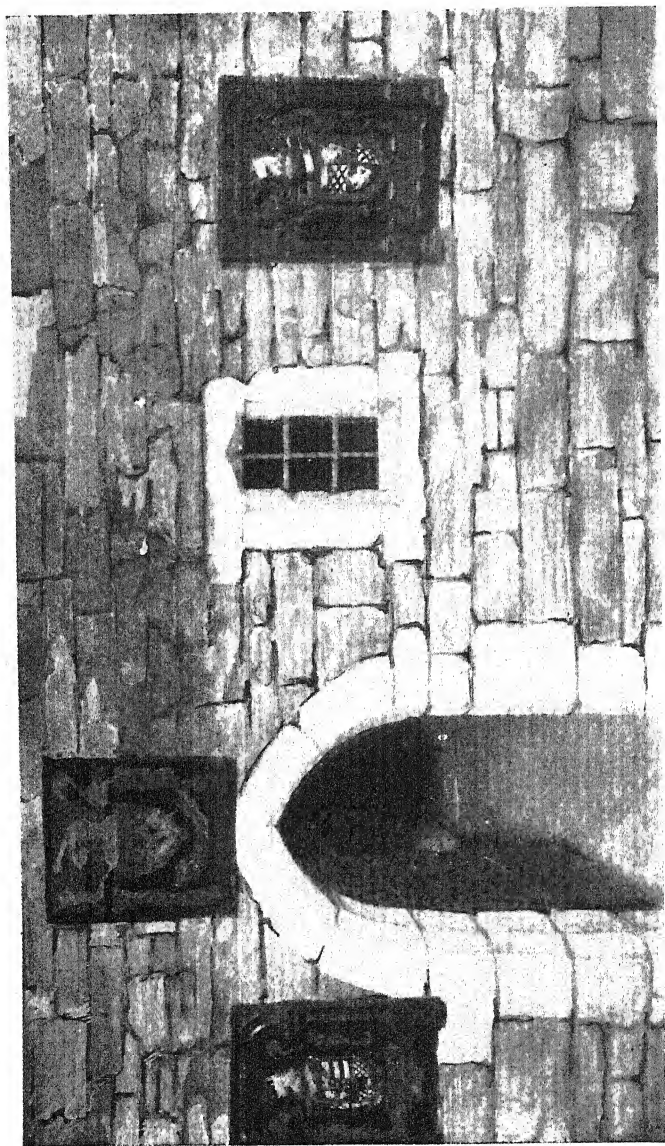
⁴⁴⁴ Camden, Bp. Gibson's first edition, col. 823. Camden's first mention of his relationship to the Curwens occurs in his edition of 1600, *i.e.*, after his visit to Workington in 1599.

⁴⁴⁵ Sir D. Fleming, *Description Co. Cumberland*, p. 12.

⁴⁴⁶ Edmund Sandford, *Cursory Relation*, pp. 1, 2, 17.

⁴⁴⁷ Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1377-81, 447.





WORKINGTON HALL: ENTRANCE TO CELLARS.

GATEHOUSE :—About 25 by 23 feet, enclosing the court at the western end.

TOWER :—43 by 34 feet.

Axis :—East and west.

Walls :—The north wall is $9\frac{1}{2}$ feet in thickness, the others are 7 feet.

Masonry :—Rough local freestone rubble.

Projections :—Splayed plinth.

Entrance :—To basement at the north-west angle.

Floors :—Vaulted basement and two storeys above.

HALL :—56 by 22 feet.

REFERENCES :—*Transactions*, O.S., xvi., p. 1 ; *The Curwen Pedigree*, by the present author.

WYTHOP HALL. C. 55, S.E.

EARLY FORTIFICATIONS :—Presumably as the name is Danish.

FOUNDATION HISTORY :—In the year 1315 it would seem that there was a habitation here, of the value of £10 a year, when Christiana, the widow of John Lucy, pleaded for her dower. Hugh Lowther, to whom the estates passed, received a licence to crenellate in 1318, but it is doubtful if any of the present building dates back to this period.

1550-60. The main block, which appears to be the oldest part of the fabric, dates from this period. It is 36 feet in length and two storeys in height.

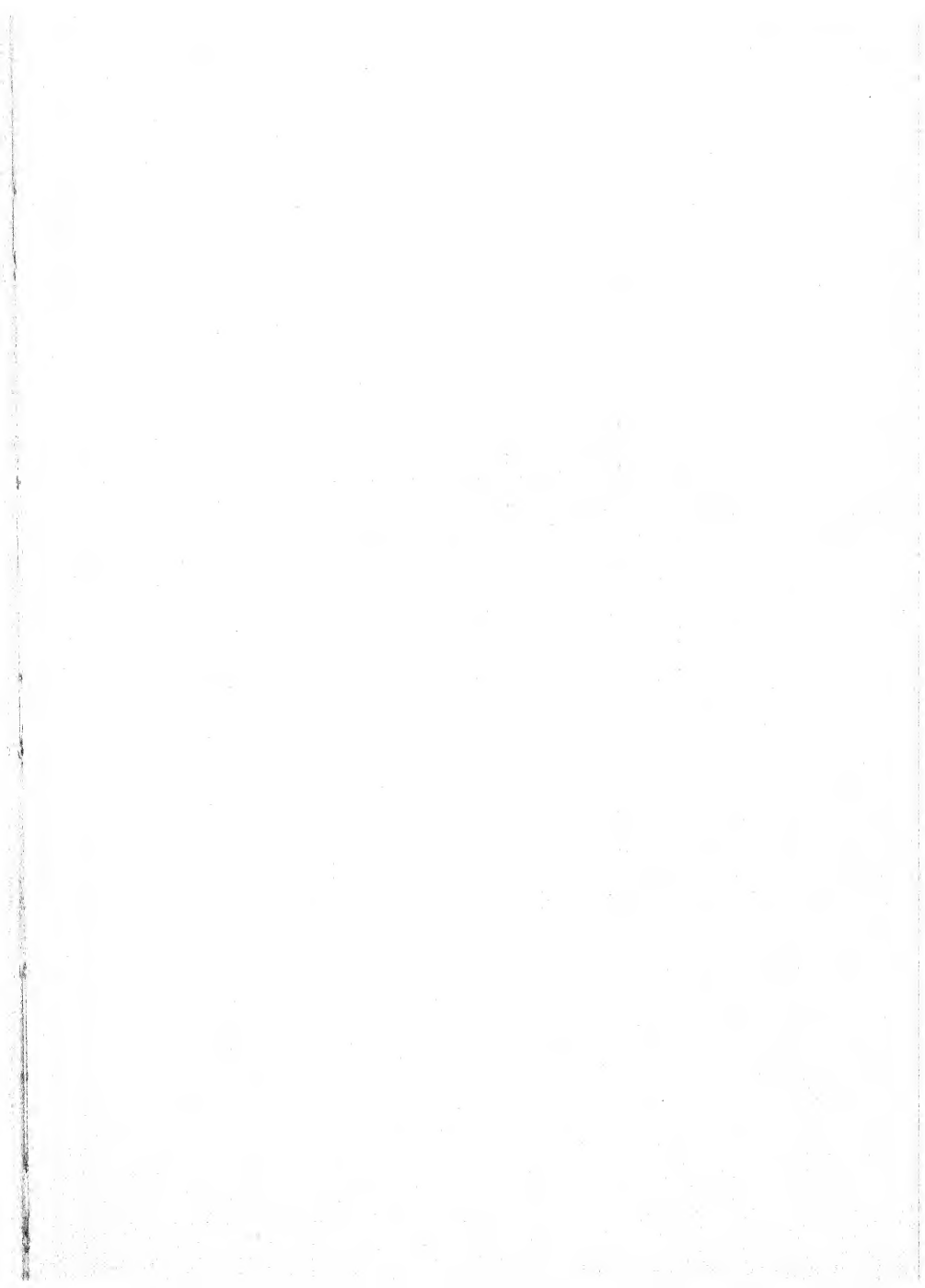
1606. Sir Richard Lowther sold Wythop to Richard Fletcher.

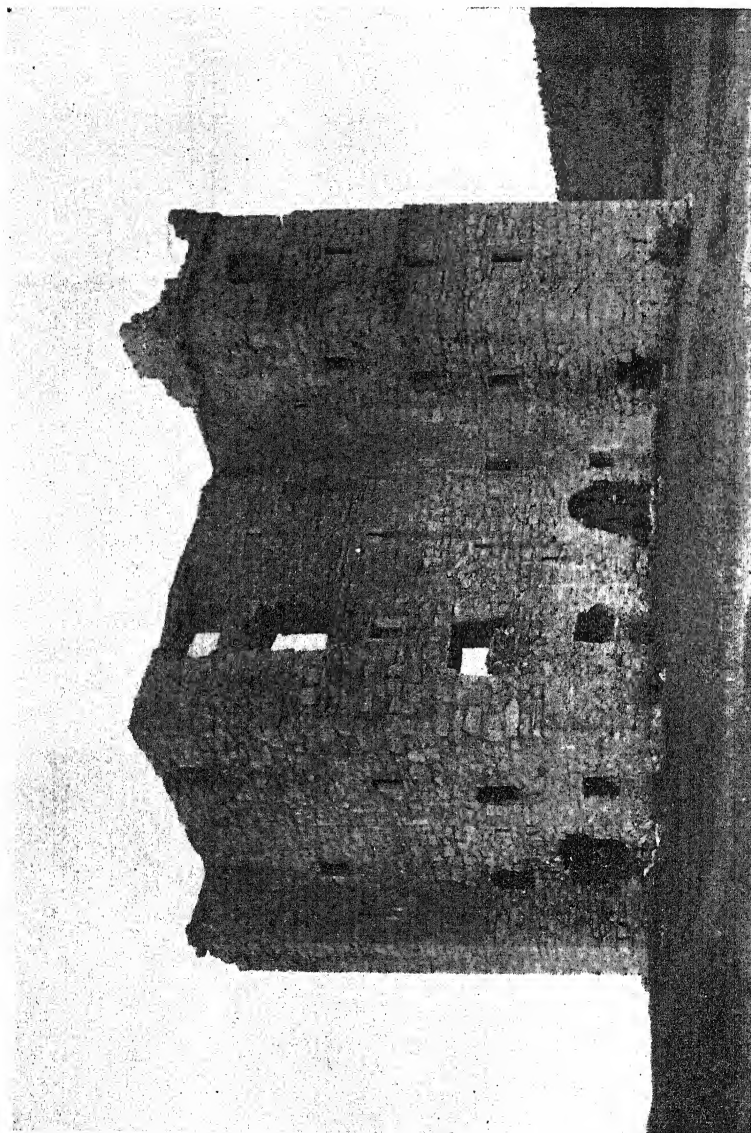
1678. The long kitchen wing, 60 by 21 feet, bears over the doorway the initials, F. V. F. and the date 1678.

LICENCE TO CRENELLATE :—1318, 12th July. Licence to Hugh de Lowthre to crenellate his dwelling place of Wythehope in Derwentfells, Cumberland.⁴⁴⁸

REFERENCE :—Taylor, p. 324.

⁴⁴⁸ Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1317-21, p. 189.





ARNSIDE TOWER.

XIII.

PELE TOWERS, FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

ARNSIDE TOWER. W. 46, S.W.

Arnulvesheued, 1208; *Arnolvesheued*, 1246; *Arnolvisheved*, *Arnolheved*, 1254; *Arnesyde*, 1668. Arnulf's head.

FOUNDATION HISTORY:—1375. An old tradition declares that Arnside, Dallam, and Hazleslack towers were built by the three sisters identified by Hutton with those of Thomas de Thweng, but little credence can be given to this.⁴⁴⁹

1602. "The 27 day of October att nighte Beinge in the yeere of our Lorde God 1602, Beinge a mightie wynd was Arneshead Tower Burned, as it pleased the Lorde to pmitte."⁴⁵⁰

The tower was rebuilt and occupied during the seventeenth century.

1684-90. "Twas unroofed and the timber sent to Knowsly at the same time with that of Beetham Hall."⁴⁵¹

1815. Sold by the Earl of Derby to Daniel Wilson.

1884. The south-west angle was blown down during a hurricane.

NATURAL DEFENCES:—On the summit of a natural hill.

TOWER:—45 by 31½ feet, with the addition of a turret at the north-west corner projecting 13½ feet further.

Height:—50 feet.

⁴⁴⁹ *Beetham Repository*.

⁴⁵⁰ *The Registers of the Parish Church of Lancaster*, p. 217.

⁴⁵¹ *Beetham Repository*.

Axis :—East and west.

Walls :— $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet in thickness.

Masonry :—Large blocks of squared and coursed limestone with occasional red sandstone dressings.

Projections :—None.

Entrance :—To basement on north side.

Floors :—Four storeys, none vaulted.

REFERENCES :—*Transactions*, Q.S., ii., p. xi. ; Taylor, 217 ;
Beetham Repository, pp. 92, 101, 102, 110, 111, 148.

ASBY RECTORY. W. 22. N.E.

Askeby, C. 1250.⁴⁵²

FOUNDATION HISTORY :—A fourteenth century tower, now embedded in a wing of the Rectory.

1670. On the rectory door is a large and ancient wooden lock, with the initials A. P. and the date 1670. Anne, Countess of Pembroke, is said to have once taken shelter here, and in commemoration evidently gave this, her usual present, to the owner.

TOWER :—36 by 24 feet.

Axis :—East and west.

Walls :—6 feet in thickness.

Masonry :—Strong rubble of limestone.

Projections :—None.

Floors :—Vaulted basement and one floor over.

REFERENCE :—Taylor, 138.

⁴⁵² Prescott, *Wetherhal*, 333.

THE END OF THE WORLD



BEETHAM HALL, showing Windows to the hall.

TO FACE P. 251.

BEETHAM HALL. W. 46, N.E.

Biedun in Domesday; *Bethome*,⁴⁵³ *Beithum*, c. 1200,⁴⁵⁴ the holme of the Betha.

FOUNDATION HISTORY:—Early seat of the de Beethams.

Thomas de Beetham, in 1311, obtained a charter for a market here.

c. 1340. Probable date for the erection of the tower.

1347. Sir Ralph de Beetham was ordered to send the prisoners whom he, with Sir Thomas de Roos of Kendal Castle, had confined in their castles, to the Tower of London.

c. 1442. In the days of Sir Thomas de Beetham it is said to have developed into a small castle of great pretensions.

1539. "By Bytham is a greate Park and a goodly Place yn hit of the Erle of Darby."⁴⁵⁵

1671. "Betham-hall, a pleasant seat, and hath been a fair house, but now much ruined."⁴⁵⁶

1693. The farm dwelling on the south side of the courtyard was added. Let in over the porch is a tablet with the initials T. B. and date 1693.

1762. "By an easy ascent from the river we come to a gateway, being the grand entrance into the castle-yard."⁴⁵⁷

CURTAIN:—The curtain wall is $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet in thickness. The rampart walk is $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide and 17 feet from the ground. The battlements, rising some 6 feet higher, in order to gain room, projected on corbels. The lower portion of the wall is pierced at regular intervals

⁴⁵³ Prescott, *Wetherhal*, 412.

⁴⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 338.

⁴⁵⁵ Leland, v., fol. 85.

⁴⁵⁶ Sir D. Fleming, *Description of Westmorland*, 11.

⁴⁵⁷ Rev. Wm. Hutton, *Beetham Repository*.

with deeply splayed loop-holes. On either side of the gatehouse the wall took a right-angled bend inwards so as to enfilade the gate. The curtain enclosed an area of some 70 by 45 yards.

GATEHOUSE :—The gatehouse stood across the present roadway ; foundations can still be traced of a guard chamber on the northern side.

TOWER :—45 by 27 feet or thereabouts with a projecting garderobe turret.

Axis :—East and west.

Walls :—4 feet in thickness.

Masonry :—Limestone rubble.

Projections :—None.

Floors :—Three storeys, none vaulted.

HALL :— $39\frac{1}{2}$ by 25 feet.

REFERENCE :—*Transactions*, N.S., iv., 225.

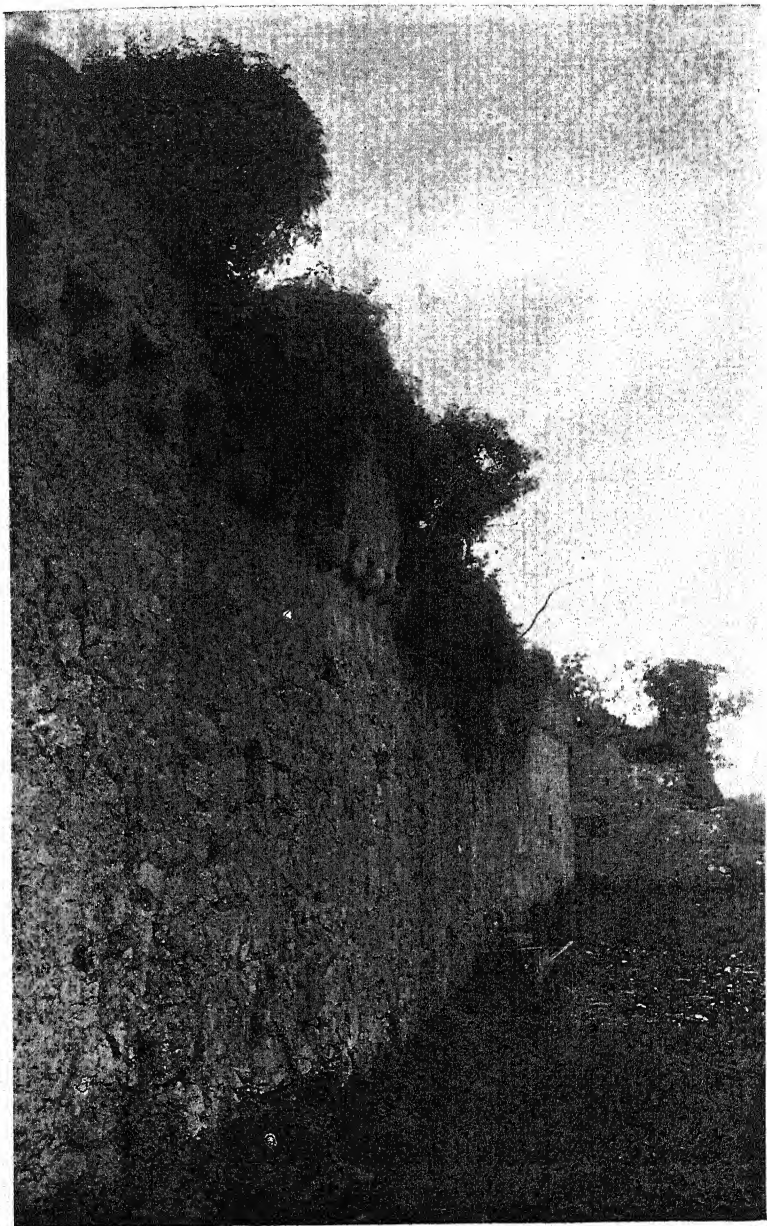


Photo. by H. Bell.

BEETHAM HALL. The Curtain.

TO FACE P. 252.

BEWLEY CASTLE. W. 9, S.W.

"*Fithnenin*" is the earliest name; "*Bellus Locus*" circa 1220; *Beaulieu* in the fifteenth century. Situated on the Sweetmilk Sike, a tributary of the Eden, one mile south-west of Crackenthorpe.

FOUNDATION HISTORY:—C. 1170. Fithnenin was granted by Ucthred de Botelton to the church of Carlisle. After the death of Bernard, the second bishop, in 1186, the See continued vacant for 32 years, during which time the monks publicly announced their contempt of the Papal authority, and in defiance of all interdicts persisted in performing divine service. They swore fealty to the King of Scots, who was likewise in open opposition; they elected an excommunicated clerk for their bishop, and seizing the revenues of the bishopric applied them to their own will. In consequence of this bold action Henry III. applied to Pope Honorius III., with the result that the canons were expelled by Gualo the legate, who, at the Pope's command and with the sovereign's consent, constituted Hugh, Abbot of Bellus Locus Regis in the New Forest, Bishop in the year 1218.

1219. The division of the possessions of the Priory between the convent and bishop began the following year when Fithnenin was allotted to the Bishopric. And when we consider that the new bishop had been the abbot of the monastery of Bellus Locus Regis, what more appropriate name could he have chosen for his new Westmorland residence?

1250. It is known that Bishop Silvester used Bewley as a residence, from two deeds which we find executed and dated from here.⁴⁵⁸

⁴⁵⁸ Wilson, *Rose Castle*, 10; Chartulary of Fountains, ff. 326, 326b.

c. 1325. Upon the site of this early residence the present building was erected, which has clearly undergone several subsequent alterations.

1402. Bishop Strickland restored the building, including the chapel and solar.

1649. After the Civil War the manor was sold by the Parliamentary Commissioners, but it was repossessed at the Restoration.

1853 or 1857. It was again sold by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.

REFERENCES:—*Transactions*, O.S., viii., 413; N.S., iii., 240; ix., 319; Dr. James Wilson, *Rose Castle*, pp. 9-11.

BOWNESS TOWER. C. 14, N.E.

FOUNDATION HISTORY:—1539. “Bolnes . . . wher ys a lytle poore Steple as a Fortelet for a Brunt, and yt ys on the hyther Syde of the Ryver of Edon, about a viij Myles from Cair Luel.”⁴⁵⁹

1580. “This house or towre doth belonge to y^e psonadge there, standinge about ij miles west and by north frō ye Drumbewghe, adioyninge to a sea crick, w^{ch} deuideth y^e Englishe and Scotishe borders, and the furthest p^{te} toward y^e west yt y^e Scotts may enter otherwise than by botinge and about a mile and haulfe ouer the same crick to Scotland at a full sea, a place of small receipt and yet very necessarie for defence of yt p^{te} of the border p^{ty} decayed, the charge of w^{ch} reparaçon wth a plattforme for ordinance w^{ch} were necessarie to be made upon y^e same towre is esteemed to be xli and wthout the plattforme to be xli.”⁴⁶⁰

1593. Alexander King, the auditor to the Exchequer, simply copies Dacre’s Survey.⁴⁶¹

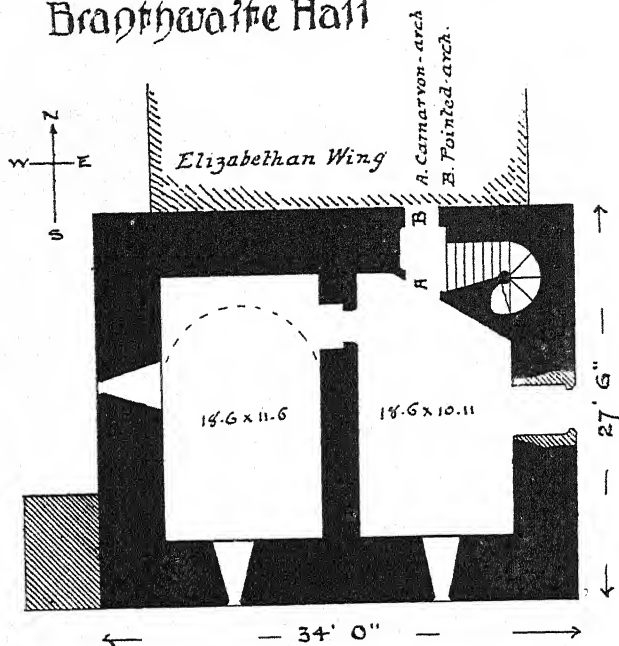
1860. Mr. Wills, a native of Bowness, informed Mr. T. H. B. Graham that he remembered a building, known as the “Old Rectory,” being demolished about the year 1860. It stood near the gate of the present Rectory, and its foundations were so solid that it was found necessary to blast them with gunpowder.

⁴⁵⁹ Leland, vii., part i., fol. 69.

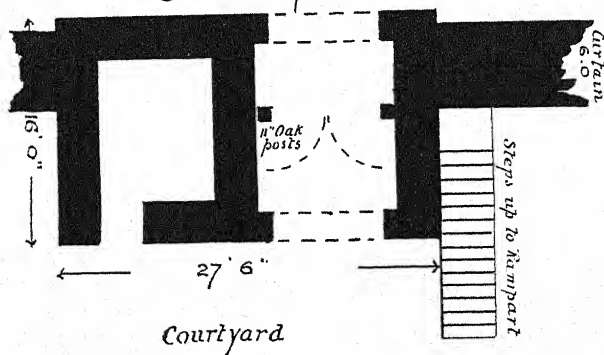
⁴⁶⁰ Christopher Dacre’s Survey, Cal. State Pap. Dom. Add. 1580, vol. 27 No. 44¹¹¹.

⁴⁶¹ State Pap. Dom. Add. Elizth., vol. 32.

Branthwaite Hall



Busgeside Hall: Gate.



BRANTHWAITE HALL. C. 62, N.W.

Bramthweic, 1233; *Branwhet*, 1234; *Bramthwayt*, 1287, etc.⁴⁶²

FOUNDATION HISTORY:—A pele tower of the late fourteenth century.

1604. Tudor wing added on the north side. The date 1604 appears on the boss of a label above a three-light window, to the right hand of the present front door.

c. 1650. The west front remodelled in the Renaissance style.

1671. "Where now Thos. de Skelton Esqr has his seat."⁴⁶³

1675. "An ancient fair Touer house Mr. Skeltons: called Branthait where that squire family most resided."⁴⁶⁴

NATURAL DEFENCES:—Near Stock Beck flows a few paces from the eastern frontage.

TOWER:— $34\frac{1}{2}$ by $27\frac{1}{2}$ feet.

Height:—39 feet to the top of the battlements.

Axis:—East and west.

Walls:— $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet in thickness.

Masonry:—Large rubble local stone.

Projections:—No plinth.

Entrance:—North-east corner.

Floors:—Vaulted basement and two floors above.

⁴⁶² Lindkvist, *Middle-English place-names of Scandinavian origin*.

⁴⁶³ Sir D. Fleming, *Description of Cumberland*, ed. R. S. Ferguson, p. 11

⁴⁶⁴ Edmund Sandford, *Cursory Relation*, p. 19.

BROUGHAM HALL. W. 3, S.E.

FOUNDATION HISTORY:—The original hall was probably built in the fourteenth century. Several remains testify to additions having been made, at some time, with material brought from Brougham Castle.

1727. The hall was purchased by John Brougham.

1829. The Lord Chancellor Brougham almost entirely rebuilt it. The building appears to have since undergone several enlargements and modifications.

NATURAL DEFENCES:—Built on the summit of a steep bank.

BROUGHTON TOWER, FURNESS.

FOUNDATION HISTORY:—The name seems to indicate the existence of an early fortified stronghold.

The de Brocton family are frequently referred to in the Furness Coucher Book as witnesses to grants made to the Abbey soon after its foundation.

1322. It can be taken for granted that their residence was besieged by Robert Bruce, when having ravaged West Cumberland, he crossed the Duddon and devastated Furness with fire and sword.

The present pele tower would be erected subsequently to this period.

1485. Sir Thomas Broughton received Lord Lovel here after the battle of Bosworth.

1487. When Lambert Simnel—the Pretender, on the grounds that he was one of the princes supposed to have been murdered in the Tower—landed, Sir Thomas Broughton was entreated by the Duchess of Burgundy to follow his fortunes. Their progress and

defeat at Stoke, and the ultimate disgrace of the misguided youth, whose personal features caused such havoc, are too well known to be repeated here. What concerns us is that after the battle, Henry VII. granted the manor of Broughton to Thomas Stanley, his step-father.

1657. Charles, the 8th Earl of Derby, conveyed the manor in fee to Edward Leigh, by whom it was conveyed to Roger Sawrey.

c. 1658. Roger Sawrey repaired some barns attached to the tower and erected "a parlour and chamber over them."

c. 1750. The Gilpin Sawreys added the "Bell Tower" on the west side of the pele; as also the central portion of the south front.

The two tower-like wings on either side of this central portion and the round tower on the east were erected by Mr. Sawrey Cookson, who also took down the ceiling over the hall and threw it open to the roof.

ARTIFICIAL EARTHWORK :—There are some traces left of early earthworks.

TOWER, now called "The North Tower" :—54 by 44 feet.
Height :—About 60 feet.

Axis :—East and west.

Walls :—7 to 5 feet. A spiral stair, consisting of 96 steps, runs up the north-east angle and, on the 2nd floor, a mural closet is in the south-east angle.

Masonry :—Red sandstone with rubble.

Projections :—None.

Entrance :—To basement by a pointed arch, with iron grille gate on the outside.

Floors :—Double vaulted basement and three storeys over.

REFERENCE :—North Lonsdale Magazine, vol. i., pp. 92-95, 105-III.

BURNESIDE HALL. W. 33, S.E.

Bronolvisheved ; Brunnolvesheued, 1291.⁴⁶⁵

FOUNDATION HISTORY:—1290. Gilbert de Burneshead, Under Sheriff of Westmorland, was the only one of the family known to have resided here. His daughter and heiress, Margaret, married Richard de Bellingham; of Northumberland stock, and their descendants resided here for a period of over two hundred years.

The present tower was built by one of the de Bellinghams.

Sir Robert sold the estate to Sir Thomas Clifford, who sold it to Machell of Kendal, who in turn sold it to Robert Braithwaite of Ambleside.

c. 1550. Altered and enlarged by one of the Braithwaites.

1588. The celebrated Richard Brathwait was born here.⁴⁶⁶

1671. "A good house and pleasant seat, which gave name to a good family."⁴⁶⁷

Thomas Shepherd next became the owner, from whom Christopher Wilson bought the Hall and gave it as a marriage portion to his daughter who married a Braddyll of Conishead.

1842. Purchased by John Brunskill of Lambrigg Foot, who did much to make the house a fit habitation for farm tenancy.

1905. Purchased by Mr. J. W. Cropper, who very wisely has stripped the ivy from off the ruin.

NATURAL DEFENCES:—Situated within the angle formed by the confluence of the rivers Kent and Sprint.

⁴⁶⁵ Prescott, *Wetherhal*, 315.

⁴⁶⁶ Dapper Dick, the soubriquet by which he was known at school.

⁴⁶⁷ Sir D. Fleming, *Description of Westmorland*, 13.

ARTIFICIAL EARTHWORK :—A moat surrounded the outer walls and expanded into two large ponds, one on either side of the entrance.

GATEHOUSE :— $27\frac{1}{2}$ by 16 feet, of two storeys. The oaken gates, of two leaves, are hung to 11-inch oak posts placed half-way through the passage. As the floor above is of wood, there must have been an outer gate. (See plan on p. 256.)

CURTAIN :—The portion at present standing to the north of the gatehouse is 6 feet thick and $10\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, with a rampart walk along the top.

TOWER :—45 by 30 feet, with projecting garderobe turret at the north-east angle.

Axis :—East and west.

Walls :— $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet in thickness.

Masonry :—Limestone rag.

Projections :—None.

Entrance :—At the south-east angle, now covered by the Hall.

Floors :—Double vaulted basement, divided by a passage, and two storeys over.

HALL :— $25\frac{1}{2}$ by 22 feet.

REFERENCE :—Taylor, 176.

CAMERTON HALL. C. 53, N.E.

Cambmerton (1600) ; *Camerton*, 1242-3.⁴⁶⁸

FOUNDATION HISTORY:—C. 1236. Patric de Culwen granted Camberton to his younger brother, Alan, for an inheritance. He took the surname of de Camberton. The hall remained in the Curwen family until it was sold in 1719.

1675. "Two miles downe The River of derwent stands Camerton hall . . . A faire Tower house . . . The habitation of Squire Curwen and a faire estate : And this family an Ancient branch of the great house of Curwen of Workinton."⁴⁶⁹

1750. The base of the tower stood and formed a part of the then stables, which appear to have been situated close to where the dining room now is.

1777. "The capital messuage here is an old ruinous tower standing nakedly at the west end of the town, at the foot of Seaton hill."⁴⁷⁰

1794. "The mansion house of Camerton is gone to decay, except only a tower which stands at the west end of the town."⁴⁷¹

1816. "There was a mansion at Camerton of which the base of a tower still remains, converted into stables."⁴⁷²

1879. "Very little trace of the Old Hall now remains, and I do not know whether the ghost which haunted the ancient dwelling lingers in the modern structure."⁴⁷³

⁴⁶⁸ Pipe Rolls.

⁴⁶⁹ Edmund Sandford, *Cursory Relation*, 16.

⁴⁷⁰ N. and B., ii., 107.

⁴⁷¹ Hutchinson, ii., 260.

⁴⁷² Lysons, iv., 52.

⁴⁷³ William Jackson's description.

CASTLE HEWIN. C. 31, S.E.

Ewain, Luen.

FOUNDATION HISTORY :—1539. " In the Forest of Ynglewood a vi myles frō Cairluel appere Ruines of a Castel cawled Castel Luen."⁴⁷⁴

1794. " On the crown of a lofty eminence towards the north-east of the lake⁴⁷⁵ and adjoining Aketgate are the remains of a very strong building, which has consisted of several apartments, strengthened with outworks and long extended trenches. The dimensions of the building [? within the curtain] are 233 by 147 feet besides a small one [? the tower] at one corner 49 feet square. The foundations still appear faced with large stones of ashlar work, in some places 8 feet in thickness . . . The outward fence, which is of stone, appears to have been circular and from thence a ditch and breastwork run down the skirt of the hill for several hundred yards."⁴⁷⁶

1802. " Near the remarkable lake named Tarn Wadling, are the remains of a very strong fortress, called, by the neighbouring inhabitants, Castle Hewin. Leland appears to be almost the only author that has mentioned it, . . . but adds nothing relating to its history or owners. Tradition affirms that it was a fortress belonging to King Ewaine, who was sovereign of Cumberland in the time of Athelstan.⁴⁷⁷ However this may be, its origin seems lost in the mist of ages ; yet its ruins are considerable ; and the legend . . . makes it of eminence in the days of King Arthur.

⁴⁷⁴ Leland, vol. vii., fol. 72.

⁴⁷⁵ Tarn Wadling, now drained.

⁴⁷⁶ Hutchinson, i., 492.

⁴⁷⁷ It is needless to argue here that there were no stone fortresses at this period.

"A boone, a boone, O Kinge Arthure,
I beg a boone of thee;
Avenge me of a carlish knight,
Who hath shent my love and me.
In Tearne Wadlinge his castle stands,
All on a hill so hye;
And proudlye rise the battlements,
And gaye the streemers flye."

The authors then repeat the description given by Hutchinson.⁴⁷⁸

1908. "Between Upper Nunclose and Aiketgate runs a green lane . . . known as 'Castle Hewin Lonning' and at its highest point there are two fields on the eastern side which still bear the name of 'Castle Hewin.' The eminence stands 643 feet above the sea level . . . but of the castle to day not one stone remains upon another . . . The surface has been ploughed . . . but a depression in the surface of the ground near the summit is distinctly visible and out of it leads a shallow 'slack' which, to use Hutchinson's phrase, runs down the skirt of the hill."⁴⁷⁹

⁴⁷⁸ Br. and Br., vol. iii., 140.

⁴⁷⁹ *Transactions*, N.S., ix., p. 211.

CLIBURN HALL. W. 8, N.E.

FOUNDATION HISTORY :—C. 1387. Tower probably built by Robert de Cliburn.

C. 1450. Addition of the Well tower, 14 feet square, 12 feet high, and the connecting bridge which crossed the ancient courtyard. The well is sunk in the sandstone for about 40 feet.

1567. A range of domestic apartments were added and considerable alterations were made by Richard de Cliburn ; according to an inscribed tablet,

“ Richard Clebur[n] thus they me cawl
Wch in my time hath bearded ys Hall
The Year of our Lorde God—who lyst
for to neam—1567.”

C. 1872. The lead roof and embattlements were taken off and the tower gabled over.

ARTIFICIAL EARTHWORKS :—A ditch partially encompassed the enciente.

TOWER :—45 by 29½ feet.

Axis :—East and west.

Height :—Lost by being gabled over.

Walls :—North wall 5 feet 4 inches ; south wall 4 feet 8 inches.

Masonry :—Small blocks of red sandstone, regularly coursed and hammer dressed.

Projections :—No plinth or stringcourses. The parapet has projected on a cove.

Entrance :—Original entrance at north-east angle. A sixteenth century doorway has been opened out on the southern face.

Floors :—Vaulted basement and two floors over.

REFERENCES :—Taylor, 105 ; *Transactions*, N.S., xii., 126.

CORBY CASTLE. C. 24, N.W.

Chorkeby before 1120;⁴⁸⁰ *Korkeby*, 1237-8;⁴⁸¹ *Chorkby*;
Corkeby; *Korkby*; *Corbi*.

FOUNDATION HISTORY:—1323. Edward II. granted the manor to Sir Richard de Salkeld, whose son, Hugh, is said to have resided here. Few, if any, traces are left of this early fortress.

1624. Sold by the Salkelds to Lord William Howard.
c. 1630. Sir Francis Howard transformed it into a more convenient dwelling.

1671. "A very pleasant seat on the east side of the River Eden . . . William Howard purchased it and gave it to Sir Frances Howard, his second son, whose son and heir Frances Howard Esqr doth now enjoy it and hath lately made the castle more stately and convenient than it was before."⁴⁸²

1675. "Then yow come to Corbie Castle The Ancient Sceit of the K^{ts} family of Salkeld, and now not one oth name Left in 60^y years And this sold by the Last Tho: Salkeld sold to the Great Lord William Howard third sone of Tho: the great Duke of Norfocke, and greatgrandfather to the now Earle of Carelile, and grandfather of the now braue monsir ffrancis Howard a graet [*sic*] houskeper and hors courser, And in all joviall gallantr expert: and beloued of all men; and Lord of this Corbie Castle his mansion house etc."⁴⁸³

1745. There is a tradition that Prince Charlie went to Corby disguised in female clothes.

⁴⁸⁰ Prescott, *Wetherhal*, 8.

⁴⁸¹ Pipe Roll.

⁴⁸² Sir D. Fleming, *Description of Cumberland*, 28.

⁴⁸³ Edmund Sandford, *Cursory Relation*, 45.

1813. The castle was again rebuilt. A long range of apartments was curtailed, and the whole building compacted into a square by the addition of other rooms. The exterior was rendered uniform by a new casing of stone and given a somewhat Grecian Doric appearance.

NATURAL DEFENCES :—Situated on the summit of a steep cliff, rising some 100 feet above and overhanging the river Eden.

REFERENCES :—Jefferson's *Carlisle*, p. 387 ; Br. & Br., 132.

CROSBY RAVENSWORTH HALL. W. 14, S.E.

FOUNDATION HISTORY :—1286. On Whit-Sunday Richard le Fraunceys sent William de Harcla, John le Fraunceys, Robert de Appleby and others to Crosby Ravensworth. There they found Nicholas de Hastings, leaning on his bow, outside *the gate of his brother Thomas de Hastings' house*, and they attacked him. John le Fraunceys struck him with a staff and pushed him in the breast into a ditch, whereupon Robert de Appleby shot him with an arrow so that he quickly died.⁴⁸⁴

1303, and again in 1319, William de Threlkeld had a grant of free warren in Yanwath, Crosby, Tebay, and Rounthwaite. Crosby remained one of the seats of the Threlkeld family until the last of them died in 1512. Sir Lancelot Threlkeld used to say that he had three noble houses ; one for pleasure at Crosby Ravensworth, where he had a park full of deer ; one for profit and warmth, wherein to reside in winter, at Yanwath ; and the third at Threlkeld, well stocked with tenants to go with him to the wars.

c. 1350. Erection of a pele tower.

c. 1550. The Pickering family built up against the pele tower a manor house.

c. 1750. The ruins of the tower were pulled down.

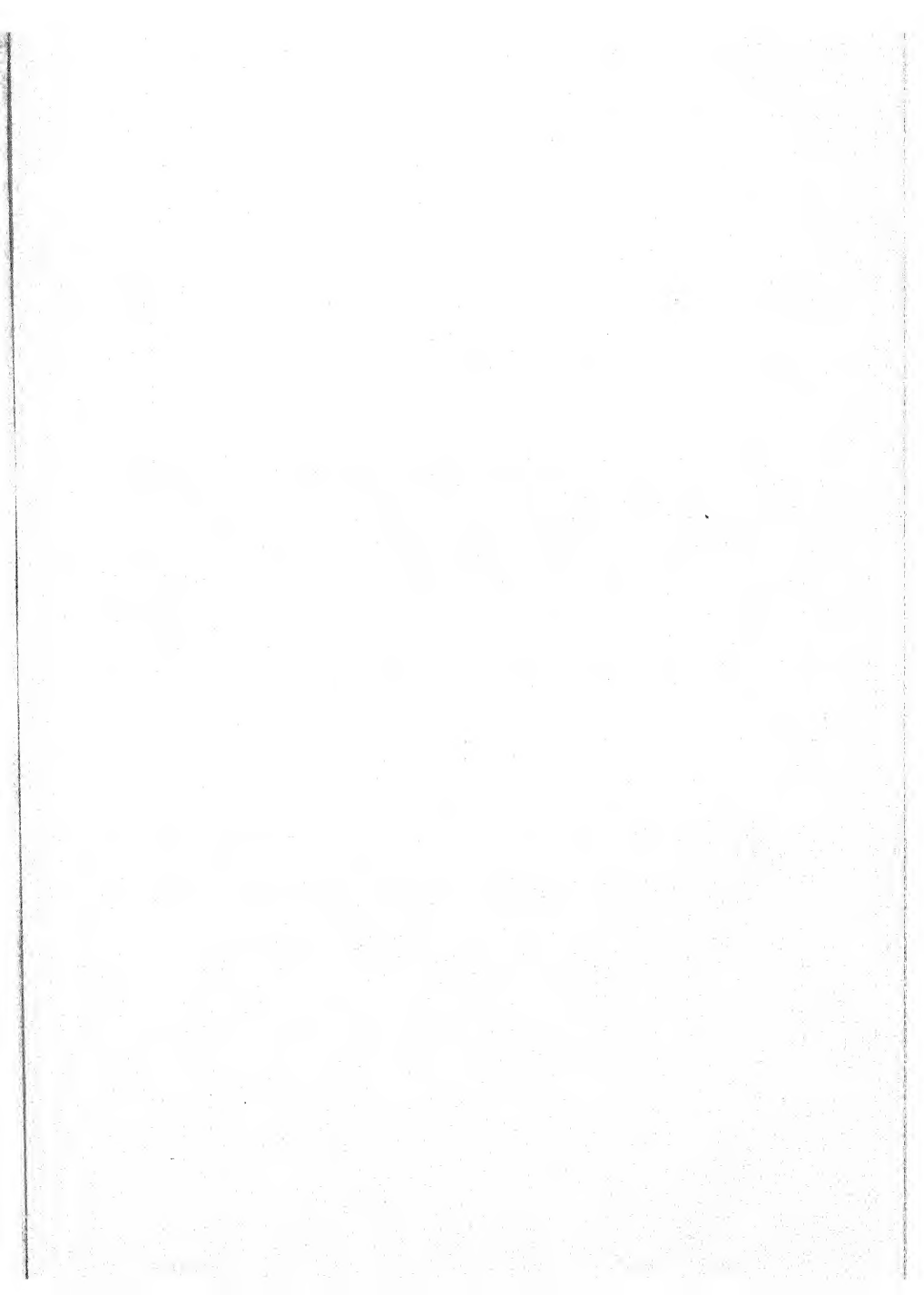
1811. "The hall, or manor house, was turretted, and girt with a moat ; but its ancient consequence is now only traceable in decayed walls, ditches, and fish-ponds."⁴⁸⁵

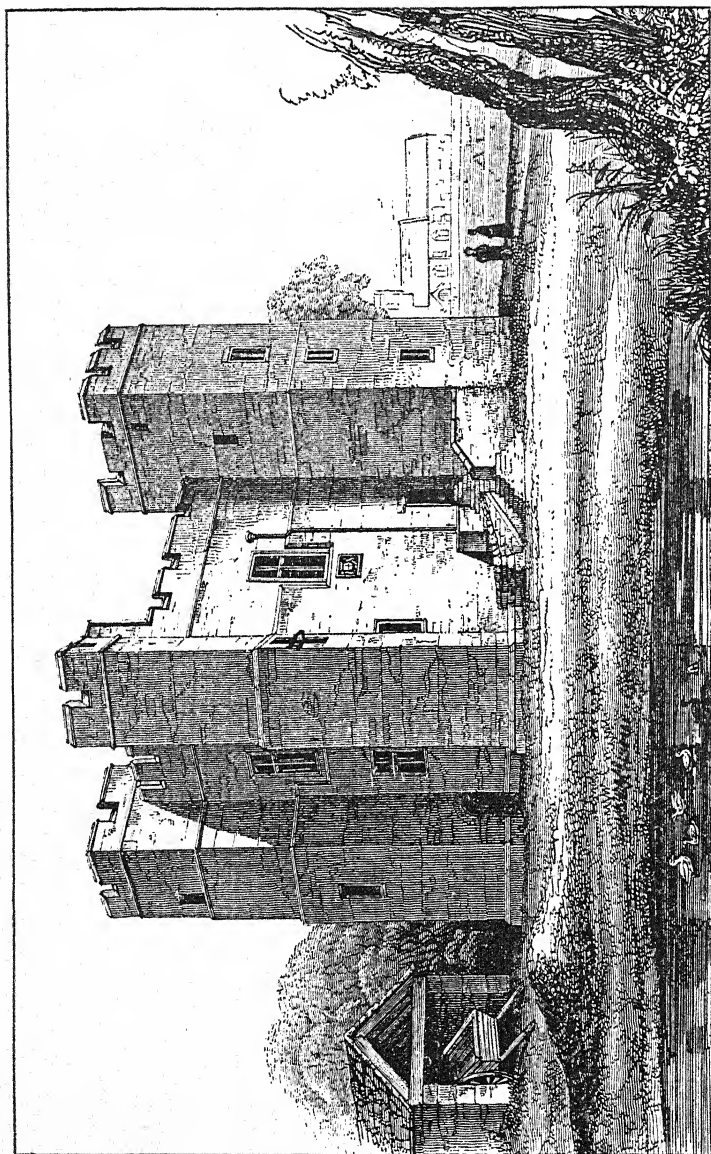
ARTIFICIAL EARTHWORKS :—A broad wet moat surrounding the courtyard of which the circuit is still visible.

REFERENCE :—Taylor, 115.

⁴⁸⁴ *Transactions*, N.S., xi., 326.

⁴⁸⁵ Rev. John Hodgson, *Hist. Westmorland*, 145.





DACRE CASTLE.

From Parker, Domestic Architecture.

TO FACE P. 269.

DACRE CASTLE. C. 58, S.W.

FOUNDATION HISTORY:—C. 1350. The interior of the lower floor, the pure Early English water-drain on the first floor, and the Transitional arches to the windows of the upper floor, all go to point to the middle of the fourteenth century.

1354. Margaret de Dacre had a licence from Bp. Gilbert Welton to have a chapel within the castle, and for Robert de Kirkby to be her chaplain and confessor.⁴⁸⁶

1485. At the inquisition taken after the death of Humphrey, Lord Dacre of Gilsland, the jurors found that his possessions included the manor of Dacre, within which was the site of a capital messuage, on which was newly built a curtain tower.⁴⁸⁷ This must either refer to a rebuilding or to the erection of an additional tower.

1648. There is no mention of the castle being taken during the Civil War, and yet Sir Daniel Fleming, writing twenty-three years later, implies its destruction by saying:—

1671. "It has been a magnificent building." Again, Thomas Denton, in his MS., says that about the year 1688 little remained of the castle but bare walls, and that soon after that time it was repaired and fitted up *as an habitation*. Denton may have post-dated this restoration, for he evidently refers to the time when, according to Edmund Sandford, the Rt. Honourable the Earl of Sussex put it in good repair and erected his coat of arms over his new entrance, at the head of the flight of steps to the first floor level.

⁴⁸⁶ Dr. Todd.

⁴⁸⁷ Cal. Inq. p.m., 1 Henry VII., p. 67.

1675. "And from Matterdale montaines comes Daker Bek: Almost at the foote therof stand Dacker Castle alone: and no more houses about it: And I protest Looks very sorrowfull, for loss of it founders in That huge battle of Touton feild: And that totall Eclips of That great Lord Dacres, in that Grand Rebellion with Lords Northumberland and West-m'land in Queen Elizabeths time and in the north called Dacres Raide. And their an end of that name yet let me say something for the fame thereof. That This Castle is a very faire Ancient fabrike: 50 yards long and 40 brode at every corner, a little Loging chamber built diamond wise: That the great cann shott might graze and slant, and not batter it: Three stories high: and now in good repaire by the Right Honor^{ble} the now Earle of Sussex: . . . who I beleive Loues it well: and braue parke belonging thereunto."⁴⁸⁸

1695. A footnote to Camden says:—"Here is a castel standing, which formerly has been a magnificent building, and a seat of the family."⁴⁸⁹

1716. Sold to Sir Christopher Musgrave.

1739. Messrs. Buck depict vegetation growing on the roof and the outworks demolished.

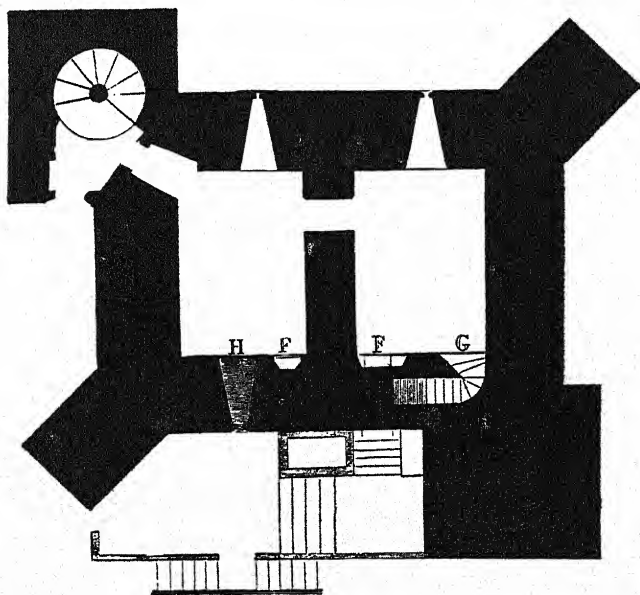
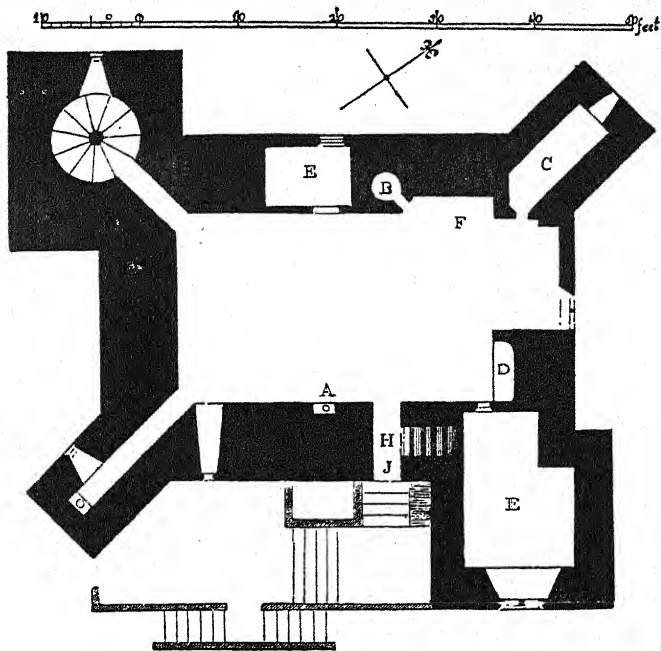
1786. Gilpin, in his *Northern Tour*, depicts the castle again as a roofless ruin, but in 1789 Clarke describes it as "an old tower, though pretty entire."⁴⁹⁰

1802. "The moat is filled up, and the outworks are destroyed: the principal parts now standing, are four square towers, composed of durable stone, and connected by a central building. The windows are narrow and grated; the gloom which overspreads

⁴⁸⁸ Edmund Sandford, *Cursory Relation*, 33.

⁴⁸⁹ Bp. Gibson's first edition, col. 831.

⁴⁹⁰ Survey of Lakes, 23.



DACRE CASTLE. CUMBERLAND.

- A. Water drain.
B. Oven.
C. Pantry.
D. Recess for a bed.
E. Bed-room.

- F. F. Fireplaces.
G. } Stairs leading to and from
H. } the Basement Story.
I. Original entrance both to the
upper and lower stories.
J. Modern entrance.

the interior is truly expressive of the dark ages of feudal tyranny."⁴⁹¹

NATURAL DEFENCES :—The castle is situated on a spur of high ground which rises abruptly to the height of 50 feet above the meadows on the south and east sides. There is a small ravine on the north side, but otherwise on this and the west side the ground possesses no natural advantages.

ARTIFICIAL EARTHWORKS :—The moat is very perfect, forming three sides of a quadrangular figure and enclosing an area of about 80 by 60 yards, with the tower at its eastern corner. The width of the moat varies from 30 to 50 feet across the top and had about 17 to 20 feet in depth.

TOWER :—About 48 by 37 feet, with projecting turrets at each angle. That at the western angle is square, enclosing a newel staircase. That at the eastern angle is similar and large enough for a small mural bedroom. Those to the north and south, being narrow, are set on diagonally to the main tower, but each contain mural closets.

Height :—66 feet to the top of the turrets.

Axis :—North-east to south-west.

Walls :— $8\frac{1}{2}$ to 7 feet in thickness, with mural staircases and chambers.

Masonry :—Red sandstone, square dressed.

Projections :—Plinth, set-off on second floor level and projecting parapets ; but it is probable that the set-off was made at the reconstruction, c. 1700.

Entrance :—Original entrance at the foot of the newel in the western turret, from whence a short passage led into the basement.

Floors :—Double vaulted basement and two storeys above.

REFERENCES :—Taylor, 278 ; Jefferson's *Leith Ward*, p. 176.

⁴⁹¹ Br. and Br., 160.

DALLAM TOWER. W. 46, N.E.

EARLY FORTIFICATIONS :—In the park, 300 yards eastward from the present hall, there is a small hill, called “ Castle Hill,” on the top of which formerly was a fort of circular form.

FOUNDATION HISTORY :—C. 1375. The *Beetham Repository* preserves an old tradition that the towers of Dallam, Arnside and Hazleslack were built by the three sisters identified by Hutton with those of Thomas de Thweng, but, as I have said before, little credence can be given to it. The tower stood just in front of the present hall “ at the foot of the steps, 20 yards beyond the public road and looked down the river towards Whitbarrow Scar.”

At some subsequent date this tower was vacated and a new hall was built by the de Haverbrac family. This was at the high end of what is now called Dallam Tower Garden, facing Preston Beck.

C. 1546. After the dissolution of the monasteries, all the lands in Haverbrack belonging to Conishead Priory were granted by the Crown to William Thornborough, to hold of the King in capite for the twentieth part of one knight's fee and a yearly rent of 18s. 3d. William Thornborough vacated the de Haverbrac hall and built for himself another hall on the site where the original peel tower stood, or rather enclosed the old tower with new buildings.

1720-23. Daniel Wilson erected the present house, which has since been considerably enlarged and altered.

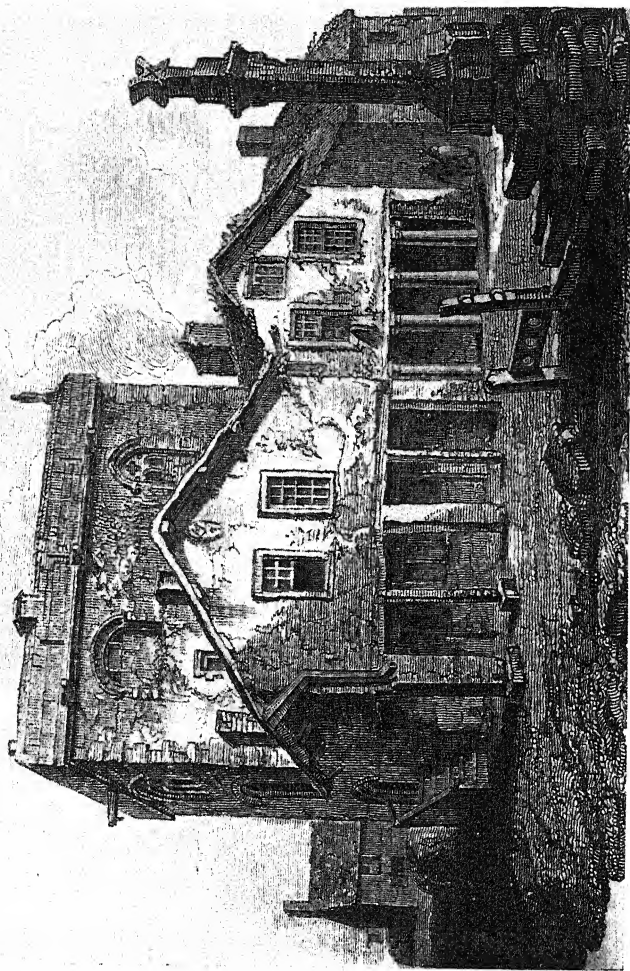
1770. Mr. Hutton says :—“ The front court has been long laid open to the Park.”

REFERENCES :—N. and B., i., 227 ; *Lonsdale Magazine*, ii., 281 ; *Beetham Repository*, p. III.

DALTON CASTLE.

FOUNDATION HISTORY :—It is highly probable that one of the Abbots of Furness erected this edifice, for the convenience of his secular court ; for the reception of delinquents taken within his jurisdiction, and for the confinement of debtors ; but the time of its erection is not known. It was probably built out of the ruins of one still more ancient.

1545, 12 May “Whereas, We be credibly informed that Our Castle or prison of Dalton, ‘which tofore hath alwayes Tyme owt of mynd of man ben used as a pryson and common gaole’ . . . which is now in great ruin and decay to Our great loss, and is likely to fall into greater ruin if speedy remedy be not shortly provided. We . . . desire you [the Commissioners] . . . to see what state it is in . . . and to certify Our Chancellor what store of stone, lead and timber We have within Our late Monastery with which to make the repairs.” On the 21st October John Preston and William Sandes reported that “there are three several chambers from the ground one above another . . . the floors, as well the yiestes [joists] as the boards, by reason that the Castle has not been sufficiently thatched for a long time, are so rotten with the water that has rained upon them that few of the said yiestes and none of the boards can be used again. The roof . . . is also decayed for lack of thatch, and likewise the wyndow doers [shutters] and the hinges and yren stayngers of the said windows are rotten, cankered and wasted away. The lime of the walls is washed out so that the said walls are partly decayed at the corners and other places. For the repairs thereof we estimate that six



DALTON CASTLE.

From C. & W. A. & A. S. Transactions.

TO FACE P. 275.

fothers of lead [114 cwt.] will be little enough for the gutters and thatching of the said Castle, which lead may be taken from [the Monastery]. Also sufficient timber must be assigned within the King's woods for making the floors . . . and for the roof. We think that half a ton of iron must be bought for the stayngers for the windows, hinges for the doors, and spykyns or nayles for the flooring, etc." ⁴⁹²

1546. William Sandes was directed to proceed to the immediate repair thereof.

1704. Alterations were made.

1774. "Dalton, a miserable antiquated vill, once the pride, now the shame, of Furness: this vill is however pleasantly situated on a rock sloping to the east, overlooked by an ancient square tower, or castle, in which the abbot of Furness held his secular court; and was, till of late, the gaol for debtors." ⁴⁹³

1786, 1816 and 1856. Further considerable alterations and repairs were made in the castle.

TOWER:—45 by 30 feet.

Axis:—North and south.

Walls:—5 to 6 feet in thickness.

Masonry:—Limestone. Renovated windows and parapet rebuilt in red sandstone.

Projections:—Plinth and string course.

Floors:—Three storeys. Basement not vaulted, but divided into two rooms.

Entrance:—Originally on the southern face; the door on the west side was broken through about 1704.

REFERENCE:—*Transactions*, N.S., x., 312.

⁴⁹² Beck, *Annales Furnesienses*, 361; Lanc. Rec. Soc., xxxv., 204).

⁴⁹³ West, *Antiq. of Furness*, xviii.

DENTON HALL, NETHER DENTON. C. 18, N.E.

SITE :—The hall is situated to the west of the rectangular earthworks at Nether Denton.

FOUNDATION HISTORY :—" Nether Denton descended from John son of Robert son of Anketin [de Denton] to John and to Sir Richard Denton, his son's son, whose daughter Margaret, wife to Adam Copley of Bateley in Craven, had it in marriage 17 Edw. II. [1324]. John [Copley] son of Adam had issue Richard Copley whose daughter Isabel, wife of Adam Denton, son of Thomas del Hall had Denton from her father in marriage in Henry 4th time " [1399-1413].⁴⁹⁴ From this it will be seen that the hall existed and was occupied by Thomas *del Hall* before the marriage of Isabel Copley with Adam Denton.

1508. Adam's great grandson, John, exchanged Denton for Wernel with Lord Dacre, in the 23rd Henry VII.

1598. " The Carletons have all the Queen's houses of strength in Gilsland in their hands and have placed divers Scots in them . . . Lancelot Carleton has Denton Hall and Mill."⁴⁹⁵

1675. " Dentons of Warnell, Translated hither [to Warnell] from Denton Tower besides noward [Naworth] exchanged with Lord Dacres Long agoe."⁴⁹⁶

1829. Present farm-house was built to the south and east of the tower.

NATURAL DEFENCES :—Carling Gill sweeps round the hall on the north and east sides.

ARTIFICIAL EARTHWORK :—A deep ditch, which is at present visible on the south and east sides, some 36 yards from the frontage.

⁴⁹⁴ John Denton, *Accompt*, p. 140.

⁴⁹⁵ Cal. Border Pap., ii., 558.

⁴⁹⁶ Edmund Sandford, *Cursory Relation*, p. 42.

TOWER :—31 by $27\frac{1}{2}$ feet.

Height :—Lost by reason of its now being gabled over.

Axis :—East and west.

Walls :— $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet in thickness. Garderobes occupy the south-west angle, the Carnarvon arched doorway to the one on the first floor being only 1 foot 8 inches in width.

Masonry :—Local stone in large blocks of rubble.

Projections :—None.

Entrance and newel :—At south-east corner to ground floor.

Floors :—Basement not vaulted with one storey over.

REFERENCE :—*Transactions*, O.S., vi., 194.

DENTON FOOT. C. 18, N.W.

Another pele tower, as if with Denton Hall and others they formed outposts to Naworth Castle.

FOUNDATION HISTORY :—Nothing is known about its history excepting what is revealed in the date stone on the front elevation, where we find the initials C. B. 1594. This, however, will represent the date and owner who rebuilt the front wall and probably erected some of the adjoining buildings.

NATURAL DEFENCES :—The Castle Beck flows in a deep ravine around the west and south sides.

TOWER :— $42\frac{1}{2}$ by 26 feet originally.

Height :—Lost by reason of its upper part having been pulled down and gabled over.

Axis :—East and west.

Walls :—Originally 5 feet in thickness. The north and south walls have been rebuilt [probably in 1594] to a thickness of 4 feet, but the old foundations exist, some 3 feet high, on the outsides.

Masonry :—Local random freestone from the Pricker Dick quarry.

Projections :—None.

Entrance :—In the centre of the east wall to ground floor.

Floors :—Basement not vaulted and one storey over.

HAY OR HAYES CASTLE. C. 61, N.E.

FOUNDATION HISTORY :—There is practically no early history connected with this castle, which occupies a mount about half-a-mile south of Distington, and is supposed to have been the ancient manor house.

1600. "Nor must I omit the mention of Hay Castle, which I saw in the neighbourhood, very venerable for its antiquity; which the Inhabitants told me belong'd formerly to the noble families of Moresby and Distinton."⁴⁹⁷

1671. "Hay Castle came to the Fletchers from the Moresbys and Dissingtons."⁴⁹⁸

1776. "A confused heap of broken walls, defended anciently by an outward wall and a deep ditch of circular form."⁴⁹⁹

1794. "This old mansion, by the appearance of its present remains, seems to be of antiquity equal to the time of Gilbert de Dundraw [who owned the manor in King John's time]; a gloomy old tower on an artificial mount, surrounded with an outward or curtain wall, supported by many heavy buttresses and strengthened with a moat."⁵⁰⁰

1816. "Hay or Hayes-Castle, of which there are some remains . . . is supposed to have been the manerial site and the seat of the Moresby family, who possessed a moiety of the manor as early as the reign of Edward III."⁵⁰¹

⁴⁹⁷ Camden, Bp. Gibson's first edition, col. 821.

⁴⁹⁸ Sir D. Fleming, *Description Co. Cumberland*, 10.

⁴⁹⁹ Hutchinson, *Excursion to the Lakes*.

⁵⁰⁰ Hutchinson, ii., 98.

⁵⁰¹ Lysons, iv., 99; Pat. Rolls, 28 Edw. III., pt. iii., 28.

1842. "Its gray ruins are yet distinguishable from the road."⁵⁰²

Very little now remains of the fabric, except a portion of the north wall; the extent of the castle, however, may be traced by the foundations, which cover a large area, and the course of the moat can be clearly made out.

HEVERSHAM HALL. W. 42, S.E.

Ewreshaim in Domesday Book, from O.N. *ioforr*, O.E. *eofor*, "boar," perhaps as a personal name.⁵⁰³

FOUNDATION HISTORY:—1384. William de Wyndesore died here, 15th September.

c. 1540. After the dissolution of St. Mary's Abbey, York, the estate was granted to the family of Buskell, who abandoned the pele and built the present hall close by.

1614. Jasper Buskell sold the estate to Wilson of Dallam Tower.

1671. "A pleasant seat of Edward Wilson Esq^{re}."⁵⁰⁴

Now much modernized and transformed into a farm-house.

TOWER:—Fragments only.

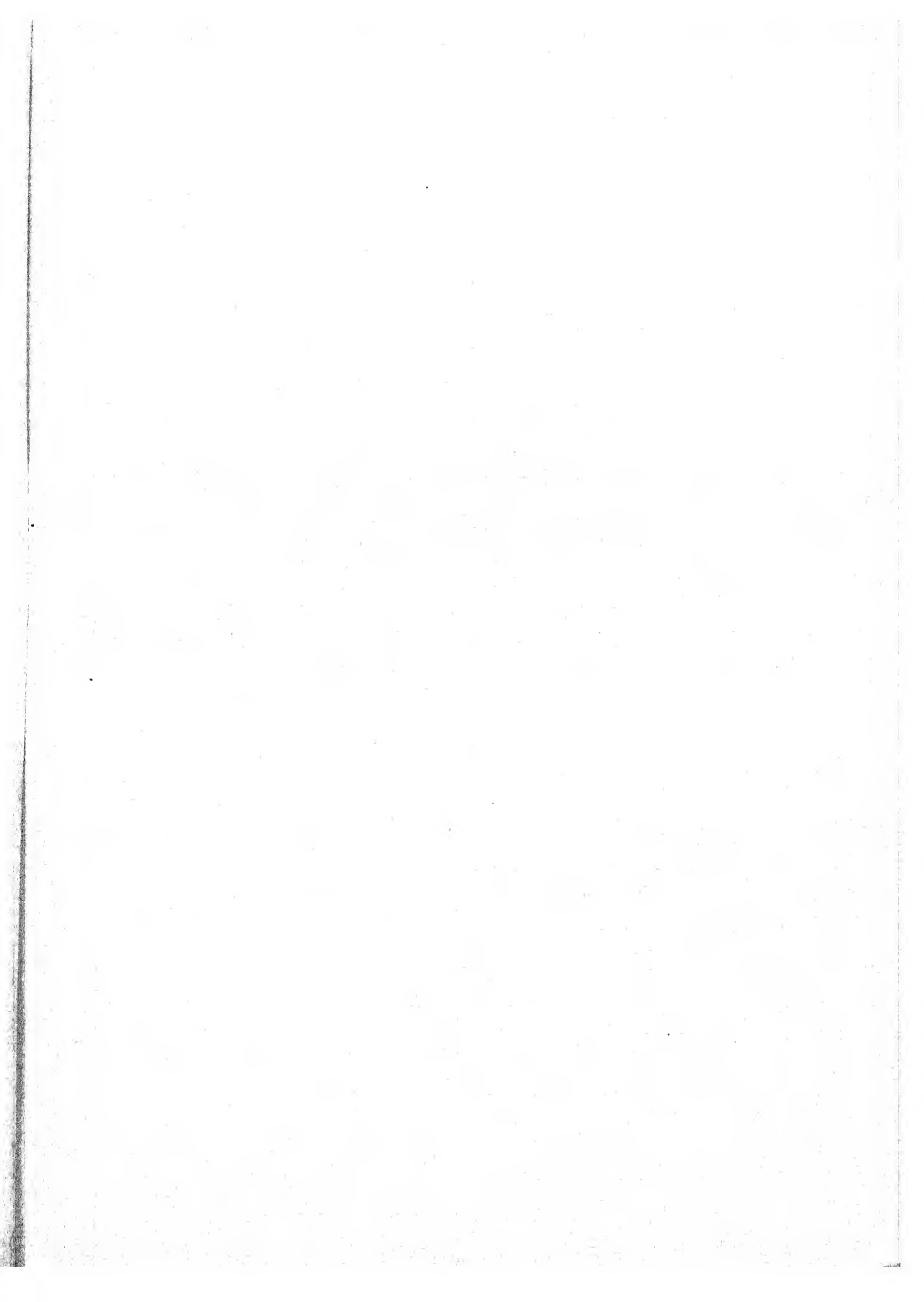
HALL:—30 by 27 feet.

REFERENCE:—Taylor, 209.

⁵⁰² Jefferson, *Allerdale*, 78.

⁵⁰³ Lindkvist, 60.

⁵⁰⁴ Sir D. Fleming, *Description of Westmorland*, II, 12.





HOWGILL CASTLE.

Showing stepped trefoil Arches in the thickness of
the North Wall.

By kind permission of Mr. J. H. Martindale.

TO FACE P. 281.

HOWGILL CASTLE. W. 5, S.W.

FOUNDATION HISTORY :—The Rev. F. W. Ragg says that this was the chief messuage of the manor of Milburne—Milburne was held by Earl Patric of Dunbar, according to the 1283 Feodary,⁵⁰⁵ and the Inq. p.m. of Robert de Clifford held in 1314 gives Earl Patric as paying dues to him. According to Dodsworth⁵⁰⁶ and Hodgson, who got much of his information from Dodsworth, Earl Patric seems to have forfeited Howgill and the manor of Milburne by taking the side of Bruce in the wars for Scottish Independence.

1314, 24th September. A pardon was issued to John, son of Roger de Lancaster of Holegille, for the death of John de Helton.⁵⁰⁷

1327. John de Lancaster of Holgill represented Westmorland in Parliament.

c. 1375. The tower was probably erected at this period.

c. 1550. Erection of the hall. This has been destroyed with the exception of its enormous northern wall, 10½ feet thick, through which runs a staircase, 3 feet wide, roofed over by a series of stepped trefoil arches of solid masonry.

c. 1650. A central block of rooms now takes the place of this ancient hall.

1671. "A fair stone building, and hath an excellent prospect over a great part of the countrey . . .

Sir Richard Sandford Bart. is now owner thereof."⁵⁰⁸

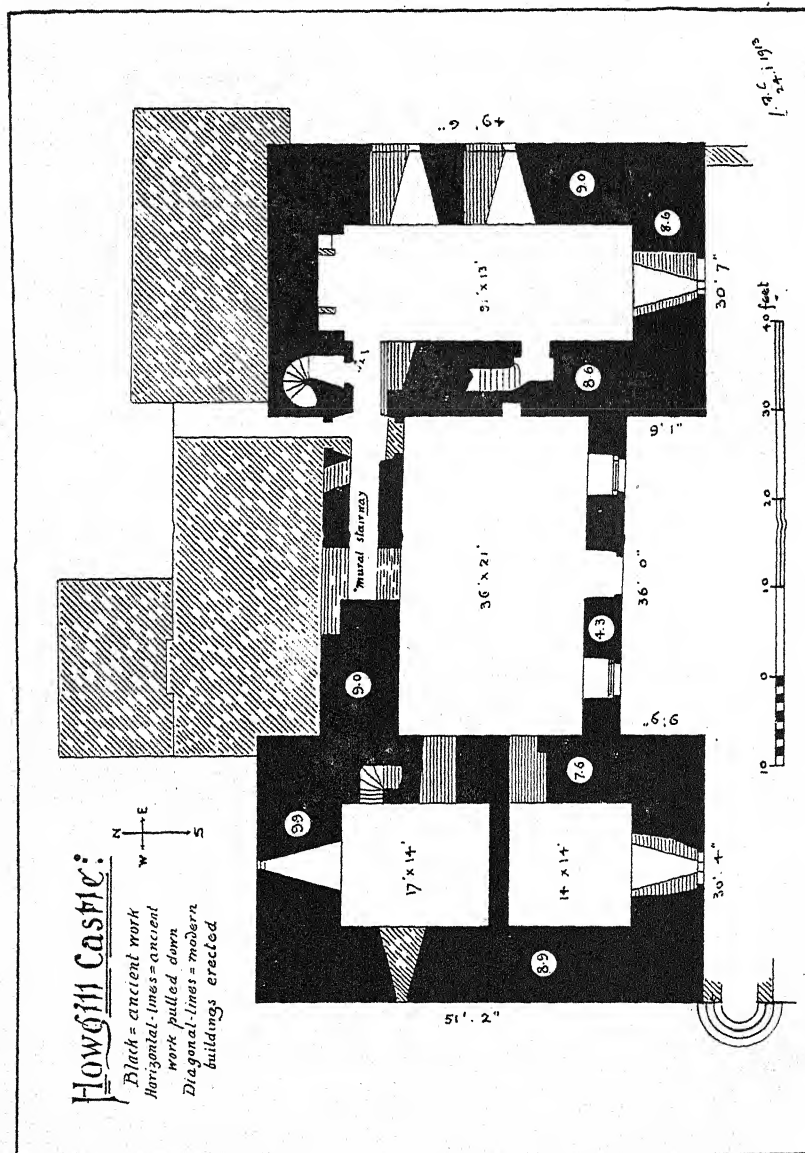
1811. "The walls were formerly, and some of them are yet ten and a half feet thick. Underneath it

⁵⁰⁵ See Feoffees of the Cliffords, *Transactions*, N.S., viii., 253.

⁵⁰⁶ MSS., vol. 70, p. 135.

⁵⁰⁷ Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1313-17, p. 177.

⁵⁰⁸ Sir D. Fleming, *Description of Westmorland*, 25.



were large arched vaults, for the safety of cattle by night against the border moss troopers."⁵⁰⁹

NATURAL DEFENCES :—Elevated ground on the southern bank of a deep ravine through which descends a mountain stream.

TOWERS :—Twin towers, each 64 by 33 feet.

Axis :—Each tower north and south, but combined with the central block, east and west.

Walls :—Average 9 to $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet in thickness, with mural staircases.

Masonry :—Squared sandstone, broken coursed.

Projections :—None.

Floors :—Vaulted basement with two storeys over in each tower.

HALL :—40 by 24 feet.

REFERENCES :—*Transactions*, N.S., ix., 198 ; Taylor, 142.

⁵⁰⁹ Hodgson, *Description of Westmorland*, 93.

HUTTON-IN-THE-FOREST HALL. C. 49, N.W.

FOUNDATION HISTORY:—Early seat of the de Hoton family.

1272-1307. Thomas de Hoton in Foresta.

1343. Thomas de Hoton was restored to the bailiwick and office of keeping the King's lands at Plumpton.

1393. William de Hoton held the office of maintaining the paling or fences of the King's forest of Plumpton.

1544. William Hutton held the manor in capite by knight's service.

1560-1600. The low two-storeyed building against the southern face of the tower was added.

1605. Lancelot Hutton sold the hall to Sir Richard Fletcher of Cockermouth, who removed his residence to here, greatly altering the building and filling in the moat.

c. 1640. Sir Henry Fletcher built a spacious gallery.

1661-1697. Sir George Fletcher "augmented and beautified" the place, with the assistance of Inigo Jones, who also erected the Pigeon House.

1671. "This house anciently belonged to a family of the same name, it was formerly a strong place having a high tower well moated about with a drawbridge over it which was a good defence against the Scottish inroads but in the beginning of King James' reign . . . S^r Richard Fletcher then owner caused the moat to be filled up and made the seat very pleasant and commodious; S^r Hen: Fletcher his son and heir built a spacious gallery and intended to have added much more to it but the war coming on and he being a colonel for the late King . . . was slain in the fight at Houghton field⁵¹⁰ near Chester in Sept 1645 amongst several other loyal gentlemen Sir Geo: Fletcher bart his son and heir hath fulfilled his father's

⁵¹⁰ Rowton Moor.

intentions in augmenting and beautifying this place and is the present owner."⁵¹¹

1675. "That princlike pallace of Sir Geog ffletcher P'lament man for this contry : And is called hutton ith forrest A very braue monsir : . . . his grand-father Si^r Rich ffletcher . . . purchased this Hutton hall : of Sq. Lanclott Hutton."⁵¹²

c. 1790. Considerable damage was done by a storm.

1806. "From Highyate the river runs to Hutton Hall the seat of a family of the same name, of whom it was purchased in the reign of James I. by the Fletchers, who, particularly Sir George Fletcher, . . . so much improved it by buildings and plantations, that it is now one of the pleasantest seats in the county. The estate is within the Haia of Plumpton, and held of the King by the service of holding the King's stirrup when he mounts his horse in his castle of Carlisle. It is now the seat of Sir Frederick Fletcher Vane, Bart."⁵¹³

c. 1845. The garden front was built from the designs of Anthony Salvin.

NATURAL DEFENCES :—Situated on an eminence overlooking the Old Peteril.

ARTIFICIAL EARTHWORK :—There was a moat around the hall, with a drawbridge across it.

TOWER :—32 by 24 feet.

Height :—41½ feet.

Axis :—East and west.

Walls :—6 feet in thickness. Mural recesses on 1st floor.

Masonry :—Rough rubble and red sandstone dressings.

Projections :—None.

Entrance :—At south-east corner to ground level.

Floors :—Basement not vaulted and two storeys over it.

REFERENCE :—Taylor, 252.

⁵¹¹ Sir D. Fleming, *Description of Cumberland*. 21.

⁵¹² Edmund Sandford, *Cursory Relation*, 39.

⁵¹³ Camden, Gough's 2nd edition, vol. iii., 446.

IRTON HALL. C. 78, S.E.

EARLY FORTIFICATIONS :—Earthworks in the park seem to indicate earlier buildings.

FOUNDATION HISTORY :—Fourteenth century. Tower probably erected by Adam de Irton.

c. 1550. A wing erected to the south with a tower at its termination. This was demolished before 1764.

1675. "A litle above nye the montanes towards Moncastre: A great tower-house of ancient family of Squire Iretons of Ireton."⁵¹⁴

1764. Samuel Irton, writing, says, "I beautified and repaired the Hall, new built the stables and barns and offices, with a very handsome family chapel and a window which I was above twenty years a collecting. Likewise I built the wall [? tower battlements] all around the castle."

1788. A sketch of the south front, drawn in 1788, shews the pele tower standing almost free, with no buildings adjoining it on the north, east or west; but attached to the south corner, sufficiently to cover the early entrance, we find a long crenellated, two-storeyed building, which is now partly embodied in the present house. At the west end of the building was a transverse block, extending north and south, with a three-storeyed crenellated tower at either end.

c. 1810. The transverse block was pulled down by Edmund Lamplugh Irton.

c. 1873. J. Burns Lindow remodelled and enlarged the hall, adding the present western block, when the old chapel window and its stained glass disappeared. He also built the clock tower and rebuilt the stables and outbuildings.

⁵¹⁴ Edmund Sandford, *Cursory Relation*, 11.

NATURAL DEFENCES :—Surrounded on two sides by the steep banks of the Frithgill and Irt.

TOWER :—33 by 22 feet.

Height :—66 feet.

Axis :—East and west.

Walls :— $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet.

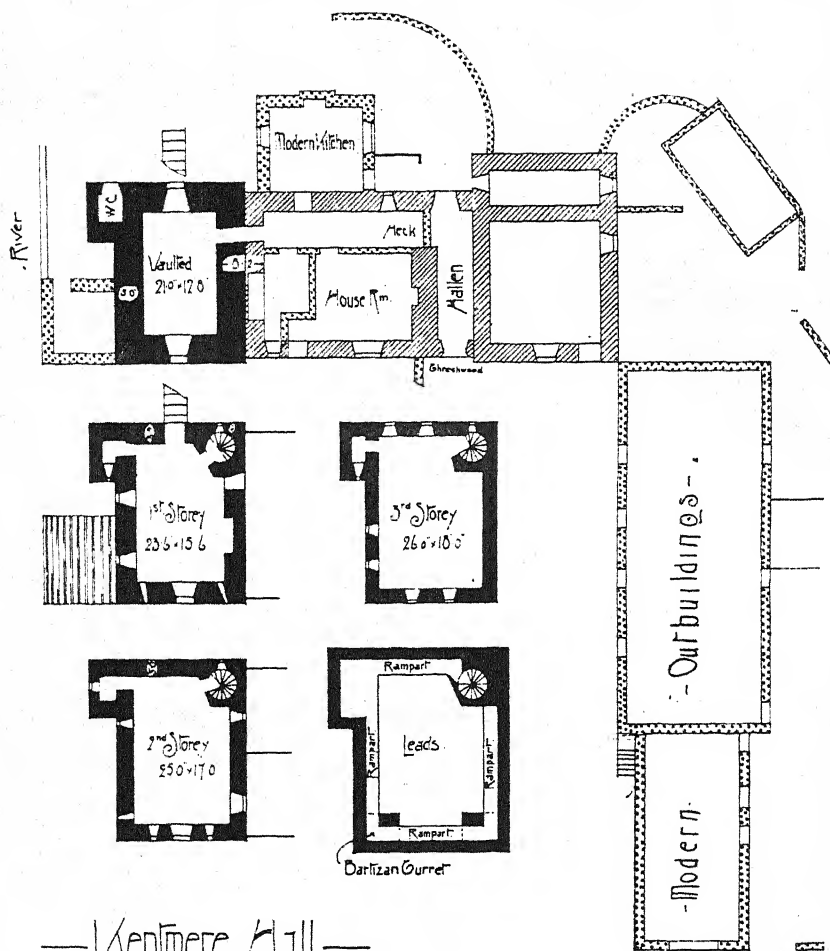
Masonry :—Massive granite boulders with freestone dressings.

Projections :—No plinth, but the parapet projects slightly.

Entrance :—At south-west corner to ground floor.

Floors :—Vaulted basement and three storeys over.

REFERENCE :—Parker, *Gosforth District*, pp. 171-186.



— Ventimere Hall —

Tom F. Curwen.

— Westmorland —

Scale of 0 10 20

KENTMERE HALL. W. 27, S.W.

FOUNDATION HISTORY:—1375. William Gilpin, son of Richard who slew the boar, resided here. After whom ten other generations of the same family are known to have flourished at the hall, although they were never lords of the manor.

1517. The celebrated Bernard Gilpin, the "Apostle of the North," was born here.

c. 1545. The upper part of the tower was added, when, in consequence of the comparatively thin walls used, the parapet was projected out upon massive oversailing corbels, and bartizan turrets were added for appearance at the angles.

The hall is likely to have been added at this same time. Mr. James Clarke records the history of Hugh Herd, "the Cork Lad of Kentmere," who lived in the time of Edward VI. and was noted for his amazing strength. "When the hall was building, and the workmen gone to dinner, this man happened to be there and laid a beam up himself, . . . which is 30 feet in length, and 13 inches by 12 and a half in thickness . . . At that time the Scots frequently made incursions into England, he with his bow and arrow killed them in coming of the mountains at a place which still retains the name of Scot-Rake, which is about a mile distant from where he lived" [at Troutbeck].⁵¹⁵

c. 1660. Sold to Sir Christopher Philipson, who is supposed to have rebuilt the hall and rooms over.

1671. "Kentmeer Hall did a long time belong to the antient family of the Gilpins, which was sold of late

⁵¹⁵ For the full story of his strength and achievements before the King, see *Survey of the Lakes*, pp. 136-138.

. . . Richard Gilpin, in the time of King John [? Edward III.] was enfeoffed in the lordship by the then Baron of Kendale."⁵¹⁶

1811. "Kentmere Hall is an ancient tower-like edifice, under a mountain browed with mighty craggs."⁵¹⁷

TOWER:—31 by 23 feet, with garde-robe turret, 11 by 6 feet at the south-west angle.

Axis:—East and west.

Walls:—5 feet thick at the basement and reducing with each floor to 2 feet at the top.

Masonry:—Rude rubble and cobbles.

Projections:—None in the original structure.

Entrance:—On the west side to the 1st floor.

Floors:—Vaulted basement and three storeys over, of which the top storey is probably an addition.

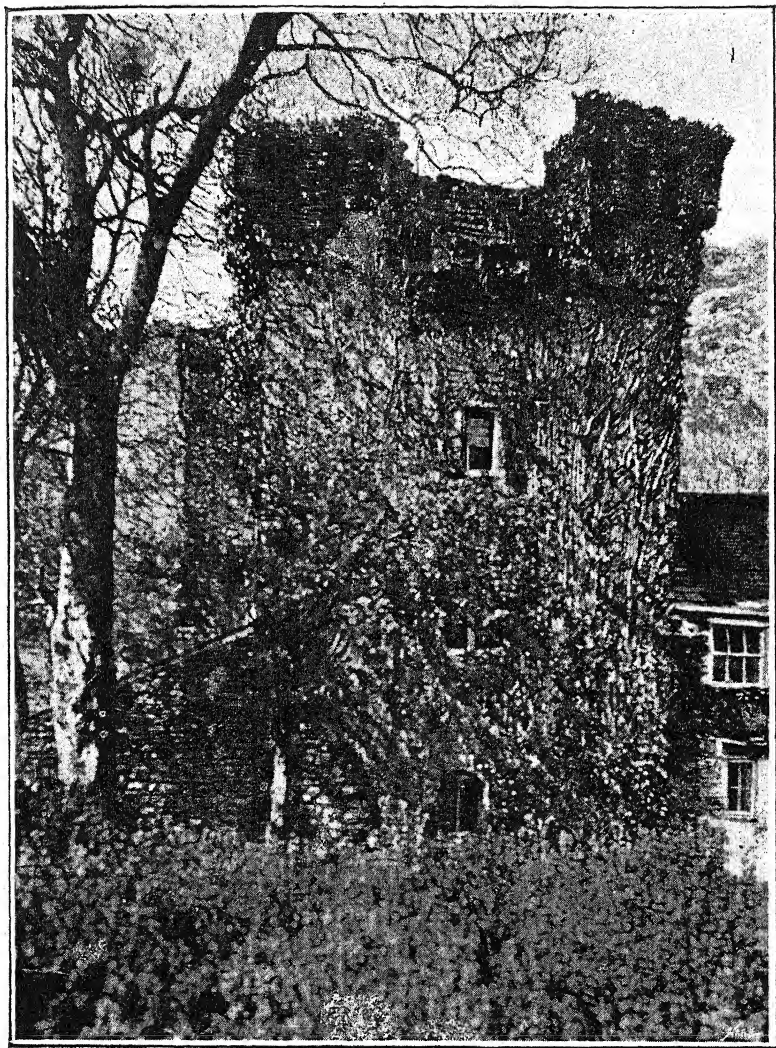
Fireplace:—The fireplace on the first floor emits the smoke by an horizontal aperture through the thickness of the wall.

HALL:—28 by 14½ feet.

REFERENCE:—*Transactions*, N.S., i., 285.

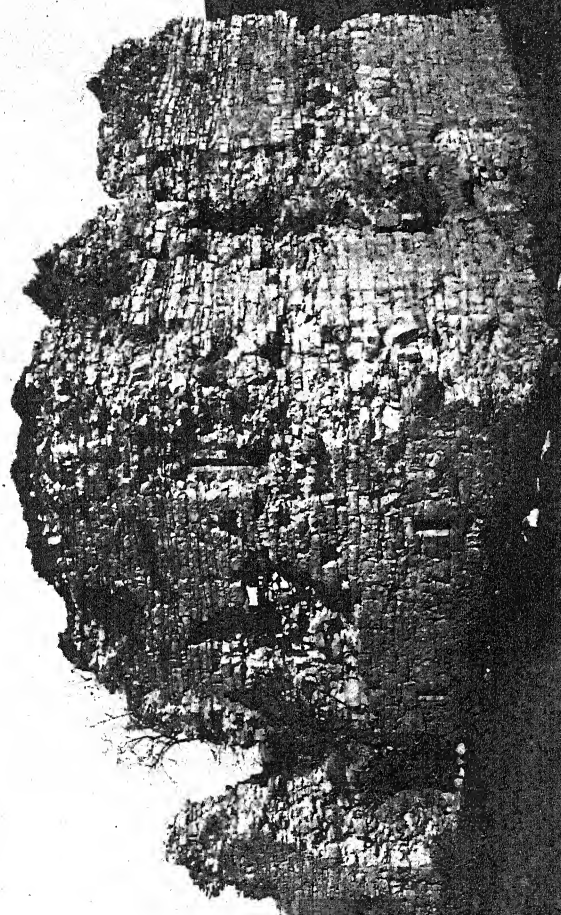
⁵¹⁶ Sir D. Fleming, *Description of Westmorland*, 16.

⁵¹⁷ Hodgson, 211.



KENTMERE HALL.

TO FACE P. 290.



LAMMERSIDE CASTLE.

Photo. by H. Bell.

TO FACE P. 291.

LAMMERSIDE CASTLE. W. 30, N.E.

Lamberstete, 1404; *Lambertseat*, 1422; Lambert's seat.

FOUNDATION HISTORY:—Fourteenth century. Probably the seat of a cadet branch of the Warcop family.

The first hall was narrow and attached to the north face of tower; the line of roof weathering is still visible.

The second hall was wider, the dimensions of which are marked by foundation mounds.

1536. Occupied by Mr. Warcop at the time of the "Pilgrimage of Grace."

1801. "I proceeded [from Wharton Hall] along a very narrow vale watered by the Eden, and passed by a very ancient square tower called Lamersidè Hall, formerly by the sad name of the Dolorous Tower. Something was told me of a Sir Tarquin and Sir Caledos, so that probably the place had been the subject of dire adventure."⁵¹⁸

TOWER:—45 by 37½ feet, with staircase turret on north face.

Axis:—East and west.

Walls:—5 feet in thickness.

Masonry:—Rough rubble with freestone dressings.

Floors:—Vaulted basements and one or two storeys over.

REFERENCE:—*Transactions*, N.S., iv., 85.

⁵¹⁸ Pennant, *Alston Tour*, 131.

LAMPLUGH HALL. C. 62, S.E.

FOUNDATION HISTORY:—Sir Robert de Lamplugh was lord here temp Henry II. and Richard I., and his descendants continued to hold the manor for many generations.

There is no history of the tower which stood at the right hand of the entrance to the present farm-house.

1595. Over the gateway, which alone remains, there is an armorial coat representing the arms of Lamplugh, Or, a cross flory, sable, and the date 1595.

1610. "Lamplugh in the fells is that manor house and seignory in the barony of Egremont which gave name to the antient family of Lamplughs, a race of valorous gentlemen successively for their worthyness knighted in the field all or the most part of them."⁵¹⁹

1675. "The Ancient Squire family of Lampley, a Colonell in the Royall Service a very faire hall howse."⁵²⁰

1794. "The Hall is partly in ruins . . . has been a large house."⁵²¹

1821. It was demolished and the materials used in erecting the present farm-house.

TOWER:—It is described as very lofty and a massive rectangular embattled structure, with loopholed walls 9 feet thick.

REFERENCE:—*Transactions*, O.S., vi., 186.

⁵¹⁹ John Denton, *Accompt*, 28.

⁵²⁰ Edmund Sandford, *Cursory Relation*, 11.

⁵²¹ Hutchinson, ii., 97 note.

LANERCOST. C. 12, S.W.

Some seven or eight yards to the west of the Priory Church stands an old tower shown in Sparrow's print of 1775 as connected with the Priory by a modern addition, now destroyed. The tower would be used as a means of defence and refuge, and perhaps as a lodging for guests of distinction. On the west side we find remains of early work in the present barn, indicating that in all probability there was an outer court containing the necessary offices. After the dissolution of the Priory, Henry VIII., by letters patent dated 22nd November, 1543, granted to Thomas Dacre, bastard son of Thomas, Lord Dacre of the North, "the site of the Priory and the adjacent lands saving only the parish church, the churchyard, and the mansion house called Uttergate, with the stable, granary and garden for the dwelling of the curate or vicar." It is probable that this would refer to the tower, now a portion of the parsonage, which would form the Uttergate or gate to the outer court.

Dacre's tower, or the Prior's Lodge, was converted into a dwelling-house in 1559, as we ascertain from an inscription now in the east end window of the church, but stated by Dr. Todd, in his MS., to have been originally in the banqueting hall. The alterations were commenced by Sir Thomas Dacre and carried on by his successor, Sir Christopher Dacre, as we learn by the inserted fireplace in the hall, bearing the initials C. D., and the date 1586. This house continued the residence of the family until the death of John Dacre in 1716.

REFERENCE :—*Transactions*, O.S., i., 95.

LEVENS HALL. W. 42, N.E.

Lefuenes (Domesday), *Leuen*, *Leven*.

FOUNDATION HISTORY:—Site of early tower of the de Redemans.

1212. Henry de Redeman was Seneschal of Kendal.

1360. Tower probably built by Sir Matthew de Redeman, who received a licence to enclose his park.

c. 1450. Probable date for the erection of the first hall on the ground level.

1577-1617. Transformed into a mansion by Sir James Bellingham, when the hall was raised up upon cellars.

1671. "A faire house on the south side of the river Kent . . . the habitation of the Bellinghams, who have enjoyed it for several descents."⁵²²

1692-1704. Altered and enlarged by Col. James Graham.

1701. The gardens laid out by Mons. Beaumont, gardener to James II.

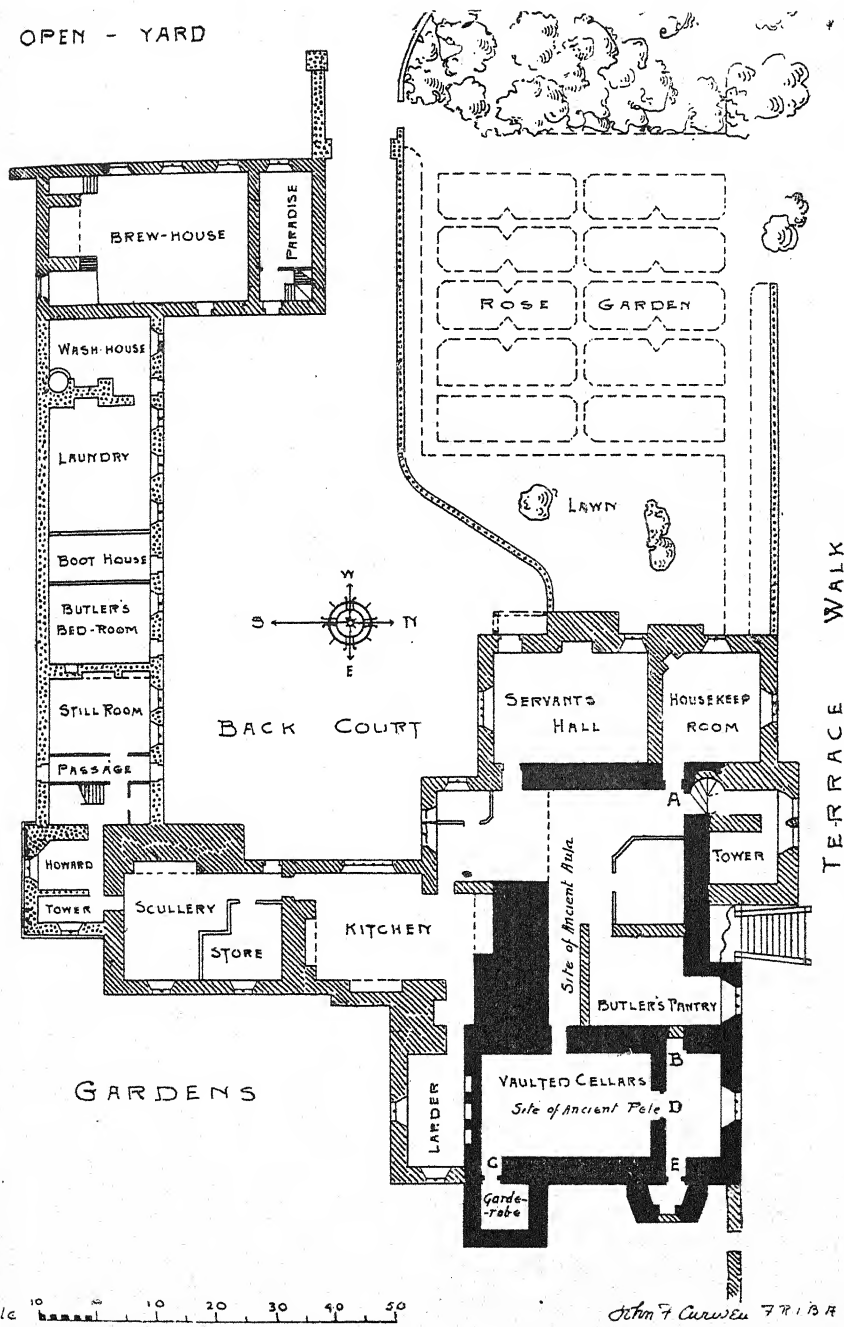
1773. The "White End" and Clock Turret bear this date.

1787-88. The lead spout heads at the back bear the initials and date of Mary, Vicountess Andover.

1792. "The house is turreted . . . the rooms are generally of oak and several of them are decorated with the Bellingham arms with different quarterings . . . The beds are very old, and the curtains are as ragged as a pair of colours that might have belonged to a distinguished regiment . . . The wainscot and floors are in thorough repair, and the

⁵²² Sir D. Fleming, *Description Co. Westmorland*, 12.

OPEN - YARD



Scale 10 20 30 40 50

PLAN OF LEVENS HALL.

John F. Curwen F.R.I.B.A.

latter shone so bright, I was obliged to tread with caution lest I should tumble . . . I never saw an old uninhabited house taken such care of . . . The hospitality of Levens must have been very general, for the kitchen grate is large enough to roast an ox, and I dare say good eating and morocco were plentifully distributed."⁵²³

1807. Great improvements were made in every part, and the Howard Tower was erected by the Hon. Fulk Greville Howard, who had found the hall in a state of dilapidation.

Under the guidance of Alexander Forbes, the gardens, which were in a wild and neglected condition, were brought back into their former condition, without any alteration of the original scheme and design.

1836. "Like all other old houses, it is inconvenient and dark, with one very wide staircase and a great many very narrow, innumerable passages, and enormous fireplaces; but the oaken carvings with which it abounds are most elaborate and elegant."⁵²⁴

TOWER:—46 by 25 feet.

Height:—Now lost, as the battlements have been taken off, and the tower gabled over with slates.

Axis:—North and south.

Walls:—4½ feet in thickness.

Masonry:—Limestone rubble.

Projections:—None.

Entrance:—North-east corner to basement.

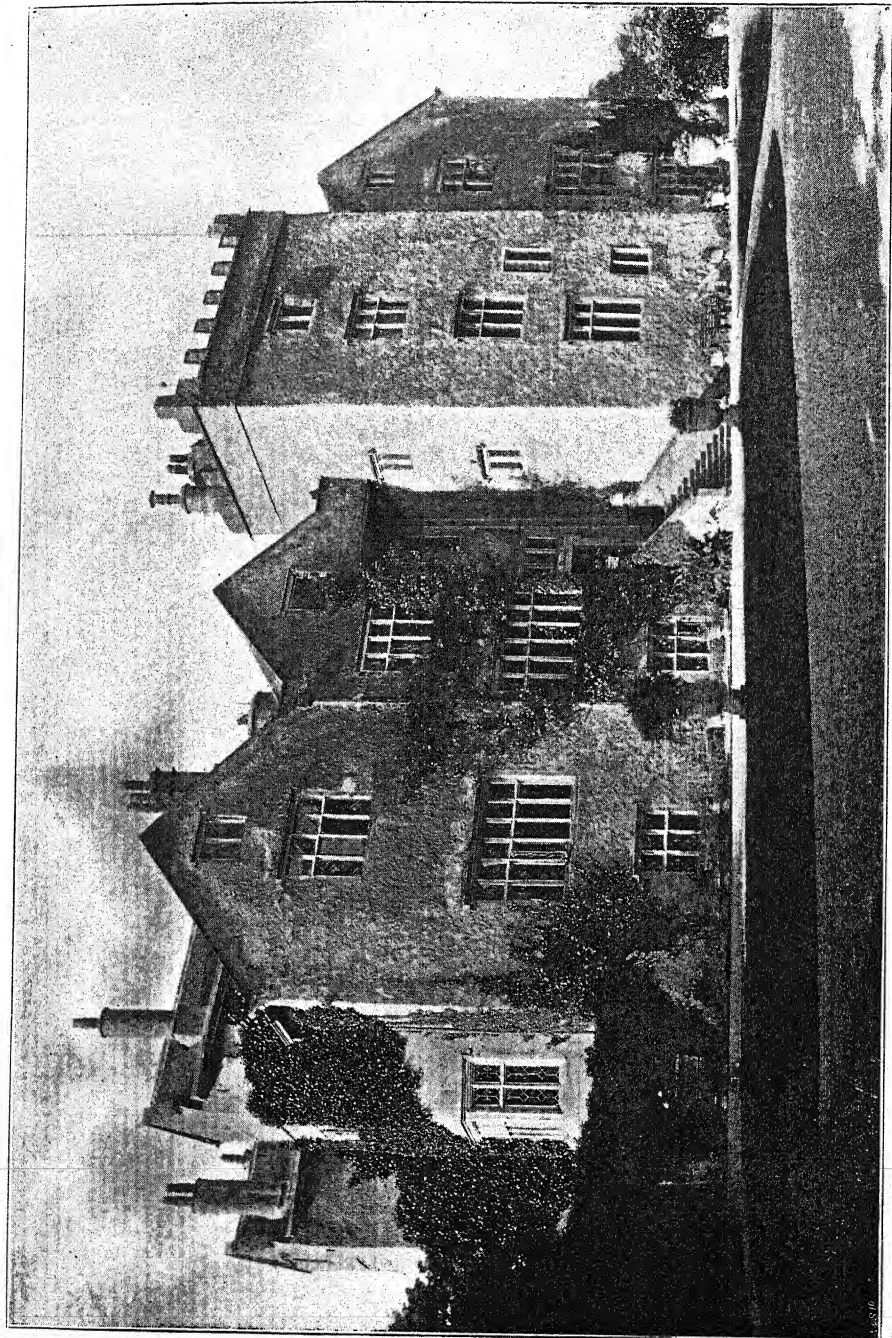
Floors:—Vaulted basement and two storeys over.

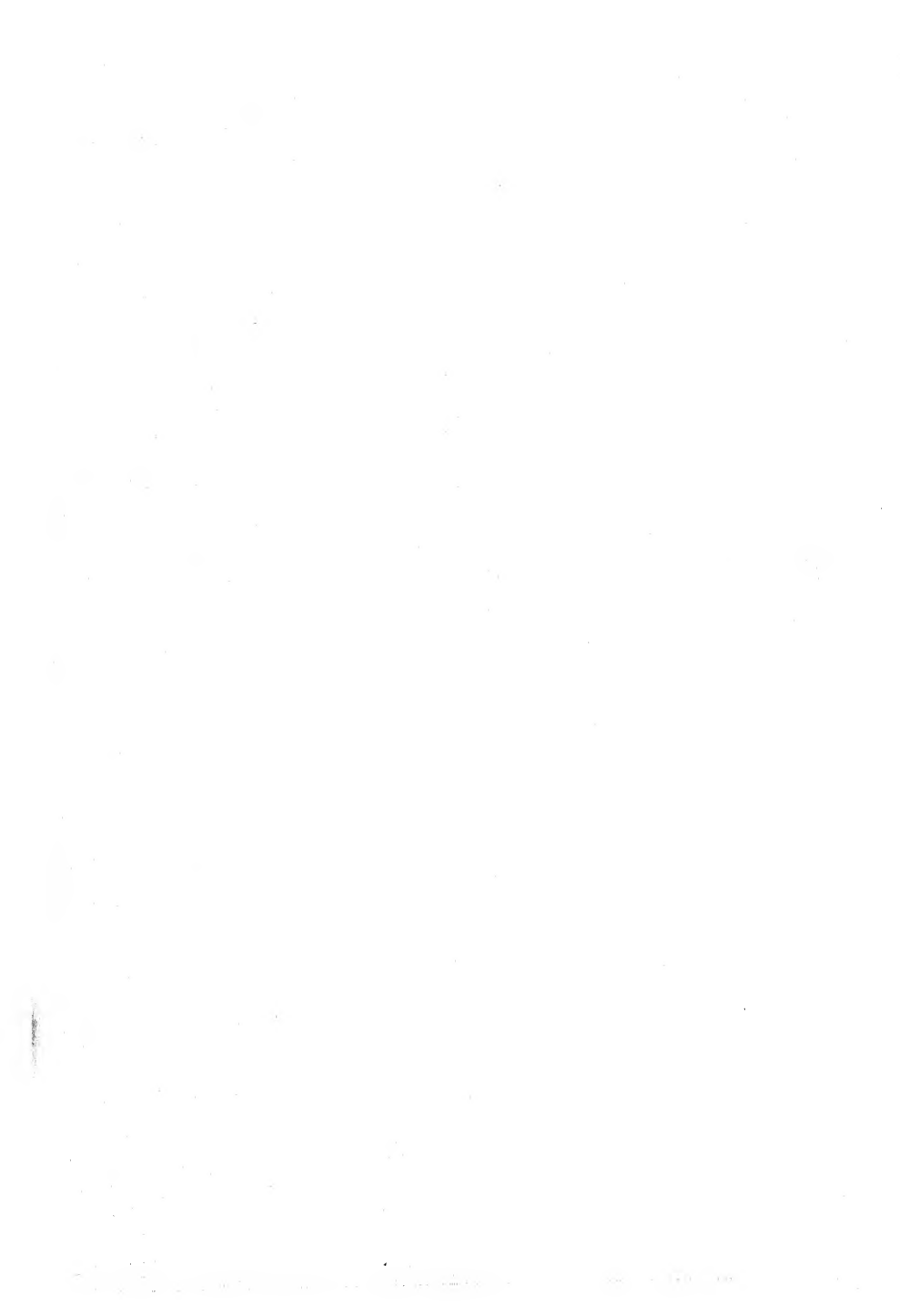
HALL:—40 by 22 feet.

REFERENCE:—*Historical Description of Levens Hall*, by the present writer.

⁵²³ *A Fortnight's Ramble to the Lakes*, by a Rambler, pp. 15, 16, 17, 26.

⁵²⁴ George Tattersall.





LEVINGTON HALL. C. II, S.W.

(Extinct.)

Three miles north of Scaleby, Hutchinson says,⁵²⁵ may be traced the remains of an old castle, although grown over with grass and thorns, from whence many of the stones were obtained for the building of Kirklington Hall near by.

Tradition reports that this was a famous place of the de Levingtons, the *caput baroniæ*, in ancient times, known as Levington Hall, and that it was strongly fortified.

Mr. T. H. B. Graham says⁵²⁶ that the high point of land between Kirklington Hall and the Stubb farmhouse has always been known as the "Castle Hill," and that on the north face of this hill, exactly midway between its summit and the boundary fence of the hall grounds, there are traces of a building 28 feet square.

The site is protected on the north side, at a distance of 40 yards, by the precipitous bank of the river Lyne and on the western side by a channel of the same river.

⁵²⁵ Vol. ii., p. 569.

⁵²⁶ *Transactions*, N.S., x., 107.

LINSTOCK CASTLE. C. 17, S.W.

Linstoc, temp. Hen. I.⁵²⁷

FOUNDATION HISTORY :—C. 1120-33. Henry I. gave the lordship of Linstoc to his chaplain, Walter, who transferred it, with the King's permission, to the Priory of St. Mary at Carlisle, on entering that house.⁵²⁸

1219-23. On the partition of the Conventual property, the lordship passed to the bishopric.

1283. Bp. Irton was resident at Linstock,⁵²⁹ and here also he died in 1292.

1294. Bp. Halton entertained Archbishop John le Romeyn of York here.⁵³⁰

1307. Also King Edward I., with his Queen and Court, for six days in March.⁵³¹

During the wars for Scottish Independence, necessity made the Bishop select Rose as a more frequent place of abode.

1314, 19th April. Bishop Halton made a treaty with Sir Edward de Bruce for the protection of his manors of Rose and Linstock, "so that they shall not be burnt," on the condition that he would release from Carlisle Castle the two brothers of David de Lindsey [see page 228].

c. 1450. The castle was abandoned as a residence and henceforth used as a *forcelleta* for the protection of the tenants and a prison for felons.

1480. The Bishop granted an allowance to his tenants for their work upon the upkeep of "le Bishop Dyke,"

⁵²⁷ Prescott, *Wetherhal*, 485.

⁵²⁸ Testa de Nevil, Record Com., p. 379b.

⁵²⁹ Reg. of Fountains, ff. 327-8.

⁵³⁰ Carl. Epis. Reg., Halton MS., fol. 3.

⁵³¹ Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1301-7, pp. 500, 502, 543.

and purchased seven sheaves of arrows for the replenishment of the castle.

1610. "Linstoc, a castle of the Bishops of Carlisle within the Barony of Crosby."⁵⁸²

c. 1790. The flat roof was taken off and the tower gabled over.

1863. Sold by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.

ARTIFICIAL EARTHWORKS:—The site has been moated, but the ditch is now mostly filled in. Two miles to the east, on the most vulnerable side, is the *Fossa Episcopi* or Bishop's Dyke [see page 195].

TOWER:—32 by 25½ feet. The upper portion has been considerably modified and gabled over.

Axis:—North and south.

Walls:—Basement walls 6 feet thick, the first floor 4½ feet with straight mural stairway from first to 2nd floor, 2½ feet wide.

Masonry:—Red sandstone ashlar.

Projections:—Splayed plinth.

Entrance:—There is no sign of any newel from the basement to the first floor, but neither is there any visible external entrance on the first floor level. The door was doubtless destroyed when the adjacent buildings were added.

Floors:—Vaulted basement and two storeys over.

REFERENCES:—*Transactions*, N.S., xii., 187; Taylor, 342; Jefferson, *Carlisle*, 396; Dr. James Wilson, *Rose Castle*, pp. 8, 9, with illustrations; a drawing of the castle as it appeared at the end of the eighteenth century will be found in Hutchinson, i., 64.

⁵⁸² Camden, Gibson's first edition, col. 832.

LOWTHER HALL. W. 7, N.E.

FOUNDATION HISTORY :—Temp. Edward I. The seat of the Lowther family.

c. 1350. The east tower resembled the work of the fourteenth century, having buttresses set diagonally at each angle supporting square turrets, which rose above the battlements.

c. 1450. The west tower, perhaps of the fifteenth century, was, according to tradition, nearly identical in dimensions and height. Each tower had a vaulted basement with three floors above. A fragment of this western tower is said to be incorporated in the west wing of the present castle. The two towers were about 60 feet apart and connected by a great hall and other domestic buildings, which seem to have gone to ruin in the sixteenth century, whilst the west tower was still habitable.

1630. The central portion was rebuilt by Sir John Lowther in the Jacobean style. His son, Sir John, writing in his Memoir, says, "The building between the old tower [east tower] and Lowther Hall [west tower] were made by my father . . . both the lead and the wood I bought by my father's appointment of Lord William Howard, being the roof of the Great Hall at Kirkoswald Castle." This block, about 60 feet in length, was of three storeys, with a curiously ornamented embattled parapet, and a large cupola rising from the centre.

1637. The Memoir continues :—"I entered into Lowther Hall after the death of my father . . . I beautified the porch by building with stone fine and white."

1656. The Memoir continues :—"I built the gallery and Chapel . . . the slate-pins of sheep's bones

we bought at 2d. per hundred which are of more last than wood, which is apt to rot and let down the slates."

1671. "This place hath given surname to an antient and noble family . . . Their chief seat hath been all along at this place; the Hall being a stately building, having two towers, a spacious gallery, with noble rooms, and a fine chapel. A great part of this house was built by the present owner and his father."⁵³³

1726. The building was mostly destroyed by fire, and for eighty years it seems to have lain waste and neglected.

1745. "The Scots sent off a party of their horse to plunder and burn Lowther Hall and Town and were also plundering our Town of Clifton."⁵³⁴

1778. "Lowther Hall is not anything very extraordinary. The grounds are unimproved, the house is indifferent, and the roads in so bad a condition that a carriage stands a good chance of being shattered at every foot it is moved."⁵³⁵

1784. James Lowther was created Earl of Lonsdale. He bequeathed the whole of his property to a distant relative, Sir William Lowther, and died in 1801.

1802-1808. The present castle was rebuilt by Sir William, who in 1807 was created 2nd Earl of Lonsdale, from designs by Sir Robert Smirke.⁵³⁶ It is an

⁵³³ Sir D. Fleming, *Description Co. Westmorland*, 27.

⁵³⁴ Thomas Savage, the Quaker.

⁵³⁵ R. J. Sullivan, *Tour through parts of England*, ii., 238.

⁵³⁶ Sir Robert Smirke (1781-1867), second son of Robert Smirke [the clever coach-painter, who was born at Wigton in 1752 and became an R.A. in 1793]. Young Robert was born in London. In 1796 he entered the schools of the Royal Academy and was articled to Sir John Soane. In 1799 he gained the Academy gold medal with a design for a National Gallery; was elected A.R.A. in 1808 and R.A. in 1811. He was knighted in 1813. His earliest buildings, of which Lowther and Eastnor Castles are good examples, were in the mediæval style, but the great majority of his works were classical. In 1823 he commenced his two finest and best known works, the General Post Office, in St. Martin's-le-Grand, and the British Museum.

extensive mansion of rose-coloured freestone, planned in a modern castellated style with imitation bastions and watch turrets. The north front is 420 feet in length, with a large projecting porch. The south front is 280 feet in length, of Gothic appearance.

1836. "Lowther Castle, the princely seat of the Earl of Lonsdale . . . fortified by a grateful and happy peasantry . . . A modern structure having been raised in the year 1808, on the site of Lowther Hall, by Sir Robert Smirke. The north front is 420 feet in length, and its numerous towers are embattled and pierced with loopholes. The southern front varies from the northern, being in the Gothic Cathedral style, with pointed windows, pinnacles, niches and cloisters."⁵³⁷

⁵³⁷ George Tattersall.

MAULD'S MEABURN HALL. W. 14, S.E.

FOUNDATION HISTORY:—King's Meaburn and Mauld's Meaburn were anciently one manor, and continued undivided until the time of that Hugh de Morville, who was lord of Westmorland and Knaresborough and one of the assassins of Thomas à Becket. After his connexion with the rebellion of 1173-4 the manor was escheated to the Crown, saving a portion which was allowed to remain to his only daughter, Maud.

- c. 1190. Maud married William de Vipont,⁵³⁸ and the Countess of Pembroke rather rashly declares in her diary that "there were ruins of her house still to be seen," consisting of "foundations and cellars."
- c. 1230. Ivo de Vipont granted to his daughter, Joan, "for her homage and service one toft with a croft . . . with all my garden across the stream and *opposite my hall* in the vill of Meaburne," . . . and of my ploughland "the half towards the north of my whole croft *by my hall* in the part belonging to Meaburn," etc., etc.⁵³⁹
- 1240-41. Robert, son of Ivo de Vipont, granted his whole manor of Mauld's Meaburn, and all its rights and services, to John le Fraunceys,⁵⁴⁰ for his homage and service, *i.e.*, it was a military fee.
- 1286. On Whit-Sunday Richard le Fraunceys sent William de Harcla, John le Fraunceys, Robert de Appleby and others to Crosby Ravensworth, where

⁵³⁸ Hitherto in these pages this name has been variously written. Vipont, Vipond, or Vipound is the English, de Veteri Ponte is the Latin, and Vieuxpont and Vezpont is the French form of the name.

⁵³⁹ *Transactions*, N.S., xi., 277.

⁵⁴⁰ Francigena, Franc', le Fraunceys, le Franceys, Frauceys and Frankys, with other variations. *Transactions*, N.S., xii., 319.

they found Nicholas de Hastings leaning on his bow outside *the gate* of his brother's house and killed him [see p. 268]. They then all returned to the manor house of Mauld's Meaburn and shut the gates. Thereon came Alice, wife of Nicholas de Hastings, together with a great number of the people of the countryside. She climbed upon *a wall* and raised hue and cry and sought to obtain entrance.⁵⁴¹ These are very rare instances of the mention of thirteenth century manor-houses, so far as our present knowledge of documentary history goes.

1355. Richard de Vernon granted in lease to Thos. de Musgrave the herbage of his park at Meaburn Maud.⁵⁴²

1419. Richard Vernon, Kt., having granted and leased "at ferme" to William de Stapleton the manors of Meaburn and Newby to have and to hold for a period of ten years, now leased and granted to Rouland Thornborough the said manors for a term of sixteen years next ensuing after the term of ten years. "And the aforesaid Richard wills and grants hereby that if it chance—which God forbid—that any hostile band or troop of the enemies from Scotland arrayed for war come and burn the manors and tenements or parts of them: then the said Rouland shall be discharged of that proportion of the service which appertains to the manors and tenements with the appurtenances or parcels of them so burnt and destroyed. And also the said Rouland wills and grants hereby that he will repair . . . the hall and the rooms adjoining to the extent of 60s. and maintain them during his term of lease and hand them over

⁵⁴¹ Assize Roll, 988, 20 Edw. I.; see the full account given in *Transactions*, N.S., xi., 326-339. The Assize Roll does not tell the composition of the wall, it says, "ascendebat quendam murum et levavit hutesium super predictos felones." "Hutesium et clamor" is Law-Latin for "hue and cry."

⁵⁴² *Transactions*, N.S., xii., 363.

at the end of the term in as good plight and condition."⁵⁴³

1367, 12th November. There was a commission of Oyer and terminer issued to Thomas de Musgrave, John Mowbray, Thomas de Roos, Gilbert de Curwenne and Robert d'Ormesheved, on information that William de Threlkeld and divers persons, armed and in array of war, broke the dwelling-house of the manor of Richard de Vernoun, chivaler, at Maudesmeburn.⁵⁴⁴

1602. The hall was purchased by Sir John Lowther.

1610. This date is carved on a stone inserted over the garden entrance door.

The pele tower seems to have been almost completely destroyed, as the walls of the present "Living Room," the oldest portion of the hall, have been rebuilt practically from the ground. This room, 23 by 20 feet, is entered by a Tudor arched doorway at the north-west corner. The solar is lighted by Tudor windows, and the walls are covered to the ceiling with small Tudor panels of oak. The room above has that curious Italian kind of flooring that consists of a sort of cement plaster laid on a bed of laths.

The adjoining hall has, at a later period, been entirely rebuilt, saving a small portion of the back or west wall, standing some 5 feet high, which shows the same kind of square coursed masonry as is used in the walls of the "Living Room."

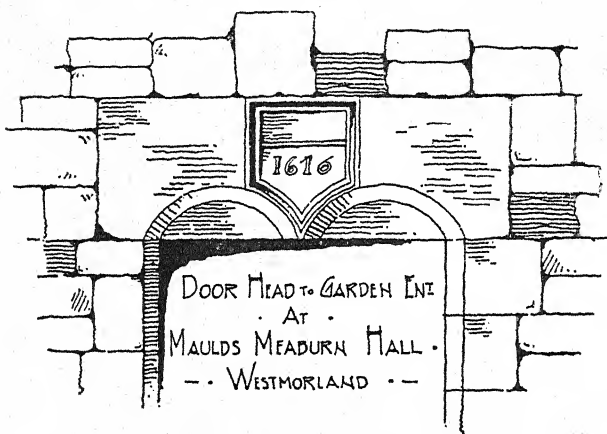
1676. The south and north wings are of a still later date, as is proved by the vertical joints at their junction with the central block. It is interesting to notice that the relief dated stone, above referred to, has been altered by means of incised lines, so that the last two figures should read 76 instead of 10.

⁵⁴³ *Transactions*, N.S., xii., 373.

⁵⁴⁴ Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1367-70, pp. 61, 64.

The rooms within the southern wing are panelled with wainscoting of this period, and we must also notice the splendid gate-piers with the curious scroll ornament carved on the bottom stones of each.

1693. Over an archway in the farm-yard there is an inscribed stone framed within a square label giving the initials "R. L.," for Richard Lowther, in florid characters, and below the date 1693.

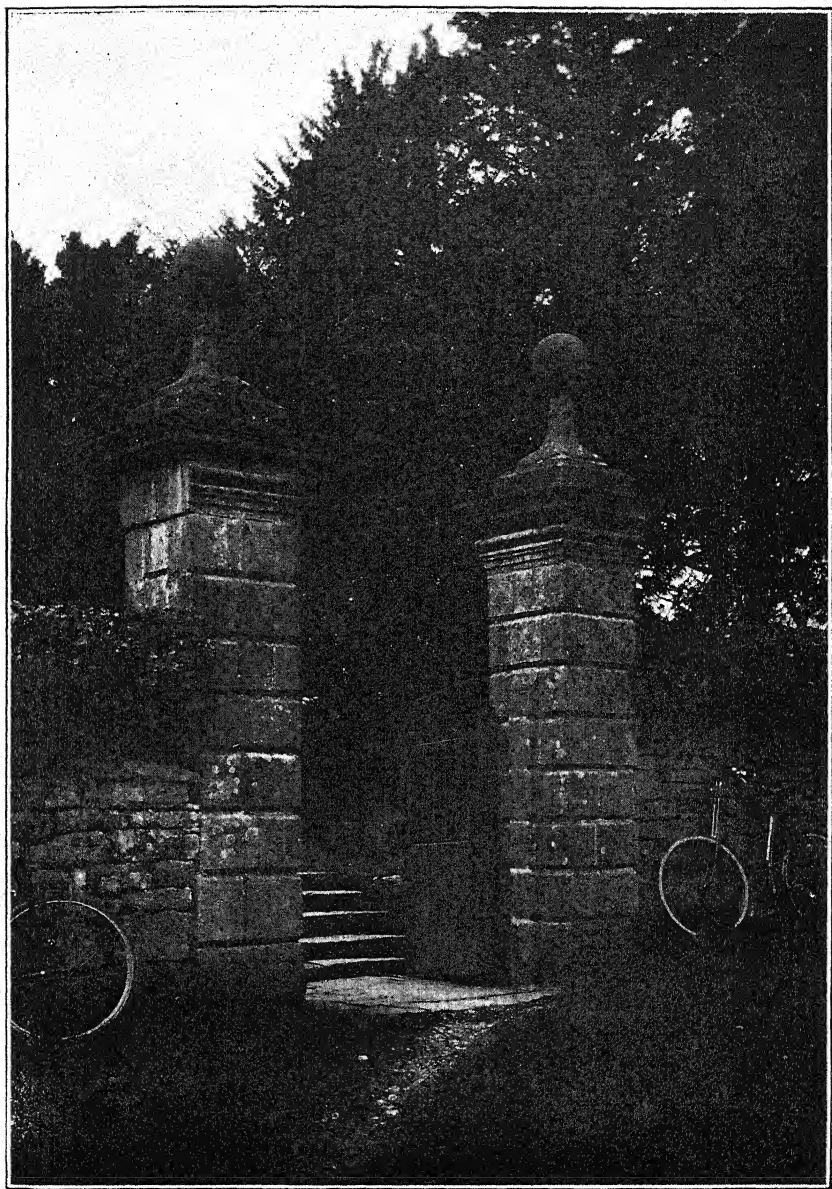


1807-1818. The hall was reroofed.

1811. "No traces of Maud de Veteripont's house are now remaining; but it is thought that the present mansion was built upon its site."⁵⁴⁵

REFERENCE :—*Transactions*, N.S., viii., 75.

⁵⁴⁵ Hodgson, 146.



MEABURN HALL, GATEWAY
Showing Spiral Ornament.

TO FACE P. 306.

MELMERBY. C. 50, N.E.

FOUNDATION HISTORY :—1307-1327. John de Denum kept a garrison of twelve men at his Tower of Melmerby, which was “always well defended by the grace of God against the Scots to the great damage and loss of their men.”⁵⁴⁶ He, however, petitioned the central government that his lands were so wasted that he could no longer support a garrison in the tower, and declared that it would be a serious inconvenience to the county if “she” were taken.⁵⁴⁷

c. 1570. The present building is supposed to date from this period.

1610. “Melmorby *Habitatio ad planitiem magnam* is the name of the town parish and capital messuage there, now the dwelling house and seat of — Threlkeld Esq. In the reign of Henry III., Odard then Lord of Wigton dyed seised thereof, after whose death his son Walter de Wigton, John son of Walter, and Margaret sole daughter and heir of the said John, were successively Lords thereof. Margaret was married to two husbands, John Denom, K^{nt} and John Weston, K^{nt}. She gave Melmorby to Sir Robert Parving, K^{nt} . . . [whose] sister’s son Adam, son of John Peacock, who named himself Adam Parving died 4 Rich. II., and then Henry de Threlkeld entered to Melmorby in which family it hath ever since continued in the issue male.”⁵⁴⁸

1675. “A little from Kirkoswald yow haue Melmerby : an ancient Sq^r hall house of the name of Threlkeld ; yonger branch of Sir Lancloft Threlkeld of Threlkeld.”⁵⁴⁹

⁵⁴⁶ Ancient Petition, Nos. 5206 and 5208.

⁵⁴⁷ *Victoria Hist. Cumberland*, ii., 255.

⁵⁴⁸ John Denton, *Accompt*, 117, 118.

⁵⁴⁹ Edmund Sandford, *Cursory Relation*, p. 45.

MUNCASTER CASTLE. C. 82, S.E.

Meol-castre ; Mulecastre, Mulcaster, Moncaster.

EARLY FORTIFICATION :—Walls castle, near by, once a Roman bath.

Thomas West in his *Antiquities of Furness*, speaking of the Pennington family says, " This worshipful family have long quitted the original seats in Pennington [where they] resided before the Conquest, and until they removed to Muncaster, about A.D. 1242."

1261. Robert de Mulcaster was High Sheriff.

1290. Walter de Mulcaster is the first recorded member of Parliament for Cumberland.

FOUNDATION HISTORY :—C. 1325. The tower at the south-west corner of the present buildings was probably erected. What is known as the " Clock Tower " comes next in order of date.

1461. Sir John Pennington entertained Henry VI. here, who left behind him a " brauve workyd glasse cuppe," saying, " Your family shall prosper so long as they preserve this glass unbroken." It is still carefully preserved and honoured as the " Luck of Muncaster."

1464. After the battle of Hexham, the deposed King once again wandered over Muncaster fell : the place where the shepherds met him is now indicated by a spire-like monument, known as Chappells.

1610. " An old castle there towards the water side near unto Eskmeal, which was the antient dwelling place of the Penningtons, and is yet visible in the ruins, they call it the Old Walls [Walls Castle] for their present mansion house is of later erection . . . much better and more conveniently set for state and avoidance of the air, and sharp distempers from the sea." ⁵⁵⁰

⁵⁵⁰ John Denton, *Accompt*, 18.

1675. "Upon the Hill above, stands Monkastle The Ancient K^t Seite of the Peningtons: but no K^t of late . . . Ther is a brave parke and all belonging to this grand house of Montcastre full of fallow deer down to Ravenglas."⁵⁵¹

c. 1783. The castle was almost rebuilt by John, first Baron Muncaster.

1865. Repaired and enlarged under the direction of Anthony Salvin.

NATURAL DEFENCES:—The ground falls steeply on the south and east, the other sides had to depend upon artificial earthwork.

TOWER:—At the south-west angle. It bears no longer its original appearance.

Walls:—8 feet in thickness.

Masonry:—Red granite and sandstone.

Floors:—Vaulted basement and three storeys over.

REFERENCES:—Parker, 201; Jefferson, *Allerdale above Derwent*, 214.

⁵⁵¹ Edmund Sandford, *Cursory Relation*, 5.

ORMSIDE HALL. W. 15, N.E.

Ormesheved, c. 1140;⁵⁵² *Ormeshead*.

FOUNDATION HISTORY:—The seat of the Barton family until they sold it, temp. Queen Elizabeth, to Sir Christopher Pickering, from whom it passed to Cyprian Hylton; since when the manor has had various possessors. In the north aisle of the parish church there is a burying place belonging to Ormshead Hall in which are inscriptions in memory of Sir Christopher Pickering, Kt., who died in 1620; of Cyprian Hylton, who died in 1652; and of Cyprian Hylton who died in 1693.

The history of the building, which has been built clearly as a place of defence, is unknown. Since Hodgson wrote his description of the County of Westmorland, 1811, the embattled roof has been taken off, and a slated gable erected in its place.

TOWER:—36 by 27½ feet.

Height:—Lost by being now gabled over, but the eaves are 24 feet high, and the battlements must have been at least another 6 feet higher.

Axis:—North-west by south-east.

Walls:—North-east wall 6 feet thick, the others 5 feet thick.

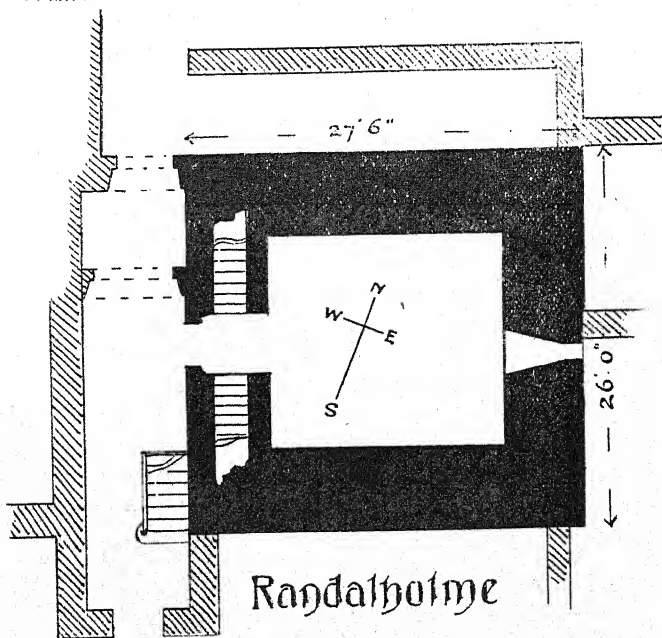
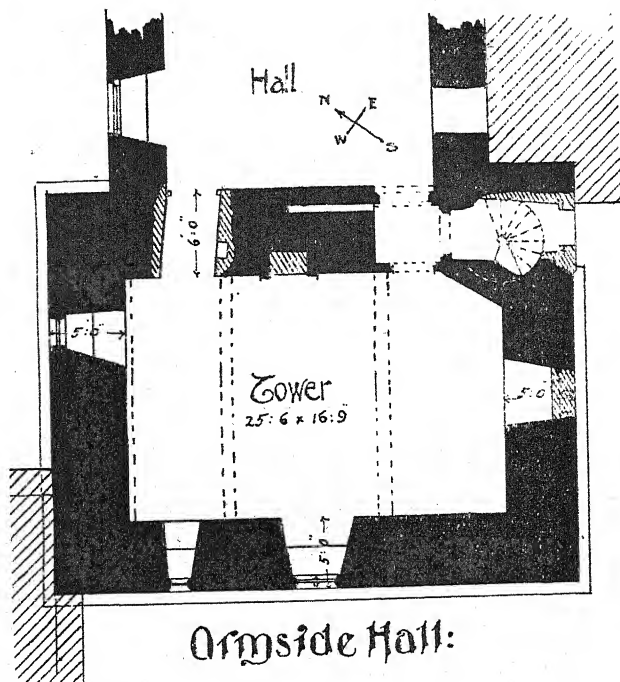
Masonry:—Red sandstone ashlar.

Projections:—Splayed plinth.

Entrance:—At the east corner.

Floors:—Basement, not vaulted, and two storeys over.

⁵⁵² Prescott, *Wetherhal*, 46.



RANDALHOLME, ALSTON. C. 34, S.W.

Raynerholme, Reinerhome, Rendalford.

FOUNDATION HISTORY:—1315. Hodgson, the historian of Northumberland, surmises that this was the capital messuage which Nicholas de Vipont had at Alston at the time of his death.

1370. Robert de Vipont died seised of Raynerholme.

Subsequently known as the manor-house of Kirkhaugh.

c. 1600. Addition of the Tudor kitchen wing.

1616, 12th April. The daughters and co-heiresses of Reynold Whitfield granted the lordship of Randalholme, etc., to Rayffe Whytfeild, the brother of Reynold, deceased.

c. 1650. Remodelled in the Classical style, with fine cornice at the eaves level.

1675. "And a little below Auston Church northward yow haue a faire house called Reinerhome of a yonger branch of the Leard Whitfeild of Whitfeild near ther unto in Northumberland."⁵⁵³

1680, 4th April. William Richardson, of the Richardsons of Nunwick Hall, was in possession.

1711. The initials W. A. R. and the date 1711 are cut upon a door-head that is now rebuilt into a wall in the garret.

1746. On a separate stone but placed beneath the fine armorial coat on the northern elevation are the initials C. R. R., 1746.

1755. Christopher Richardson of Randalholme.

1815. Joseph Salkeld of Randal Holme Hall.

1833. "An ancient peel-house, now whitewashed, with an armorial escutcheon of stone on the north side. This is Randalholme Hall, formerly the seat of the

⁵⁵³ Edmund Sandford, *Cursory Relation*, 47.

family of Randals, one of whom William Randal Featherstonhaugh Ricardson Randal is buried in the parish church. The estate has been recently purchased by the Commissioners and Governors of Greenwich Hospital. The substitution of a slated roof and gables in place of the old flat lead roof and battlements and its occupation as a farm house have materially lessened the antiquity of its appearance." ⁵⁵⁴

NATURAL DEFENCES :—Situated at the confluence of the Ayle-burn on the north-west, and the South Tyne on the west.

CURTAIN :—There are evidences of a curtain wall on the east and south sides.

TOWER :— $27\frac{1}{2}$ by 26 feet. For plan see page 311.

Height :—Lost as the tower is now gabled over, but it is $34\frac{1}{2}$ feet from the ground to half-way up the gable.

Axis :—East and west.

Walls :— $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet in thickness, with straight mural stairs in the west wall which turn up the south wall on the top storey.

Projections :—None.

Masonry :—Drab coloured local freestone, the added gable is of ashlar work.

Entrance :—To basement on the west side.

Floors :—Vaulted basement and two storeys over.

NOTE :—The armorial shield above referred to is as follows :—Quarterly, 1 and 4, parted per chevron, 3 bull's heads erased, 2 and 1, and in chief a label of 3 points; 2 and 3, on a bar three stag heads. The whole surmounted by two helms of Baron's degree—that on the sinister side with coronet and a bull's head for crest, that on the dexter side with wreath and a sheaf of arrows, armed and feathered, passing through a coronet for crest. Motto, *Virtute acquiritur honor.*

⁵⁵⁴ Sopwith, *Account of the Mining Districts of Alston Moor.*

SIZERGH HALL. W. 42, N.E.

Sigarith-erge, the dairy-farm of Sigrid; *Sigaritherge*, temp. Richard I.; *Syreedyherg*, temp. Edward I.; *Sirezergh* and *Cireserd*, temp. Edward III.

FOUNDATION HISTORY :—1362. Tower probably built by Sir Walter Stirkland when he received a licence to enclose his woods in Helsington, Levenes and Hackethorp, containing by estimate 300 acres, and to impark the same.⁵⁵⁵

- c. 1450. First hall on ground level.
- c. 1558. The wings enclosing the court probably built by Sir Walter the Cavalier, who also raised the hall to the first floor level. Sir Walter died in 1569, and his widow, Dame Alice, carried on the work of repair. "Alice [the Widow of Sir Walter the Cavalier, their son being a minor] reserved to herself the power of making repairs that Walter Strickland left unfinished at his death. It is evident from the mason's marks that he had re-built all the houses on the outside of the Tower, and modernised the windows in the Tower. The carving over the chimney in the Drawing Room, in the bosom of the Tower, bears date 1564. The carving over the chimney in the Wainscot Parlour, or Dining Parlour, is dated 1567. And the carving over the chimney piece in the Queen's Room, which is in the east quarter of the Tower, is dated 1569, the year that Walter died. The Inlaid or Fineered Wainscot Room, over the Queen's Room, was finished after Alice married Boynton, and the carving over the chimney, in the room over the Dining Parlour, is dated 1575—that

⁵⁵⁵ The King's warrant was as necessary to surround a park with palings or walls as it was to crenellate the mansion.

- is two years after her marriage with Boynton. This was their bed chamber, probably, as it is decorated with the Boyntons' arms. There are still many oaken chairs remain, and forms for the Chapel made at this period, as their dates show."⁵⁵⁶
- 1563-1575. All the panelling is dated between these years.
1641. Sizergh was abandoned during the period of the Civil Wars.
- 1688-1702. Again abandoned from the time of the Revolution till Walter returned with the accession of Queen Anne.
1749. Roof of tower relaid by Thomas Peter Strickland, who also remodelled some windows.
- 1769, 9th October. "This seat of the Stricklands, an old catholic family, is an ancient hall house with a very large tower, embattled; the rest of the buildings added to it are of later date, but all is white and seen to advantage on a back ground of old trees."⁵⁵⁷
- 1770-80. Central block, containing the hall, taken down and rebuilt. For a long time it remained unfinished.
1811. "The whole edifice has a gray venerable appearance, especially the tower at its south-east corner, which is finished with two turrets and embattlements: one of the turrets has a guard room capable of containing ten or a dozen men, and is embrasured: the winding staircase also terminates in a turret."⁵⁵⁸
1854. W. C. Strickland brought the Bindloss Room panelling from Borwick Hall when he sold that property.
1891. The panelling from the "Inlaid Room" was sold to South Kensington Museum for £1000.

⁵⁵⁶ West, *Abstract of Ancient Writings belonging to Thomas Strickland*, published in 1778.

⁵⁵⁷ Gray's Journal.

⁵⁵⁸ Hodgson, *Description of Co. Westmorland*, 202.

1898. Sir Gerald Strickland caused a coach-way to be made right through the basement, with an internal entrance staircase leading up to the first floor, in lieu of the 1770 external stair. The great porch was erected as a part of the scheme, and a large mullioned window inserted to enlighten the principal floor of the tower.

ARTIFICIAL EARTHWORK:—Evidence of a moat around three sides.

TOWER:—60 by $39\frac{1}{2}$ feet, with a projecting turret, $20\frac{1}{2}$ by 12 feet on the south side.

Height:—58 feet to the top of the battlements; 68 feet to the top of the turret.

Axis:—East and west.

Walls:— $9\frac{1}{2}$ to 7 feet.

Masonry:—Limestone rubble.

Projections:—None.

Entrance:—North-west corner into basement.

Floors:—Double-vaulted basement and three floors above.

HALL:—The sixteenth century hall “extended to both fronts, having nearly been a square of forty feet; the principal entrance was at the east corner on the north-west side, and on the same side were two deep embayed windows; and opposite on the situation of the present door was a vast fireplace with a moulded stone arch.”

REFERENCES:—*Transactions*, O.S., x., 66; *Proceedings*, Society Antiq., London, xiii., 329.

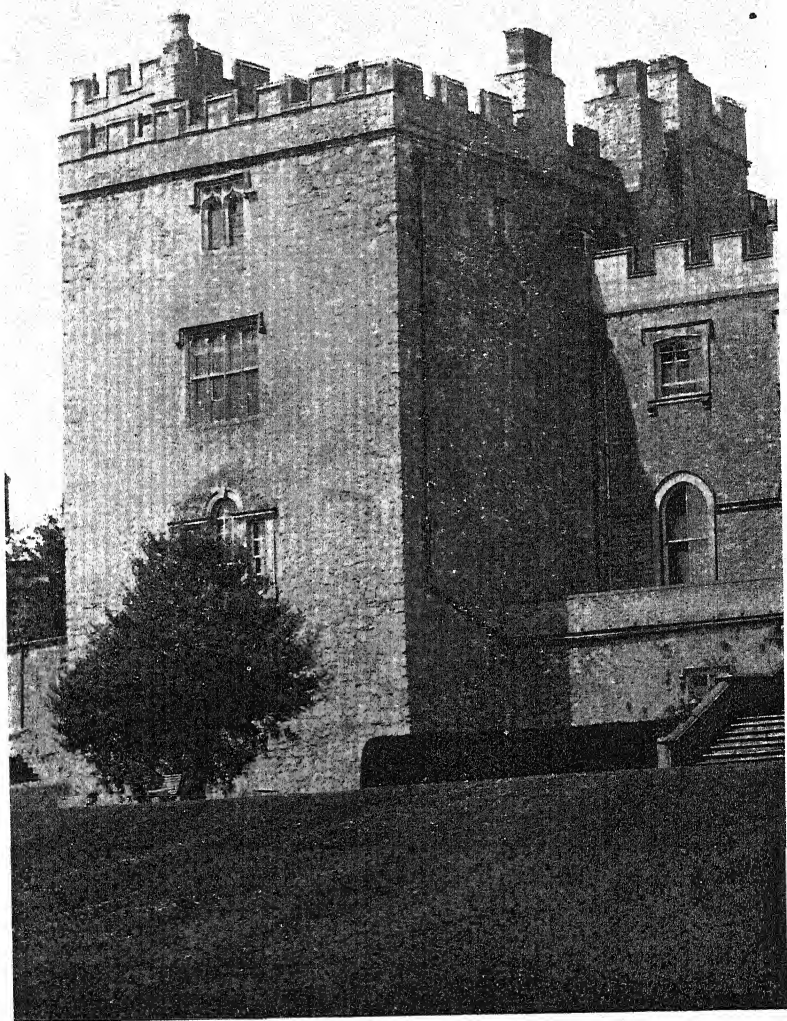
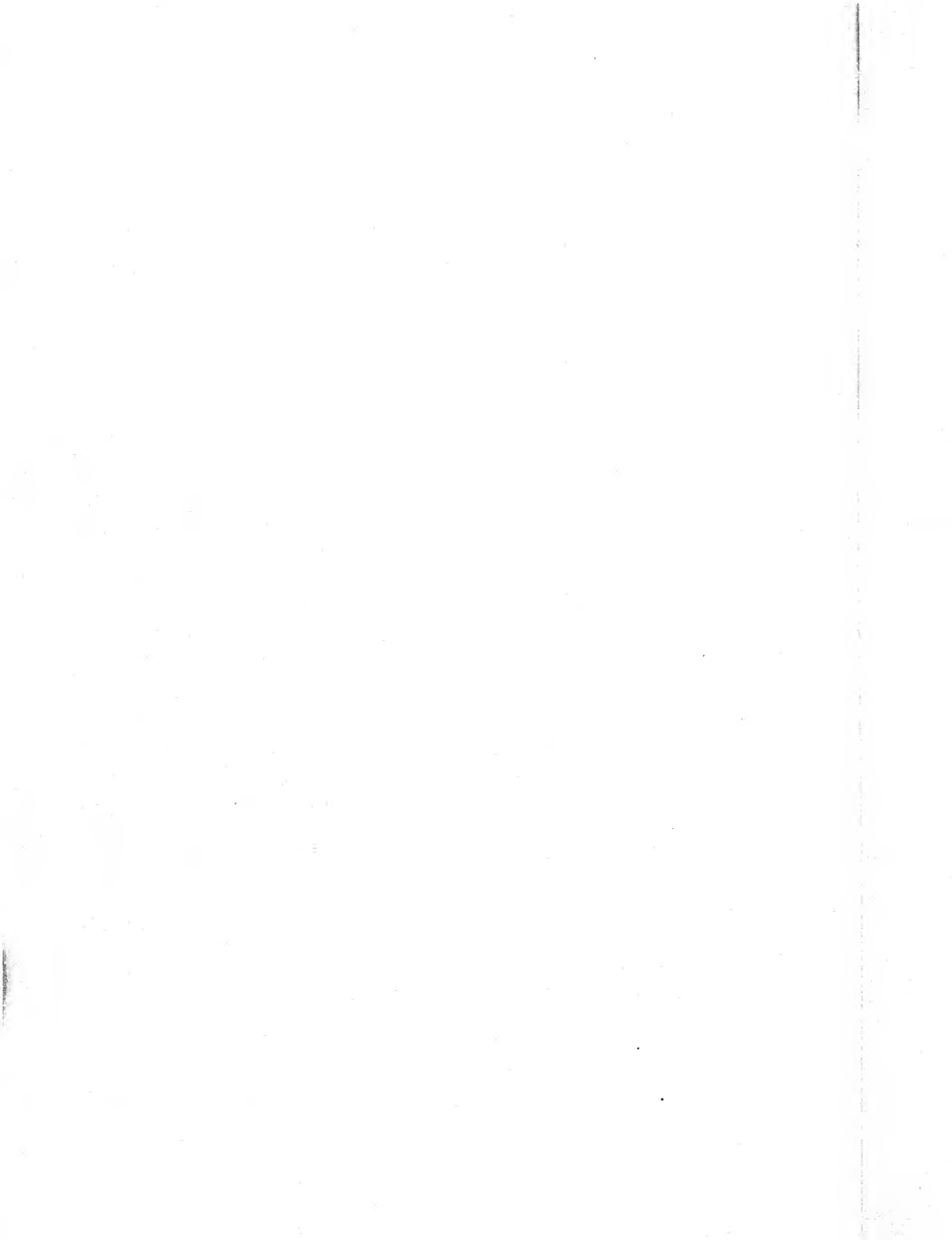


Photo. by J. H. Hogg.

SIZERGH HALL.

TO FACE P. 316.



SOCKBRIDGE HALL. W. 3, S.E.

Sockebroc, 1189; *Sokebred*, 1279.⁵⁵⁹

FOUNDATION HISTORY:—1189. Helewis, daughter of William de Lancaster II., granted and confirmed to Gilbert de Lancaster all the lands which her father had given to him, viz., “Slegile with its belongings and Sockebroc and Tyrerhge with their belongings, etc.”⁵⁶⁰

1279. In a settlement of dispute between Roger de Lancaster [Gilbert fitz Reinfred’s son] the mesne lord, and Christiana, widow of another Gilbert de Lancaster, under lord of Sockbridge, we find it stated that Christiana relinquished all action which she brought against Roger, and Roger granted for himself and his heirs to Christiana, common of pasture for herself and her heirs *dwelling in Sokebred* for stock of every kind the whole year through.⁵⁶¹ Another dispute between them arose because Roger wished to destroy a mill in Barton which Gilbert, her husband, had erected and which Roger chose to consider detrimental to his interests.⁵⁶² All this goes to show that Gilbert’s family were firmly seated here.

1330. The above Gilbert’s grandson, another Gilbert, gave to his son, Christopher, “*a house and land*” in Sockbridge.⁵⁶³

c. 1375. It is probable that the Pele Tower was built about this period.

c. 1550. The western wing, 67 feet in length, was added.

⁵⁵⁹ *Transactions*, N.S., x., 452.

⁵⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 431.

⁵⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 452.

⁵⁶² *Ibid.*, 403.

⁵⁶³ *Ibid.*, 406.

c. 1575. The southern wing, some 50 feet in length, was added, when the buildings almost surrounded a courtyard, 44 by 40 feet, with the tower at the south-east angle.

1678. Machel notices the existence of "a little tower opposite the old entrance where you go into the halle. It fronts south, a little declining, with three descents into the court."

c. 1830. The tower was pulled down and the materials used for building Buckham Lodge in Lowther Park.

TOWER :—About 28 by 22 feet.

Walls :—6 feet in thickness.

Floors :—Vaulted basement and two storeys over.

REFERENCE :—Taylor, 64.

YANWATH HALL. W. 3, S.E.

Yevenewich, c. 1290;⁵⁶⁴ *Yanewath*; *Yevenwith*; *Eanwath*.

FOUNDATION HISTORY:—1322. Parker⁵⁶⁵ says that the Pele tower was built by John de Sutton.

c. 1375. The original hall and kitchens were raised against the east wall, by a Threlkeld.

c. 1520. Yanwath came to Thomas, Lord Dudley, with his marriage to Grace Threlkeld, who, in the time of Henry VIII., rebuilt and enlarged the hall considerably.

1586. Machel mentions three coats of arms in the ceiling of the Solar bearing the date 1586, when Edmund Dudley was in possession. This Elizabethan period is also seen in the Royal Arms over the mantle piece; in the oak wainscoting; in the square-headed windows, and in that very fine entrance door with its folded-linen panelling and tracery head.

1654. Christopher Dudley sold the reversion of Yanwath to Sir John Lowther for £2000, but it did not pass to Sir John until 1671, when, as he says, "The Hall was left very ruinous."

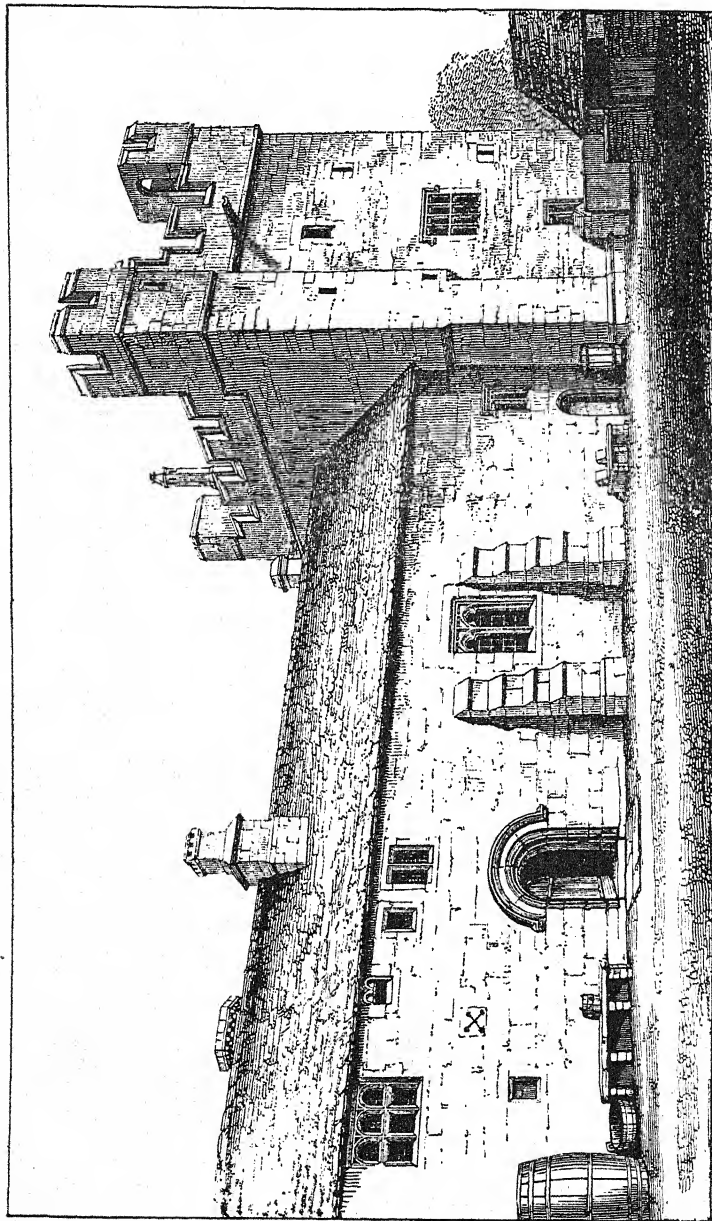
1671. "It's a good house with a fair tower, scituate . . . on the east bank of the same river [Eamont], and once belonging to the Lancasters of Howgill-castle and Rydall, from whom it came to the Threlkelds."⁵⁶⁶

c. 1678. Noticing the graceful chimney upon the battlements, Machel says that Yanwath "hath a delicate prospect when you are at it, and hath the grace of a little castle when you depart from it."

⁵⁶⁴ Prescott, *Wetherhal*, 370.

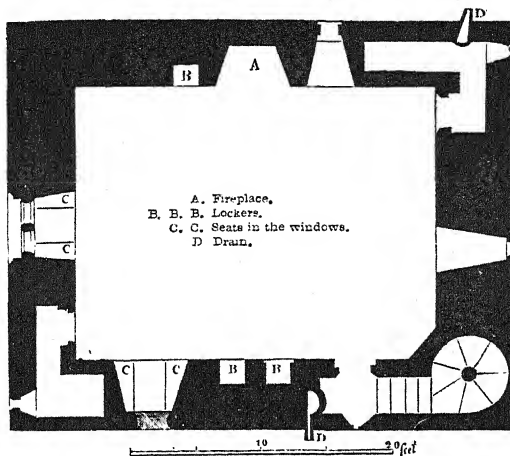
⁵⁶⁵ Domestic Architecture.

⁵⁶⁶ Sir D. Fleming, *Description Co. Westmorland*, 30.

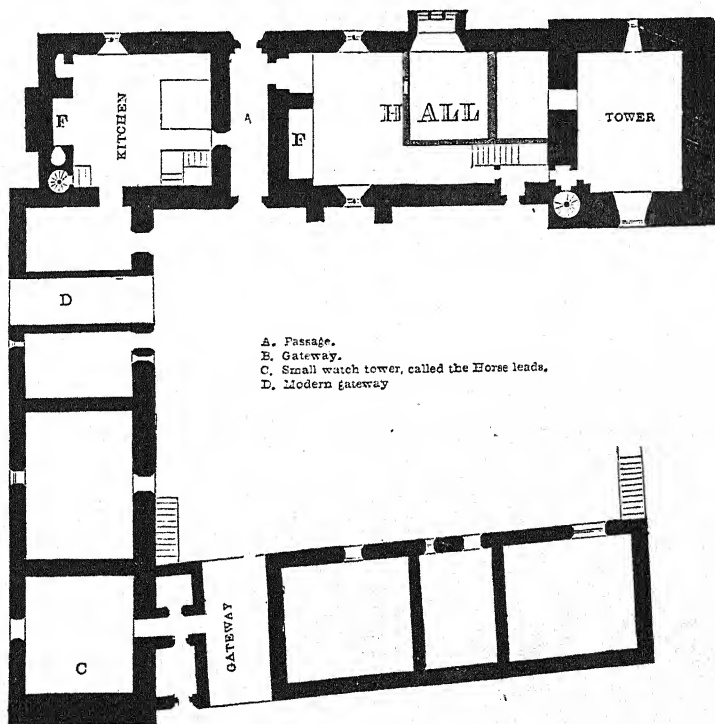


YANWATH HALL.

THE KITCHENS, SCREENS, HALL AND TOWER ON THE SOUTH SIDE OF COURTYARD.
From Parker, *Domestic Architecture*.



PLAN OF THE UPPER STORY OF THE TOWER.



YANWATH HALL.

1811. "The hall stands on a precipice over the river Eamont. It is quadrangular; hath an agreeable aspect; and, at a distance, hath the appearance of a small castle. Over the gate hath been a chapel; and at the south corner has been a handsome tower, with turrets and battlements."⁵⁶⁷

NATURAL DEFENCES:—Situated on the south bank of the river Eamont, where the banks are very precipitous.

CURTAIN WALL:—The walls were wide enough to allow of a four-foot rampart walk within the crenellated parapet.

GATEHOUSE:—Overlooking and guarding the ford of Eamont. "The entrance to the court was by a narrow pathway up the side of the river bank and beneath an ancient gatehouse on the northern face."

TOWER:—38 by 30 feet, with watch turrets at each angle, the one at the north-west angle being the largest. Each has a small guardroom on the level of the leads and a flight of steps to the top.

Height:—55 feet.

Axis:—North and south.

Walls:—6 feet with mural chambers.

Masonry:—Red sandstone coursed.

Projections:—An ogee-moulded plinth, and the parapet projecting slightly on a moulded cornice.

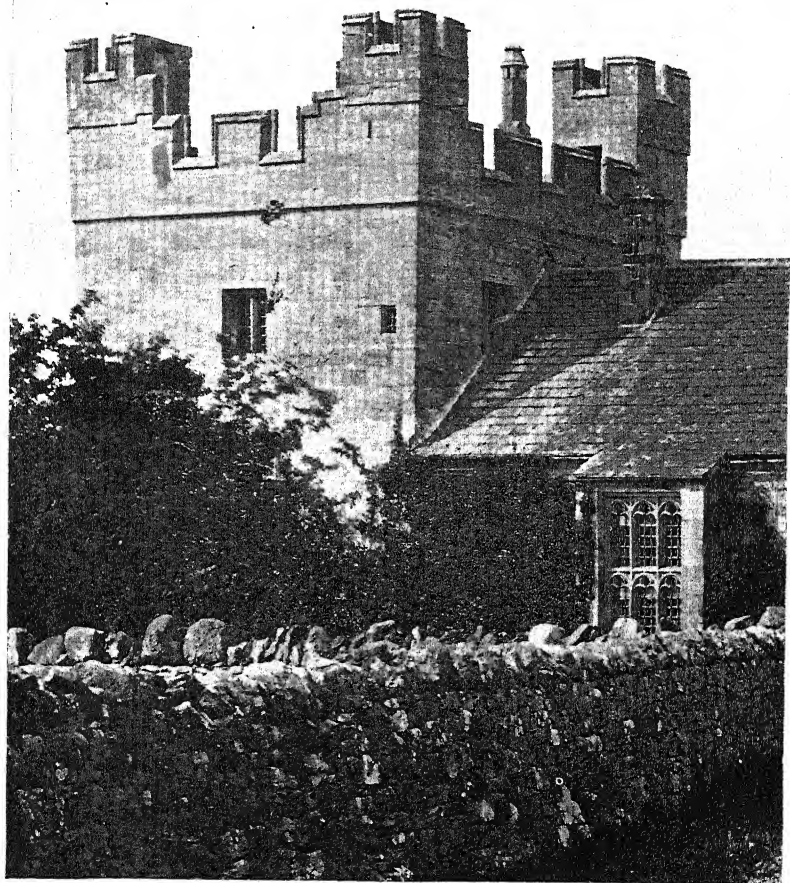
Entrance:—To basement at the north-east angle, with newel staircase on the right hand.

Floors:—Vaulted basement and two storeys over.

There is a squint hole from the solar down to the hall.

REFERENCE:—Taylor, 52.

⁵⁶⁷ Hodgson, *Hist. Westmorland*, 110.



YANWATH HALL, from the South-East.

TO FACE P. 322.



XIV.

 THE FORTIFIED CHURCHES OF THE
FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

THERE would seem to be little doubt that many of the Border Churches were inhabited for short periods as places of refuge, for the women and children of the village, when war was in the making. But, unfortunately, it does not always appear that they were respected as sanctuary ; indeed, the Chroniclers record instances when the invaders forced an entrance and committed the greatest of barbarities in them. This does not necessarily mean that the Scotch were in any way more savage than the common run of raiders in those days, but it is sufficient to show the necessity, on both sides of the Border, for fortifying such buildings as were large enough for the protection of the villagers. So late as 1538 we find the tenants of the manor of Holm Cultram sending a petition to Henry VIII., begging that the Abbey Chapel might be left standing, because it was a great defence against the Scots.⁵⁰⁸

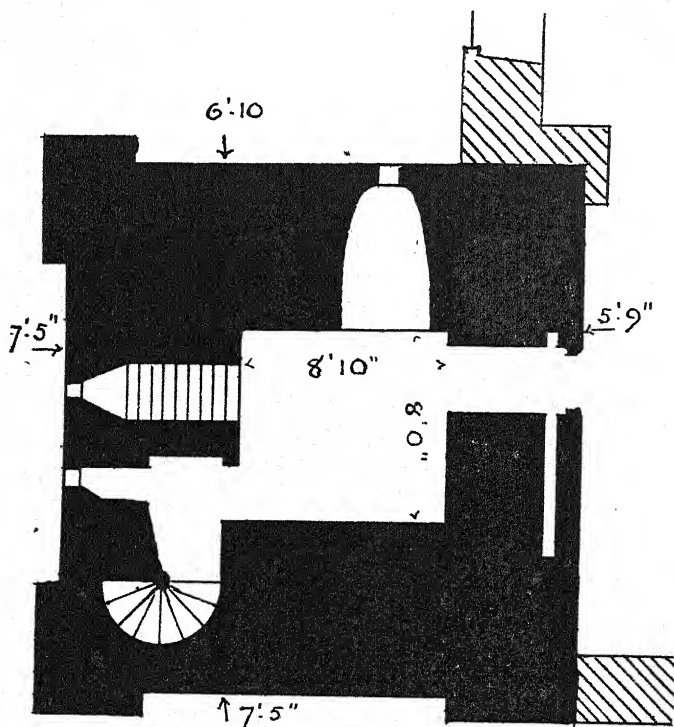
To-day our most noticeable examples are undoubtedly those of Burgh-by-Sands and Newton Arlosh on the Solway, and Great Salkeld, situated in that fertile valley perhaps the most harassed by the Scots.⁵⁰⁹

In these three churches we find the windows of the nave placed high up, with their cills some seven feet

⁵⁰⁸ Ellis, *Original Letters*, 89.

⁵⁰⁹ In the district of Gower in Glamorganshire, twelve out of sixteen church towers are believed to have been erected as much for defence against the Welsh as for ecclesiastical purposes ; each is a stronghold as well as a campanile. E. A. Freeman, in *Archæol. Cambr.*, 1850, N.S., i., 44.

above the ground, and all of them very narrow. At Newton Arlosh no window exceeds 12 inches in width. In each case the only entrance to the vaulted basement of the tower is from the nave, and this we find protected by one of those cross-barred doors of hammered iron, such as we have already noticed as protecting the entrances to the Pele Towers. Within was the newel stair that led to the upper floors, so narrow and winding that it could not be rushed, and easy to defend at the head of the stair. Fireplaces were provided in the upper floors for the cooking and comfort of the refugees.



PLAN OF BURGH-BY-SANDS CHURCH.

BURGH-BY-SANDS. C. 15, S.E.

FOUNDATION HISTORY:—A church has been here since the late Norman period, but it was almost, if not wholly, rebuilt during the thirteenth century. It stands in the south-east angle of the Roman Station.
c. 1350. The present tower was erected, when a small door was opened out at the west end of the northern aisle.

TOWER:—24 by 23 feet, with very narrow loopholes, one being only 3 inches wide.

Height:—38 feet to the top of the battlements.

Axis:—East and west.

Walls:—The three external walls average from $7\frac{1}{2}$ to 7 feet in thickness.

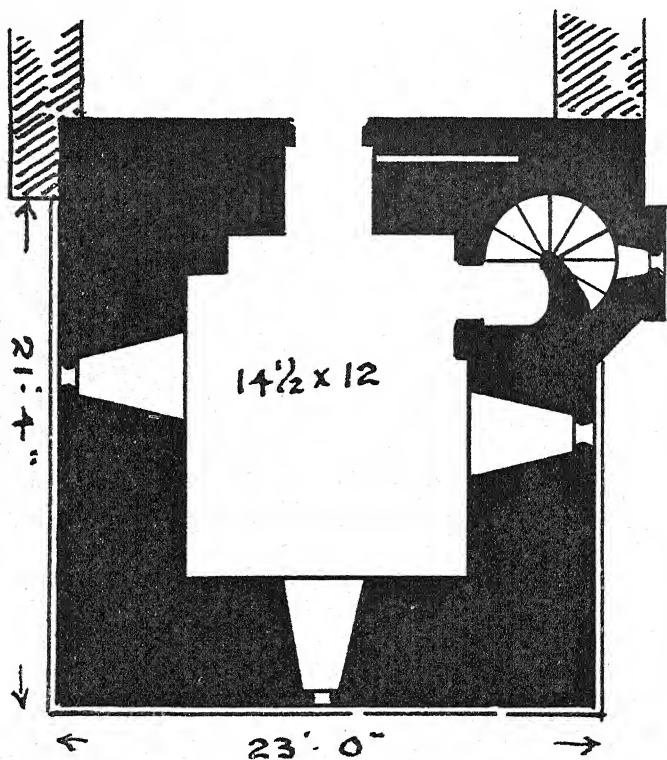
Masonry:—Red sandstone blocks from the Roman Station and Wall.

Entrance:—There is no external door to the tower, but the one communicating with the nave is strongly protected, as has been explained. It is 6 feet 8 inches in height. The crossing bars of the grille are 2 by 1 inches, rivetted and clasped, about 8 inches apart. The oak planking has disappeared from both sides of the grille, but the two iron bolts remain. It will be noticed on the sketch [see page 178] that there are two staples on the central horizontal bar, to assist in the fixing of the oaken strengthening bar to the gate, so that it could not be pushed back without a key.

Floors:—Vaulted basement measuring 8 feet 10 inches by 8 feet, and a floor above which measures 11 feet 9 inches by 10 feet 9 inches. On the upper floor there is an opening looking down into the nave to watch the attack of the assailants; but there is now no visible sign of a fireplace.

REFERENCES:—*Transactions*, O.S., ii., 46; Lysons, iv., p. cxci.

Great SalKeld Church:



ST. CUTHBERT'S, GREAT SALKELD. C. 50, N.W.

FOUNDATION HISTORY :—The church is of early date.

c. 1375. The tower has been added, and was probably fortified about the close of the fourteenth century.

TOWER :—25 by 23 feet, with very narrow loopholes and a staircase turret at the south-east angle.

Height :—52 feet to top of battlements.

Axis :—East and west.

Walls :—5½ feet in thickness.

Masonry :—Red sandstone dressed.

Projections :—Splayed plinth.

Entrance :—There is no external door but the one communicating with the nave is strongly protected, as has been explained. The grille is constructed of nine thick bars crossing three upright ones, not including the surrounding frame. The oak planking on the face of the door must, one would suppose, have been renewed. There is one ancient horizontal plank left at the back. The illustration [opposite page 176] plainly shows the two massive iron bolts which were held in position by a spring. A deep slot in the jamb of the doorway tells of the absent strengthening bar.

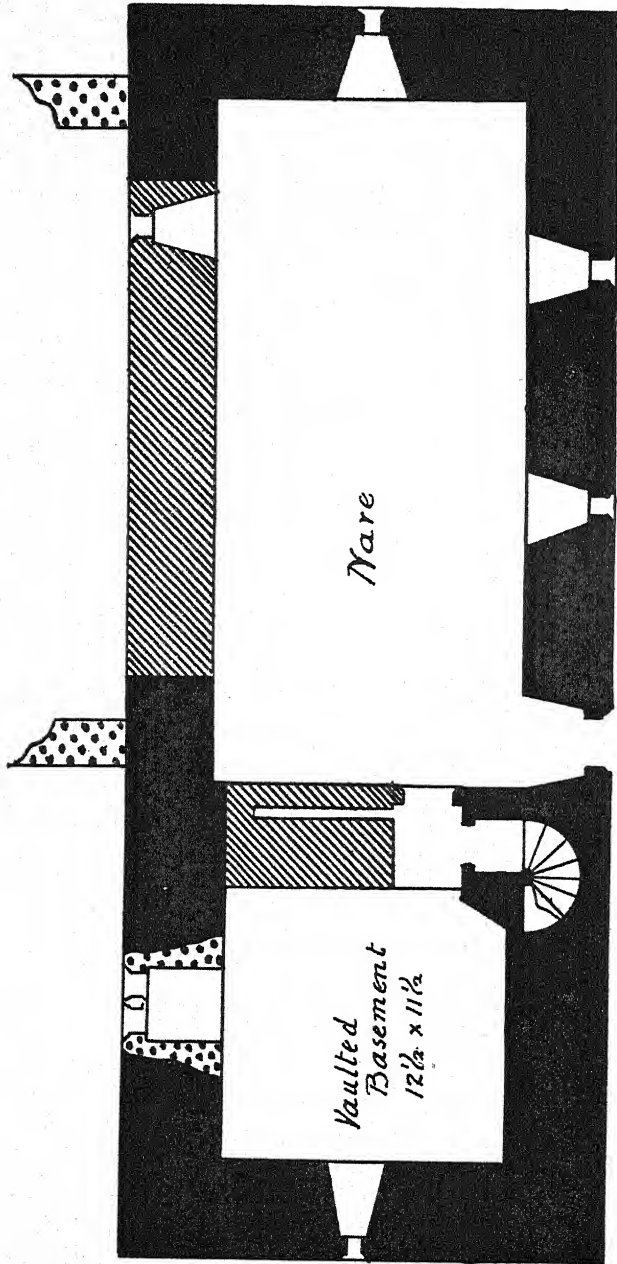
Over the door are preserved some pieces of armour of the period of the Great Civil Wars.⁵⁷⁰

Floors :—Vaulted sub-basement, vaulted ground floor measuring 14½ by 12 feet and three storeys above.

A fireplace on the first floor.

REFERENCES :—*Transactions*, O.S., ii., 53 ; *Lysons*, iv., p. cxcii.

⁵⁷⁰ *Transactions*, O.S., xv., 250.



PLAN OF NEWTON ARLOSH CHURCH.

John F. Curwen. 27 v/ 12

ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST, NEWTON ARLOSH. C. 21, N.E.

FOUNDATION HISTORY:—1304, 11th April. Grant by Bishop Halton to the Abbot of Holm Cultram for a new church to be built at Newton Arlosh. The Solway formed a convenient entrance for Scottish invasions, so that the militant bishop may have himself advised the Abbot, so to construct his new church as to render it strong enough to protect the women folk when the men were called out to the fray.

1572. What should have been "a strong safeguard and security to the tenants on the east side of the Waver" is stated to have been in decay.

1580. The church was a ruin. "The chapel of Newton Arlosh did decay; the door stood open, sheep lay in it. About fifteen years since the roof fell down and the lead was taken away by some of the tenants and converted into salt pans."⁵⁷¹

For about 250 years it remained in this ruinous condition.

1816. Messrs. Lysons' illustration shews the upper part of the tower fallen and the nave roof completely gone (see p. 331).

1844. Restored. It was subsequently enlarged.

1894. Considerable alterations were made to the interior.

TOWER:—21 by 20 feet with small unglazed loopholes, 18 inches high by 9 inches wide.

Height:— $37\frac{1}{2}$ feet to the top of the battlements.

Axis:—North and south.

Walls:— $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet in thickness.

⁵⁷¹ The authority or date of this quotation is not known. It is quoted in *Some Records of a Cistercian Abbey*, p. 81.

Masonry :—Freestone and cobbles intermixed.

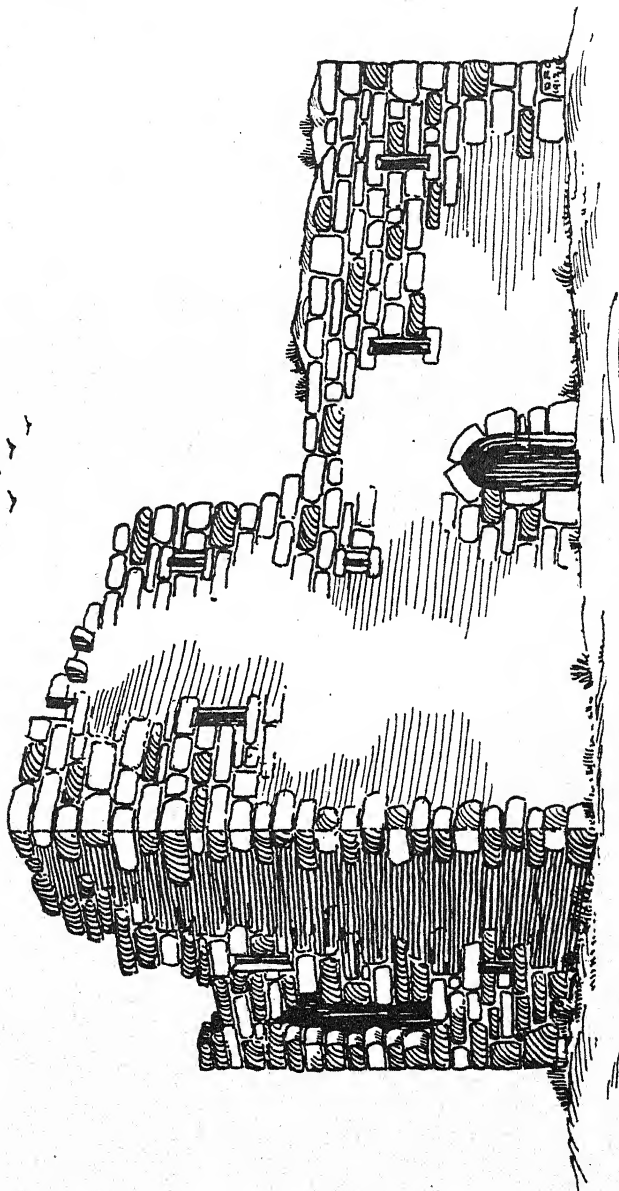
Projections :—None.

Entrance :—The main door into the church is only 2 feet 7 inches wide. Unfortunately the lower portion of the wall between the tower and the nave has been pulled down, so that the original arrangement has been lost, but there is little doubt but that it followed the similar example at Burgh.

Floors :—Vaulted basement, $12\frac{1}{2}$ by $11\frac{1}{2}$ feet, and two storeys above which measure $13\frac{1}{2}$ feet square. A fireplace on the first floor.

Windows :—All the windows in the nave are more than 7 feet from the ground, and not even the east window measures more than 12 inches in width and 3 feet 4 inches in height.

REFERENCES :—*Transactions*, O.S., ii., 50 ; N.S., xiii., 113 ; Lysons, iv., p. cxc. ; N. and B., ii., 177.



From Lyson's 'Britannia', c.xc.i.

XV.

 THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE TOWER DURING
THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

WE have followed to some extent the troubles which arose from the Scottish Wars of Independence, for the purpose of showing the need for stone built towers. But in dealing with their development, it will not be necessary to enter so fully into the distressing subject, if it can be remembered throughout that periodical invasion continued to vex the Border, although perhaps in a lesser degree, right forward even to a time beyond the Union of the Crowns in 1603. At the present day our line of defence is the sea with its ironclads, but during the whole of the Middle Ages the risk was at each man's door. The need then for fortified building still existed, coeval, however, with a desire for greater accommodation and rather more refinement.

And yet we cannot dismiss the historical side quite so readily until we have noted that the two countries were kept constantly under arms, that the great beacon system was extended to gird the whole border, and that the fifteenth century witnessed the Wars of the Roses and the rebellion of Perkin Warbeck, both of which were felt in our district.

Every man and lad capable of bearing arms was frequently called upon to array and place himself at the service of the Lord Warden. For instance, on the 5th of October, 1429, a commission was issued to Richard Nevill, Lord Warden of the March, Christopher Culwen *chivaler*, Nicholas Radcliff *chivaler*, John Peinyngton



chivaler, William Stapilton, Hugh Lowther and Richard Warcop, to array all men-at-arms and other fencible men, whether hobelers [light horsemen] or archers dwelling in Cumberland, to enlist them in companies, and to lead them to the coast or other places as occasion required. Every man capable of labour was summoned, and had to show cause why he should not be arrayed, armed and equipped.⁵⁷² Moreover, "Bekyns" were to be set up in suitable places to give warning of the arrival of the enemy.⁵⁷³

The beacon system for watch and ward was slowly developed from the time of Henry III. In 1403 it was made statutory, while in 1455 a complete system of signalling was enacted for Scotland to prevent surprise by English invaders.

"For bailes making," to warn of the approach of the southern foe, "ane baile is warning of their cumming, quhat power that ever they bie of; twa bailes to gidder at anis, they are cumming indeed; foure bailes, ilk ane beside uther and all at anis as foure candelles suithfast knowledge that they are of great power and meanis far."⁵⁷⁴

The following is a list of the beacons in our district, for the year 1468. They were mostly situated on hills of from 600 to 700 feet in altitude, easy of access for horse and cart and near to buildings where the keepers could reside.

CUMBERLAND :—

Bewcastle, 4, S.W., North of Church. The system here would connect with Tindale in the Middle Marches.

Spade Adam Top, 8, S.W. Now known as Gillalees

⁵⁷² Cf. page 171.

⁵⁷³ Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1429-36, p. 40.

⁵⁷⁴ Acts of Parliament, Scotland, 1455.

Beacon. It commands the whole of Bewcastle and has a wonderful view over the plains of Cumberland right down to the Solway.

Brampton Mote, 18, N.W. The system here would connect with that along the Tyne valley.

Carlisle Castle, 23, N.E. The High Tower which can communicate with Penrith, Dale Raughton and Brampton Mote.

Lingy Close Head, 23, S.W. Near to Dalston Hall, the site of which is still called "the burning mountain."

Raughton, Ivegill, 30, S.E. Visible to Carlisle and Lingy Close.

Barrock Fell, 31 S.W. Used chiefly during the siege of Carlisle in 1644-5.

Aspatria, 36, N.E.

Sandale Top, 37, S.W.

Dale Raughton, 40, S.E. The actual site would probably be the high ground above the farmhouses of Old Parks, Kirkoswald, 660 feet in altitude and visible all round for miles.⁵⁷⁵

Haresceugh Fell, Daffenside, 41, N.W. Now called Daffenside Beacon.

Moothay, 46, N.W. Moota Hill on the top of Moota Common.

Bothell, 46, N.E. This beacon commanded the sea-coast from Maryport to Bowness.

Workington, 53, S.W. St. Michael's Mount, where there is an old tower.

Skiddaw, 56, N.W. There were probably three beacons here, one on "Great Man" visible to the north, one on "Little Man" visible to the south, with probably a third on the "Dodd" open to the coast. It is doubtful, however, whether Skiddaw ever played any great part as a beacon; its height,

⁵⁷⁵ *Transactions*, O.S., xiv., 140.

the difficulty of carrying up fuel, and the want of shelter for the watchers, would hinder it from being so used except in times of great danger. Nor is it necessary to the completeness of the system.⁵⁷⁶

Penrith, 59, N.W. This beacon hill communicates with Dale Raughton.

St. Bees Head, 67, S.W. Evidently the north hill upon which the present lighthouse stands.

Hardknott, 80, S.W.

Newton Knott, 82, S.E. Overlooking Ravenglass harbour.

Bootle, 85, S.E.

Blackcomb, 88, N.W. The top of Blackcomb is said to command a more extensive view than any other point in Britain. Fourteen counties of England and Scotland are visible from it.⁵⁷⁷

WESTMORLAND :—

Helton, 9, N.W. Near Crackenthorpe Hall.

Stainmore Top, 24, N.E. The system here would connect with Yorkshire.

Orton Scar, 21, S.E. It communicates with the beacons of Penrith, Stainmore and Whinfell.

Whinfell, 34, N.W.

Barbon, 44, S.W.

Farleton Knott, 47, N.W. The system here would connect with Lancashire.

FURNESS :—

Coniston Old Man, 4, N.W.

Blawith, 7, N.E. Near Beacon Tarn.

Lowick, 11, N.E.

Cartmel, 17, N.E. One mile east of the Priory.

Furness Abbey, 21, N.E.

⁵⁷⁶ *Transactions*, o.s., xiv., 140, 141.

⁵⁷⁷ *Transactions*, o.s., xiv., 139.

Walney Island, 21, S.E. The Brow.

Gleaston, 22, N.W.

Rampside, 28, N.W.

Piel Castle, 28, N.W.

Besides these main beacons, an order was issued to the wardens that "Everie man that hath a castle or a tower of stone shall, upon everie fray rayised in the night, give warning to the countrie by fire in the topps of the castle or tower in such sort as he shal be directed from his warning castle, upon paine of 3s. 4d."

During the Wars of the Roses, Cumberland and Westmorland were largely Lancastrian in sympathy, and it is said that they procured the assistance of the Scots in an attack upon Carlisle Castle, which was then held against Queen Margaret by the Yorkists. Edward IV. afterwards complained against them for "bringyng the Scotts and ennemyes to his Cite of Carlile, besegyng and enviroynyng it, brennyng the Subarbes therof, destroyng the Howses, Habitacions and Landes of his Subgetts nygh therunto in manere of Conquest."⁵⁷⁸

However, Edward's general policy was to come to a good understanding with the young King James III. of Scotland, to which end a truce between the two countries was concluded in 1463.⁵⁷⁹ He also appointed, in 1470, his own brother, Richard, Duke of Gloucester, as guardian of the "West Marches towards Scotland."⁵⁸⁰ In 1471 the Duke was granted the lordship and Castle of Penrith;⁵⁸¹ and in 1475 he was made sheriff of Cumberland for life.⁵⁸² There was peace during his military rule, notwithstanding the great scarcity of provisions caused by the number of soldiers who were stationed here

⁵⁷⁸ Rot. Parl. v., 478.

⁵⁷⁹ Cal. Doc. Scot. iv., 267, 272.

⁵⁸⁰ Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1467-77, p. 439.

⁵⁸¹ Pat. Rolls, ii. Edw. IV., pt. i., m. 18.

⁵⁸² *Ibid.*, pt. ii., m. 4.

to resist the " manifold assaults and continuel werres of the Scots." ⁵⁸⁸

When, however, James IV. espoused the cause of Perkin Warbeck, the whole English border was wasted, every tower and fortress that could be captured was dismantled, and such excesses of bloodshed committed that even the Pretender himself is said to have been astonished and disgusted. But for this one episode, James IV. warmly met the advances of goodwill made by Henry VII., and doubtless when he discovered the hopeless imposture of Warbeck, he embraced the opportunity afforded by the treaty of Ayton, to make peace with him again. This treaty of 1497 was soon afterward extended so that it should continue during the lives of the two monarchs, and for a year after the death of either. Henry further cemented the alliance by giving his eldest daughter, the Princess Margaret, in marriage to the Scottish King. " Be the quhilk mariagez, by the Grace of God to be completit, sall folowe the finall appeasing and cause of ceking of all sic Debaites and Controversies as in time past has bene." Out of " grete tender lve and kindness," James moreover swore " be thir Haly Evangelis and Canon of the Haly Mess that I sall for my parte wele and trewly kepe and observe the Trete of Perpetuale Peax and Amitie, and everie article of the same, now lately passit and concludit be sufficient Auctorite, and in the names of Us, the said King on that ane Partie, and the Rt. Excellent the Right Hie and Mighty Prince Henry, be the Grace of God, King of England and of France, and Lord of Ireland on that other Partie, bering date the xxiv. day of the moneth of January last past, and the same als fer ais in me is I sall cause in likewise to be Observid and kept be my Subiectis."

As we have said, the fifteenth century witnessed a yearly increasing desire for greater accommodation and comfort

⁵⁸⁸ Tower Privy Seals, 21 Edw. IV., file 1.

in the North of England. In other parts of the country the houses of the English gentry had branched out into buildings of ample size, although timber still formed the principal material for their construction.⁵⁸⁴ No wonder, then, that life spent within the narrow limits of a two or three roomed tower was felt to be irksome to those who were compelled to live within the region of invasion.

The first great step taken toward enlargement was made by the building of an aula against the northern face of the tower—a hall large enough to accommodate all the retainers at a common board, and thus leave the solar of the tower free for the exclusive use of the family. At first it was of one storey and built directly upon the earth. Parker, in his *Account of Domestic Architecture*, well describes the arrangements of these early halls. He says that a great log fire burned upon a central hearth, and the smoke, escaping through a louvre in the high-pitched roof, was supposed to harden the timbers. The usage of the central fire was not without its advantages, for not only was a greater amount of heat obtained but the warmth became more generally diffused. The entrance was at the lower end and cut off by a screened passage. Within the screens we find the lavatory with its cistern of water, so that all could wash their hands before entering the hall. At Dacre there is a very perfect water drain, similar to a piscina in a church ; it is, however, tolerably certain that it had nothing to do with a chapel, as it stands in the principal room, near where the screens would be. It is difficult to ascertain with accuracy its relative position, as the interior of the castle has been so modernized. Behind the screens there were usually three

⁵⁸⁴ Harrison, writing his *Description of England* even so late as 1557, says :—“ The ancient manours and houses of our gentlemen are yet and for the most parte of strong timber, in framing whereof our carpenters have been and are worthilie preferred before those of like science among all other nations. Howbeit [owing to the decreasing of our English forests] such as be latelie builded are commonlie of either bricke or hard stone.”

doorways, one to the pantry, one to the buttery, and the central one communicating by a short passage between these two rooms with the external kitchen. Over the screens was a loft for the minstrels, approached by a newel stairway; this gallery was an important feature of the hall, and its occupants contributed greatly to the amusement of the guests below. At the upper end a doorway was broken through from the solar of the tower on to a wooden stair, that led down to a boarded dais, furnished with its "hie-borde." Here the owner sat with his family beneath a canopy or "cloth of estate." The two steps up to the dais formed a line of demarcation for his guests, beyond which none were to approach, except by special invitation. In marked contradistinction to the rough warriors of earlier days, troops of henchmen and soldiers of every degree swarmed about the lower end of the hall, or else seated themselves at the trestle tables which were quickly put up and removed again when a meal was over. On such tables the great salt-cellar was the most prominent feature, and, by being placed in the centre, marked the degree of the diners. The wines and the best dishes circulated above, and it was not considered etiquette to drink with anyone below, the salt.

The window openings, placed high up in the walls, were divided by a mullion and transom. The two lower divisions had iron bars and wooden shutters only, but occasionally the upper divisions were provided with moveable glazed screens. The lower parts of the walls were cased with boards, whilst the upper parts were either covered with crimson-dyed cloth or roughly painted in fresco to represent some famous sport or local achievement, similar to the time when Chaucer wrote :—

On the wals old portraiture
Of horsemen, hawkes, and houndis,
And hart dire all ful of woundis.

Rushes and fragrant herbs covered the earthen floor.⁵⁸⁵ Indeed, we are told that "rushes that growe upon dry groundes be good to strewe in halles to walk upon, defending apparel as traynes of gownes and kertles from the dust."⁵⁸⁶

At night time the company either composed themselves around the fire, or else slept on benches ranged along the sides of the hall, sometimes curtained off to afford some little privacy; whilst from the stag-antlers above them, hung their furniture of war—weapons of their fathers or spoils of the enemy—ever ready to be donned at the alarm note of the watchers.

The private chambers in the upper part of the tower were now sometimes furnished with bedsteads. These were considered the very essence of extreme luxury, although "the pricking straws that ran oft through the canuas of the pallet, and rased their hardened hides" must have been very uncomfortable. "Flockebeds" were hardly known, except in the richest houses, and even there they were esteemed one of the most important items of bequest.

The great kitchens were still external buildings, with central cooking-hearths, and the smoke issued from a turret in the roof, raised high enough and arched so that the timbers might not catch fire. From a small fire few of the buoyant flakes of soot found their way out, so that the greatness or quality of a lord's entertainment was commonly reckoned by the quantity of smoke that issued quick and straight from the kitchen roof.

⁵⁸⁵ The *planta-genista*, or broom, was ordinarily used and became an emblem of humility. It was borne as such by Fulke, Earl of Anjou, in his pilgrimage to the Holy Land, which gave rise to the name of the royal house of Plantagenet. In 1513, "the King kept a solemne Christmasse at Greenwich . . . on the Twelwe Daie, at night, came into the hall a mount . . . set full of rich flowers of silke, and especiallie full of broome slips full of cods; the branches were greene sattin, and the flowers flat gold of damaske, which signified *Plantagenet*." (Holinshed)

⁵⁸⁶ Bulleyne, *Bulwark of Defence*, printed in 1562.

At the time that these halls were being added to the fourteenth century towers, other towers were being built, which, by being new from the foundation, were planned in accordance with the prevailing tendency. Also during the following century the plan of the border Pele was to a large extent imitated for effect, and that so faithfully as to make it very difficult for us now to say accurately which is of the fifteenth and which of the sixteenth century. We have thought it safer, therefore, to give the full series in alphabetical order. In all of them it will be found that the original hall was, or is, of co-eval date with the tower, and that the masonry was bonded into the walls instead of merely butting up against it. It is also interesting to notice that the fire-brand of the raider was not so much dreaded as in the fourteenth century, so that the basement is not found so invariably vaulted.

In many instances, such as at Preston Patrick and Selside, twin towers were erected and connected by an intervening central block, more or less forming on plan the letter H. In such, the basement of one is found vaulted, for the sake of coolness, and used as a dairy, whilst the other is only joisted over. These towers were built strongly, but for some reason the hall or central block was not so substantial, and therefore we find that it has undergone several restorations.

ARMATHWAITE CASTLE. C. 31, S.E.

Ermitethait, c. 1230 ; *Hermithuait*, *Ermyngthait*, c. 1250.⁵⁸⁷

FOUNDATION HISTORY :—A modern house now occupies the site of the ancient pele tower of the Skeltons.

1461. " John Skelton, who had been several times sheriff and had represented the county in parliament during the reign of Henry VI., had a grant from the crown of 100 acres of the forest at a place called Armathwaite Bank.⁵⁸⁸ It is not certain whether the Skeltons became possessed of the castle site before or after this grant. The two estates are mentioned separately in an Inquisition taken in the reign of Henry VIII."

1509-1529. John Skelton, poet laureate to Henry VIII., is said to have been born here.⁵⁸⁹

1585. Lancelot Skelton, succeeded to the estate.

1671. " Armathwaite the seat of John Skelton Esq^{re}." ⁵⁹⁰

1675. " And so down the River [Eden] to the village of Armathwait. The village and fair Tower house of Sq. Skelton of 300^{li} p. an." ⁵⁹¹

1712. Richard Skelton sold the estate to William Sanderson.

1802. " Armathwait castle is situated in a very deep vale, close to the margin of the river Eden. This mansion [probably the new one] seems rather to have been intended for seclusion than security, as its situation must always have precluded it from any protracted defence. The front is modern and of hewn stone, and additional building for offices has been erected." ⁵⁹²

⁵⁸⁷ From O.W. Scand. *ermitt*, or M.E. *ermite*, " a hermit." Lindkvist, 107.

⁵⁸⁸ Pat. Rolls, 1 Edward IV., p. 4.

⁵⁸⁹ T. Denton MS.; N. and B., ii., 341; Lysons, iv., 112; and Jefferson, *Leath Ward*, 213.

⁵⁹⁰ Sir D. Fleming, *Description of Co. Cumberland*, 23.

⁵⁹¹ Edmund Sandford, *Cursory Relation*, 38. ⁵⁹² Br. and Br., 139.

ASKERTON CASTLE. C. 8, S.W.

FOUNDATION HISTORY:—1478-1485. Camden⁵⁹³ says:—

“The Barons Dacre built Askerton, a little Castle wherein the Governour of Gillesland kept a garrison.”

It would be as an outpost for the defence of the road by Bewcastle and the Maiden Way. Triermain at this period had ceased, or was ceasing, to afford sufficient protection to the barony.

1485-1525. It was rebuilt and occupied by Thomas, Lord Dacre, when Warden of the Marches.⁵⁹⁴ The initials T.D. are on the weather moulding of the south-western tower.

1567. Dismantled after the “Rising of the North,” as it was one of the houses of Leonard Dacre.

1576. Whitehead says that, “On the chimney piece in the apartment now used as a kitchen, there is carved in low relief the name of Thomas Carleton, junior, 1576.” He was Land Serjeant of Gilsland in 1592.

1580. “This house or towre doth belonge to the heires of the late L. Dacre, standinge about 2 miles south and by west frō Bewcastle and six miles frō Scotland ptly decayed, y^e repairinge wherof wth the help of the wood belongeinge to the lorde and owner of y^e same is esteemed to be xx^{li}.”⁵⁹⁵

1589. “Askerton is at this present time in verie great decaie. If the same were in good repair it were a house of verie good receite, and of convenient strength against any common or suddaine assailinage by the Scots, and is about ij. miles distant from the castle

⁵⁹³ Gibson's 1st Ed., p. 835.

⁵⁹⁴ Cal. St. Pap. Henry VIII., vol. ii., 1171.

⁵⁹⁵ Christopher Dacre's survey, Cal. St. Pap. Dom. Add. 1580, vol. 27, No. 44¹¹¹.

of Bewcastle. There is belonging to the said castle a park called Askerton park and certain demesne lands."⁵⁹⁶

1590. "This castle since the Rebellion is sore spoyled and ever since worse governed."⁵⁹⁷

1592. "Upon the east side of Eaden lyeth the barronrie of Gilsland under the governement of Thomas Carleton, who ought to ly att Askerton castle. In his charge is all the safetie of that barronrie, without either help of warden or other, for that y^e lyeth some what farre off. This countrie since the rebellion is sore spoyled, and ever since worse governed."⁵⁹⁸

1598. "The Carletons have all the Queen's houses of strength in Gilsland in their own hands and have placed divers Scots in them. Thomas Carleton has Askerton house, demeane and mill."⁵⁹⁹

1598, 19th August. The castle was granted to John Musgrave with the office of bailiff lately held by Thomas Carleton and Richard Grame.

1598, 6th November. "Askerton house and castle is a house of good strength and defence, and the only house in Gilsland fit for the Land Serjeant to dwell in."⁶⁰⁰

1610. "A little stone peel where the Land Serjeant of Gilsland doth reside, that commands and leads the inhabitants of the barony in the lord's service for the Queen against Scotland."⁶⁰¹

1622. We find the castle now in the possession of Lord William Howard, and a small establishment maintained here. "To the Maydes at Askerton, xvij^d."⁶⁰²

⁵⁹⁶ Alexander King's Survey.

⁵⁹⁷ MS. tract in Brit. Museum.

⁵⁹⁸ Edward Aglionby's letter to Lord Burghley, Cal. Border Pap. 1560-94, p. 391.

⁵⁹⁹ Cal. Border Pap. ii., 558.

⁶⁰⁰ Cal. Border Pap. 1595-1603, 575.

⁶⁰¹ John Denton, *Accompt*, p. 142.

⁶⁰² *Household Books*, p. 176.

Again in 1640 wages were paid to four men and five women.

The castle, which stands on the east bank of the Cambeck rivulet, consists of a front southern block, with small towers, 15 feet square, at the south-west and south-east angles. Behind there is a quadrangle with the hall to the west, stables to the north and a curtain wall to the east. The hall had a three-light window in its northern end, and a fine massive ceiling, which is still in its place. The roof was crenellated and the remains of a staircase can be seen that gave access to the rampart walk. The hay-loft to the north has fireplaces and windows, and would be the barrack-room where the men lived over their horses.

REFERENCES :—*Transactions*, O.S., iii., 175 ; N.S., xi., 48, 254 ; Whitehead, *Talk about Brampton*, 154.

ASKHAM HALL. W. 7, N.E.

"*Ascum*," "*Ascome*."

FOUNDATION HISTORY :—1280. The manor was acquired by Sir Thomas de Hellbeck, almost the most powerful man in Westmorland of his day, and passed by marriage to the Swynburn family about 1314.

1326. The "*capitale messuagium of Ascome*" is stated, in the Inquisition taken after the death of Robert de Swynburn, held on the day after Palm Sunday 1326, to have been partially burnt by the Scots. The year in which the raid happened is not mentioned, but the house was evidently still habitable for it is returned as having a valuation instead of being, as in so many cases, of no value.⁶⁰⁸ With our present knowledge it is impossible to determine whether the house referred to was of timber construction, or a quite newly-constructed pele-tower, and yet there must have been a defensive tower situated here before the present building was erected, as is proved by the many remains of the Decorated Period.

1375. Edmund de Sandford came into possession. He had married Idonea, the daughter and rich co-heiress of Sir Thomas English, and the property remained in the family for some 350 years.

c. 1450. That there is no separate tower, but one main central block containing the solar and hall of co-eval date, is proof sufficient that the present building was not erected before the fifteenth century.

1574. Transformed into an Elizabethan mansion, by the addition of rooms above the hall, and by the erection of wings enclosing a courtyard, some 84 feet

⁶⁰⁸ Rev. F. W. Ragg.

north and south by 64 feet east and west. A great portion of this work was carried out by Thomas Sandford, who died in 1574, but it was completed by his executors.

Over the gateway, on the west side, is a sunk panel containing a shield quartering the arms of Sandford, Crackenthorpe, Lancaster and English, surmounted by a helmet, crest and mantling; on either side are the initials T.S. and A.S., whilst below is the following inscription in raised capitals, curiously conjoined and contracted:—

Thomas Sandford Esquyr
For thys payd meat & hyr
The year of oure Savyoure
XV hundrthe seventy four.

Inserted in the wall of the east wing is a rough armorial tablet bearing two shields, the first undiscernible, the second three annulets, with what appears to be a lion passant rolling an annulet, below the two.

1655 and 1659. These two dates are found scratched upon window sills in the wings, and about this period, as at other halls in the neighbourhood, the spirit of the Renaissance demanded the remodelling of the façade. So here we find a new doorway broken through on the frontage to be made a classical feature and the windows entirely changed.

1828. The Hall became the Rectory House for the parish of Lowther.

NATURAL DEFENCES:—A strong position elevated on a lofty knoll, with the river Lowther flowing beneath it on the east, and with streamlets flowing in deep ravines on the north and south sides.

ARTIFICIAL EARTHWORK:—There was doubtless a moat on the west side which has now been filled in.

CENTRAL BLOCK :—78 by 34 feet, with corbelled square turrets at each angle.

Height :—43 feet to the battlements and 50 feet to the top of turrets.

Axis :—East and west.

Walls :— $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet in thickness. A straight mural staircase runs up in the north wall, and garderobe chambers are hollowed out of the N.W. and N.E. angles.

Masonry :—Local sandstone mostly dressed.

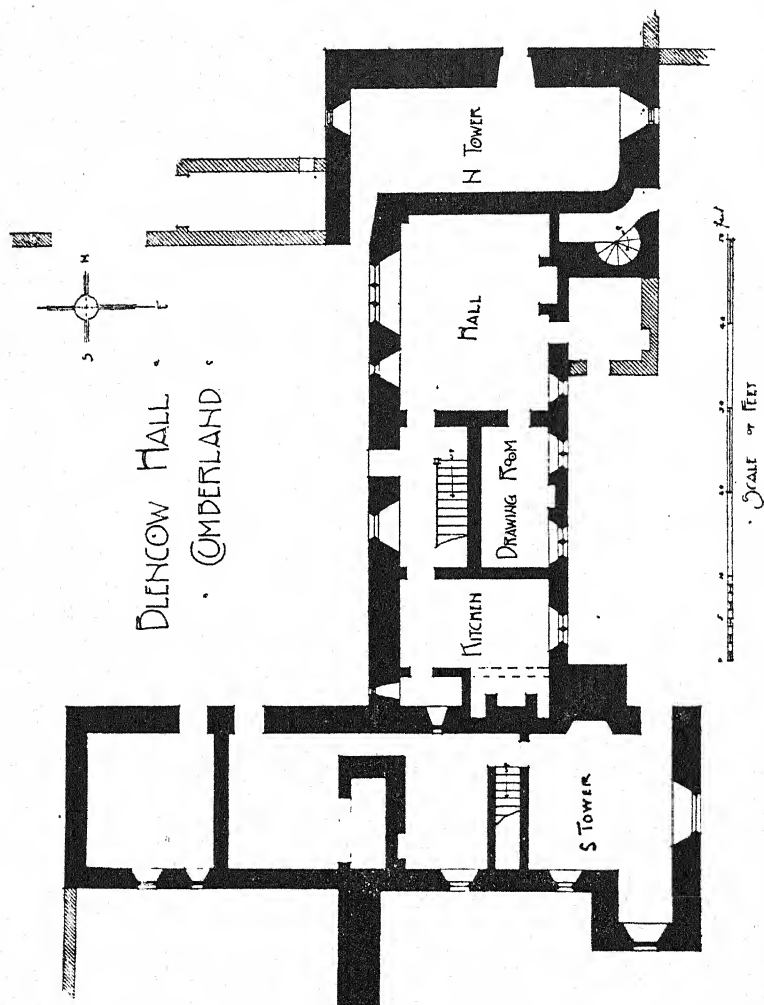
Projections :—Splayed plinth and offset marking the first floor level.

Entrance :—Original entrance from the Courtyard on the northern side, having a double-v mason's mark scratched on each stone of the doorway.

Floors :—Three storeys. The solar at the western end of the hall has a very high barrel-shaped vault.

HALL :—44 by 23 feet internally.

REFERENCE :—Taylor, 88.



BLENCOW HALL. C. 49, S.W.

FOUNDATION HISTORY :—1357, 26th February. The Baron of Greystock granted to Adam de Blencoe the use of his own coat-of-arms to be borne on a bend. Dr. Burn suggests that the early tower of the Blencows was situated on the other side of the river Petteril, where he mentions the ruins of an old tower as existing in his day.⁶⁰⁴

c. 1475. The North Tower of the present Hall dates from about this period.

1590. The Central block was re-erected by Henry Blencow, who placed his arms over the front door.

c. 1620. The Southern tower and wing was erected by Sir Henry Blencow.

1648. Supposed to have been besieged by Parliamentary forces under Major Cholmley.

1675. "Ther vpon Blencow : an Ancient sq^r family : and one Knight of Late, Sir Henry Blencow : grandfather of the now Sq^{re} Blencoe : made it a very fair house of two Towers."⁶⁰⁵

TOWER :—North Tower, 44 by 32 feet, with projecting turret for newel staircase.

Axis :—East and west.

Walls :—4½ feet in thickness.

Masonry :—Limestone, coursed rubble.

Projections :—None.

Floors :—Basement not vaulted and two stories over.

HALL :—23 by 18 feet.

COURTYARD :—The buildings occupy two sides of a courtyard, entered by an arched gateway on the south-west.

REFERENCE :—*Transactions*, N.S., vii., 120 ; Taylor, 288.

⁶⁰⁴ N. and B., ii., 375.

⁶⁰⁵ Edmund Sandford, *Cursory Relation*, 41.

BRACKENHILL TOWER, NICHOL FOREST. C. II, N.W.

Breconhill.

EARLY FORTIFICATIONS :—In 1890 a double stone cist was discovered in the field near the entrance gate. It contained the remains of two skeletons and fragments of pottery, which Lord Northesk declared to be early British.⁶⁰⁶

FOUNDATION HISTORY :—Sir Thomas Dacre sold the property to a Richard Graham.

1586. Richard Graham, his son, is said to have rebuilt the tower. This date appears on the wall. It is of a Scottish type, and like, though one storey less, Gilnockie tower.

1596, 3rd July. Thomas Musgrave, Captain of Bewcastle, being chased by the Scots, sought refuge here, but the gates were shut against him so that he was caught and taken prisoner to Scotland.⁶⁰⁷

1605. Francis, 4th Earl of Cumberland, seized and commenced enclosing as much land as he could lay hands on, and amongst other properties he claimed this tower. The widow of Richard Graham indignantly protested, and producing her title-deeds, showed how the property had been purchased by the father of her late husband from Sir Thomas Dacre.

1752. The tower was sold by the Grahams to Roland Stephenson.

TOWER :— $36\frac{1}{2}$ by 26 feet. The roof is gabled within the parapets.

Height :—39 feet.

Axis :—East and west.

⁶⁰⁶ *Transactions*, O.S., xii., 177.

⁶⁰⁷ *Cal. Border Pap.*, 1595-1603, 148.

Walls :—5 feet thick on the 1st floor level. Mural passage on 2nd floor.

Masonry :—Red sandstone, squared rubble.

Projections :—Low plinth and the parapet is supported upon bold projecting corbels with moulded string-course.

Entrance :—Original entrance to 1st floor level, entered by a sloping plank or ladder.

Floors :—Basement and two floors above.

REFERENCE :—*Transactions*, N.S., viii., 375.

CAPPLESIDE HALL, BEETHAM. W. 46, N.E.

FOUNDATION HISTORY :—Probably built in the middle of the fifteenth century. It was occupied by the Middleton family in 1585, by the Buskell family in 1624, and by Nicholas Orbell during the Civil War in 1648.

1687. Pulled down with the exception of the tower, soon after this year, when the materials were sold.

1715. Whilst in a state of ruin, George Hilton, a Jacobite, lived in hiding here.

1763. Tower converted into a barn.

TOWER :— $38\frac{1}{2}$ by $26\frac{1}{2}$ feet, with projecting turrets at the two southern angles.

Axis :—East and west.

Walls :—3 feet 9 inches in thickness.

Masonry :—Large blocks of unhewn limestone.

Projections :—None.

Floors :—Basement and two storeys over.

HALL :—42 by 18 feet internally.

REFERENCE :—*Transactions*, N.S., xii., 103.

CARLISLE DEANERY. C. 23, N.E.

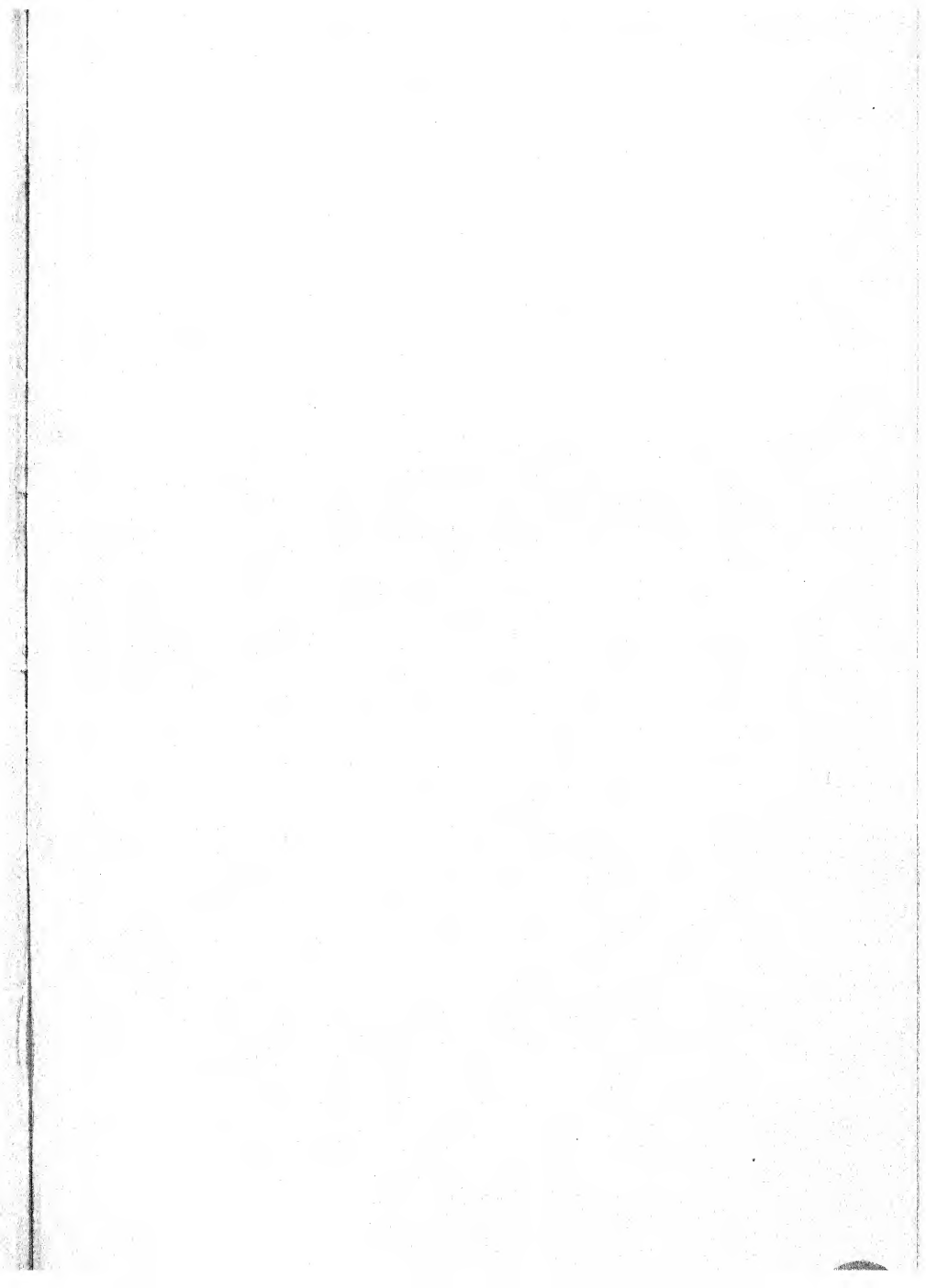
FOUNDATION HISTORY :—It is supposed that the Priors of St. Mary's had a residence upon this site, overlooking the ancient walls of the city.

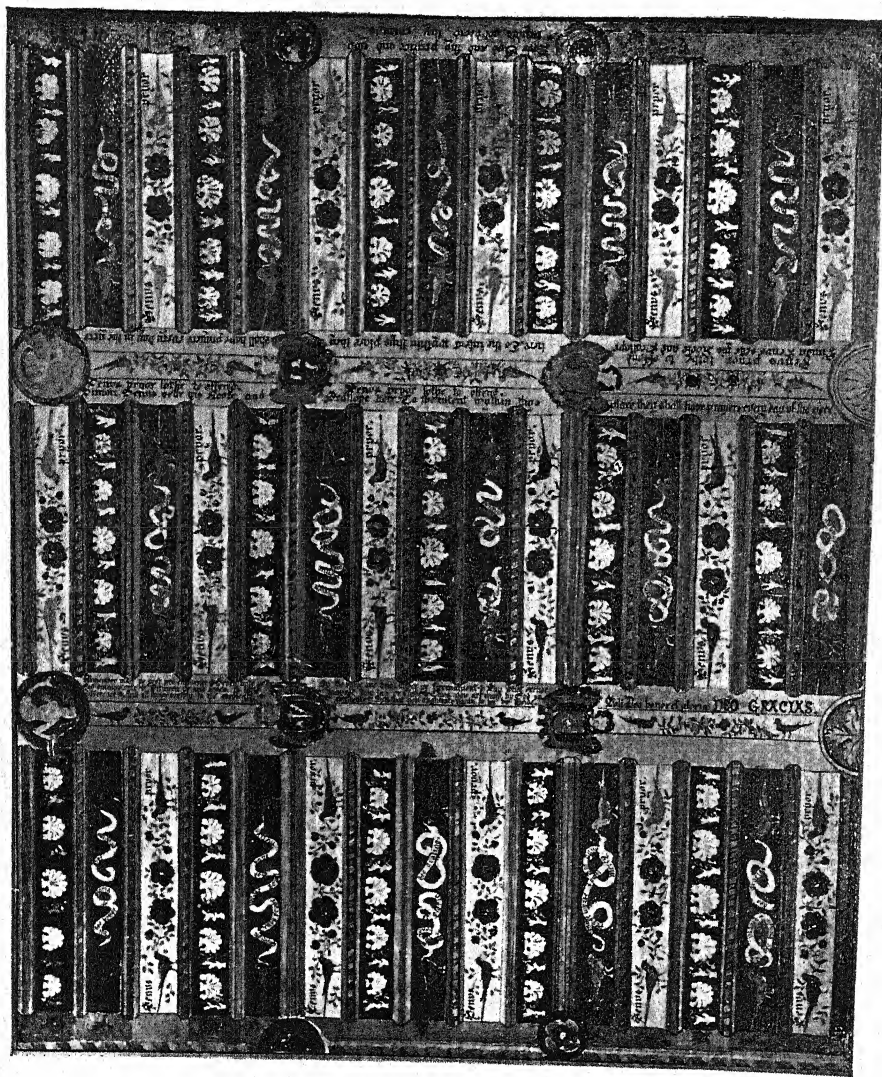
c. 1507. If there was an early tower here it was mostly rebuilt with additional wings, to the north and south, by Prior Senhouse. The original drip-moulds protecting the joint of the high pitched roofs on these two sides, can still be seen. Mr. J. H. Martindale points out that the position of the door openings indicate that "only the buildings to the north communicated with the tower." Prior Senhouse also erected the ceiling in the solar.

1560. The buildings were allowed to fall into decay after this date for 110 years. The Bishop of Barrow says : "from the death of Lancelot Salkeld in 1560 . . . to the Restoration, no Dean was ever resident, except Dean Comber for a few months."

1650. "All that the house, called the Deane's house, a stable with a large open house like a barn adjoyneing the south end thereof. All which are in great decay whose materials are stone, timber, boords, leade and slate wee value worth to be sold - - £120. All which aforesaid Deane's house and the other large house adjoyneing the Governour desireth for a store-house, for a horse mill, and Bakehouse for baking bread for his souldiers in case of necessitie, this place being much incumbered with thieves and many other inconveniences." 608

1666. In September Bp. Rainbow ordered that it should be well repaired.





THE CEILING, PRIOR'S ROOM, CARLISLE DEANERY.

From Mr. C. J. Ferguson's drawing in *C. & W. A. & A. S. Transactions*, N.S., vii., 202.

TO FACE P. 357.

1669. There was a grant of timber for the repairs.

1672-84. Dean Smith rearranged the north wing entirely. He blocked up the east windows into the abbey precincts and broke out or enlarged the windows on the west face overlooking the city walls. He also inserted the oak staircase and panelled the present library.

TOWER:—34 by 32 feet.

Height:—42 feet.

Axis:—East and west.

Walls:—West wall 7 feet; north and south 6 feet; east wall 5 feet, with mural straight stair and chambers.

Masonry:—Red sandstone ashlar in large courses.

Projections:—Moulded plinth on E. and W. sides and string courses at each floor level.

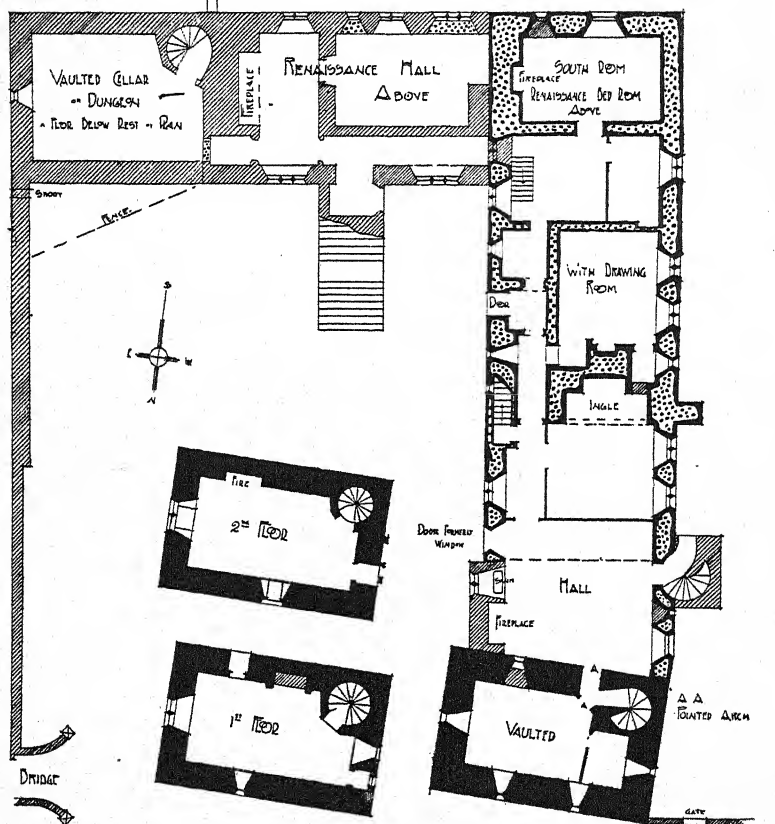
Floors:—The vaulting of the basement is carried by five double-splayed ribs, spaced about two feet apart, and by two single-splayed wall ribs, which, springing $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet from the ground, rise to a height of 8 feet. There are three storeys above. In the solar we find Prior Senhouse's ceiling; two moulded main beams divide the ceiling into three bays, two secondary cross beams divide each bay into three, and parallel with these the ceiling is further subdivided by four moulded joists. For a description of the decoration in colour, the heraldic emblems, and the varied inscriptions, see the volume of *Transactions* referred to below.

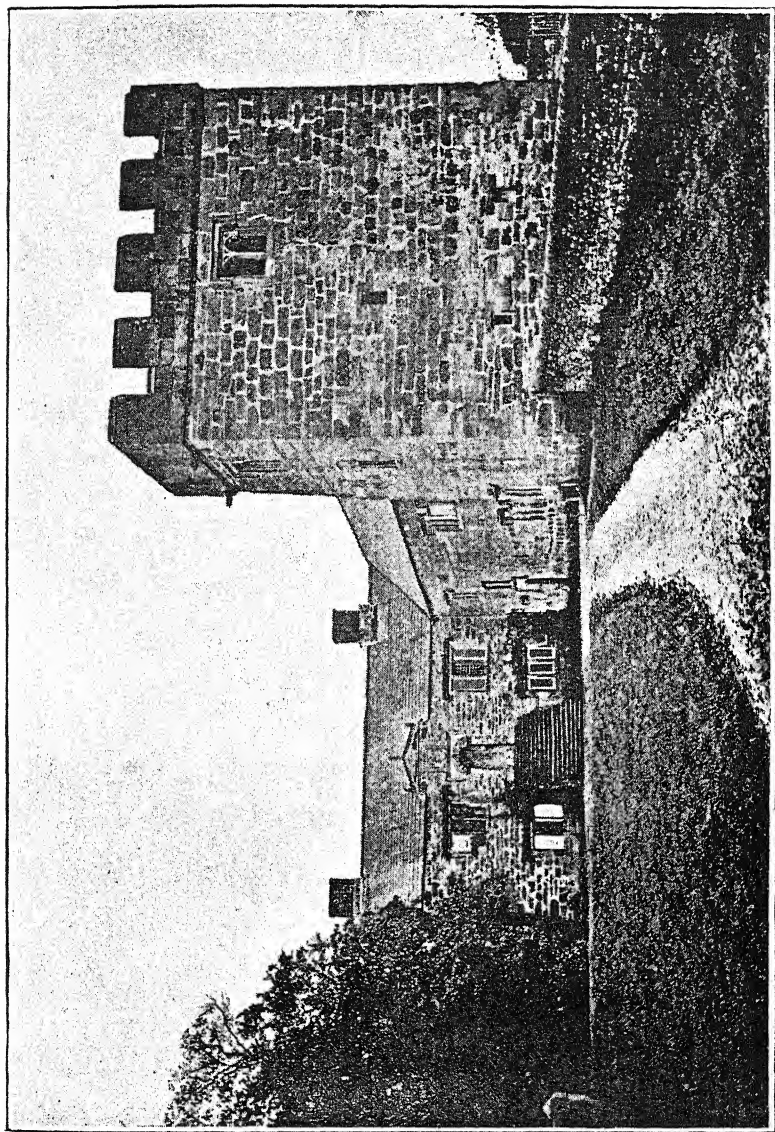
Entrance:—The original entrance was on the north side to the ground floor. The jambs remain and indicate an opening 3 feet 6 inches wide in the clear.

REFERENCES:—*Transactions*, N.S., vol. vii., 185. For view from the west walls see *Carlisle in the Olden Time*, by M. E. Nutter.

• CATTERLEN MALL •
• CUMBERLAND •

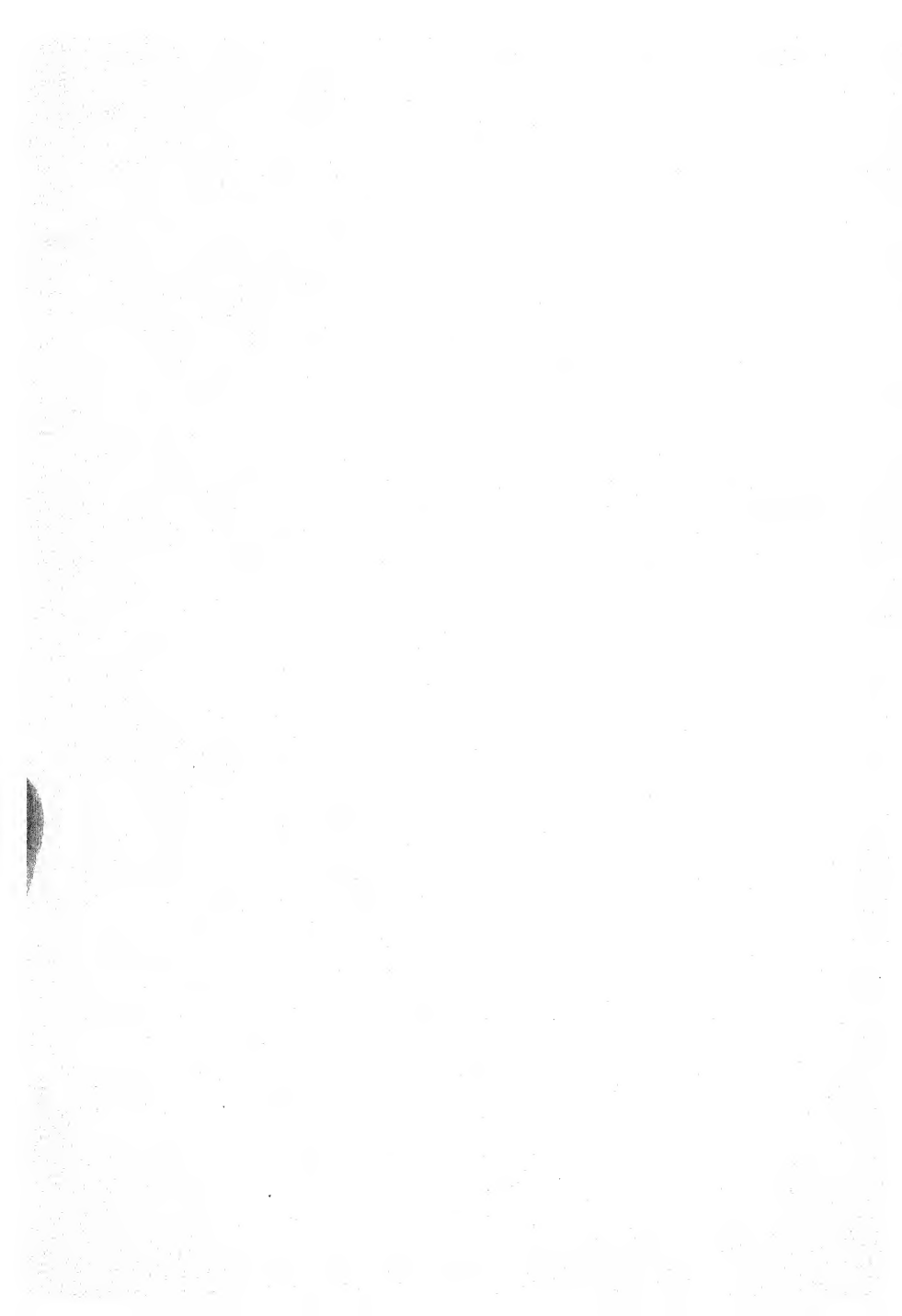
• SCALE OF FEET •





CATTERLEN HALL.

TO FACE P. 358.



CATTERLEN HALL. C. 49, S.E.

Kaderleng, temp. Hy. II. ⁶⁰⁹

FOUNDATION HISTORY:—1170. Site of early tower of John Vaulx, Knight of Catterlen.

c. 1460. Present tower probably built by William de Vaulx.

1577. Elizabethan wing to the north, comprising a hall and kitchens with dormitories over, was built by Roland Vaulx. Over the entrance is a sunk panel displaying the arms of Vaulx quartering Delamore, within a circular band bearing the legend, "Let Mercy and Faithfulnes never goye frome the." In the angles are the initials R.V. and A.V., for Roland and Annie [Salkeld], and beneath is the inscription, "At thys tyme is Rolande Vaux lorde of thys place and builded thys hal yr of God, 1577."

1657. Renaissance wing, approached by a flight of 16 steps from the courtyard, was built by Christopher Richmond. Over the entrance he erected the arms of Richmond and Vaulx, quarterly, with the date 1652.

TOWER:—30 by 19½ feet.

Axis:—East and west.

Walls:—3½ feet in thickness.

Masonry:—Large coursed rubble upon a foundation of rough massive blocks.

Projections:—No plinth or string, the parapet slightly projecting.

Floors:—Vaulted basement and two storeys over.

The first floor is lighted on the east side by a window exhibiting, in the central spandril of the cusping, the six garbes of Vaulx.

Entrance :—On the south side to ground level, through a high-pitched and pointed-arched doorway.

HALLS :—

Elizabethan Hall :—37 by 20 feet.

Renaissance Hall :—36 by 18 feet.

REFERENCE :—*Transactions*, N.S., vii., III.

CLIFTON HALL. W. 3, S.E.

FOUNDATION HISTORY :—1364. The seat of the Engaine family until Eleanor, the sole heiress, married William Wybergh of St. Bees.

c. 1475. Tower has been rebuilt.

1652. Thomas Wybergh suffered heavily as a Royalist, and was in the list of delinquents whose estates were ordered to be sold.

1745, 17th December. The Hall was occupied and plundered during the Scotch rebellion.

c. 1800. Hall pulled down. Joseph Robinson writing in 1819 says, "The Hall is now reduced to a solitary tower, its slated roof and modern sash windows spoil that interest which we should otherwise feel in contemplating the ancient edifice."

TOWER :— $33\frac{1}{2}$ by $26\frac{1}{2}$ feet, with small turret in south-west angle.

Height :—37 feet to the top of turret, or 33 feet to top of main parapet.

Axis :—East and west.

Walls :—3 feet in thickness.

Masonry :—Very inferior freestone ; the parapet has been rebuilt in coursed ashlar.

Projections :—A cove supporting the projecting parapet.

Entrance :—On the south side. Newel stair in south-west angle.

Floors :—Basement not vaulted, and two storeys over.

REFERENCES :—*Transactions*, N.S., xii., 135 ; Taylor, 77.

CONISTON HALL.

FOUNDATION HISTORY:—C. 1250. “Richard le Fleming, second son of the first Sir Michael, was seated at Caernarvon castle in Cumberland, whose posterity . . . returned to Furness⁶¹⁰ when Richard le Fleming, in the reign of Henry III., married Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Adam de Urswick, by which marriage he acquired the manor of Coningston, and other considerable possessions in Furness.”⁶¹¹ For seven generations Coniston was the principal seat of the Fleming family,⁶¹² and, as such, their dwelling is almost certain to have been fortified. Nothing, however, is known about it. Mr. W. G. Collingwood says,⁶¹³ “there is no reason to suppose it stood elsewhere than on, or near, the present site . . . In the field a few yards north of the west wing of the hall there are foundations of an oblong building, 50 by 18 feet internal measurement, with walls which—from the heaps of grassy ruin—appear to have been very solid. The eastern and northern banks are 20 feet broad; that on the west, of which the interior edge can be seen, measures 13 feet across the south end and 16 feet on the north. It is perhaps hazardous to suggest that this represents the dwelling house of the earlier Flemings, possibly turned into a barn when the new hall was built.”

c. 1409. “Sir Thomas le Fleming and Sir John de Lancaster of Rydal Hall in Westmorland, entered upon a treaty of marriage . . . [whereby]

⁶¹⁰ See page 35, where we have stated that Michael was sent to Aldingham by William Rufus, but Rev. F. W. Ragg seems to think that the Flemings were earlier in Cumberland. *Transactions*, N.S., ix., 270.

⁶¹¹ West, *Antiq. of Furness*, 1st edition, 219.

⁶¹² *Ibid.*, 229.

⁶¹³ *Transactions*, N.S., x., 354-5.

- Thomas le Fleming, son and heir . . . married Isabel, one of the four daughters and afterwards coheir of Sir John de Lancaster . . . and with her had the lordships and manor of Rydal."⁶¹⁴
- c. 1450. West supposed that this Thomas, who died in 1481, built the nucleus of this present hall, and that he lived by turns at Coniston and Rydal. It should be noted that his grandson, John, who married Jane Lowther, and died about 1533, is "the first in the family deeds who is called of Rydal Hall."⁶¹⁵
- 1574-1598. "William Fleming resided at Conington Hall, which he enlarged and repaired, as some of the carving [now lost] bearing the date and initial letters of his and his lady's name, plainly shew."⁶¹⁶
- 1688, 20th March. Sir Daniel Fleming laid the foundation of the great barn on the north.
1701. For a long period Coniston and Rydal vied with one another, until Sir Daniel Fleming, who died in 1701, gave preference to the latter, when Coniston Hall was more or less deserted and fell into ruin.
1726. Let to a tenant named Atkinson (Torver Register).
1779. "Coniston Hall appears upon the bank of the Lake . . . and though now abandoned and in ruins it has the air of grandeur and magnificence."
1815. Partly patched up and converted into a farmhouse.
1819. "An ancient family seat of the Flemings of Rydal. It was till lately, a splendid ruin, and is yet such when seen from the south and west, but the view from the north is frightful . . . By way of improvement, the projecting wings have been severed from the main body of the building, and without

⁶¹⁴ West, *Antiq. of Furness*, p. 222.

⁶¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 223.

⁶¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 225.

leaving a wreck behind. All has, however, been scraped down and smoothed to as even a surface as the rugged nature of the materials would allow. . . . the chambers of the ancient hall being now used as a depository for corn."⁶¹⁷

1910. The general plan, as at Hawkshead Hall, shows "a central dining room with a kitchen wing on the west, divided from it by a thick wall, and a withdrawing room on the east. . . . In one respect Coniston resembles Burneside Hall, namely in having the dining and withdrawing rooms upstairs—to keep the best rooms off the damp ground and above the Lake mist—though there are none of the indications of a medieval fortress as seen at Burneside."⁶¹⁸

REFERENCES :—*Transactions*, O.S., ix., 439 ; N.S., x., 354 with plan.

⁶¹⁷ William Green, *Tourist's New Guide*, i., 65.

⁶¹⁸ W. G. Collingwood, *Transactions*, N.S., x., 359.

CREW CASTLE. C. 4, S.W.

Mr. T. H. B. Graham says, that two-and-a-half miles north of Bewcastle there are the remains of a tower, which has no history attached to it saving that it is reported to have been the birth-place of a moss-trooper named "Hobbie Noble."

1583. Will Noble of the Crew was "murdered by Old Whithaugh."

TOWER:—37 by 27 feet.

Axis:—East and west.

Walls:—Some 5 feet in thickness, and now standing fully 10 feet above the ground level.

REFERENCE:—*Transactions*, N.S., x., 102; xi., 57.

CROGLIN OR KIRKCROGLIN. C. 32, S.E.

Crokelyn (1133-47), *Crokylyn* (1133-56), *Croglyn* (1204-14). In the time of Henry II. we find this the freehold of Philip Hastings, in whose issue male it descended till Edward I.'s time. A coheiress then married a Wharton, in whose family Croglin continued for a long period.

TOWER:—30 by 18 feet.

Height:—Lost by reason of being gabled over now.

Axis:—East and west.

Walls:— $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet in thickness.

Masonry:—Rough blocks of local stone.

Projections:—None.

Entrance and Newel:—North-east angle to Ground Floor.

Floors:—Vaulted basement with one storey over. There may have been another storey before the lead roof was taken off.



Photo. by H. Bell.

CUNSWICK HALL GATEWAY.

TO FACE P. 365.

CUNSWICK HALL. W. 38, N.E.

Konnyswycke (1487).

An early seat of the de Leyburne family.

1548. Sir James Leyburne left the manor at his death to his wife Dame Elyn.⁶¹⁹

1582. "Mr. James Layburne Esqre of his liberality for the use, benefit and pleasure of all the Inhabitants of Kirkby Kendal . . . did freely give and bestow all his clock furnished with the sounding bell belonging as the same was standing at his Manor House of Cunswick," etc.⁶²⁰ About this time the Pele Tower was pulled down and the whole building remodelled.

1671. "The antient seat of the Leyburns, which is now possessed by Mr. Roger Bradley, in right of his wife, whose joynture it is, being widow to the elder brother of Thos. Leyburn Esqre."⁶²¹

1679. At the death of John Leyburne without issue, Cunswick was inherited by his uncle George Leyburne of Nateby.

1715. John Leyburne, the last of the family, having been implicated in the rebellion of this year, the estate was forfeited to the Crown, and afterwards became the property of Thos. Crowle. After the death of his son, George, it was sold to Sir James Lowther.

The gateway alone remains of the early stronghold; over its arch are displayed the Royal Arms quartering England and France.

⁶¹⁹ Ellen, daughter of Sir Thomas Preston.

⁶²⁰ *Boke of Recorde of the Burgh of Kirkby Kendal*, p. 254.

⁶²¹ Sir D. Fleming, *Description of Westmorland*, 13.

DALSTON HALL. C. 23, S.W.

FOUNDATION HISTORY :—C. 1498. The Tower, which is the larger tower rather in the rear of the front range of buildings, is supposed to have been built by John Dalston who married Elizabeth Kirkbride. In the cavetto moulding supporting the projecting battlement on the southern face, is carved the following inscription in raised Old English characters : IOHN DALLSTON ELSABET MI WYF MAD YS BYLDYNG. The letters are all reversed, which adds to the difficulty of deciphering them.

The first hall to the east would be of coeval date. See the projecting label showing the pitch of the roof.

c. 1556. The west wing probably built by Sir John Dalston, Knight of the shire, with Leonard Dacre, in 1556. The oak panelling in the solar is also attributed to him.

c. 1620. Central block built on the foundations of an earlier hall. On the south front there are six gargoyles shaped like hooped cannon.

1644, October. Seized by Gen^l David Leslie and made his headquarters during the siege of Carlisle.

1675. "And so down the River Cawdey to Dalston wher is . . . a faire Tower house Raisd to a great estate 3000^{li} p. an. by marriage old Sir John dalston marying the heir of Chivileir Warcope of Smardale Tower in Westm^rland his sone Sir George Dalston maried the Coheir of Tamworth in the south; both braue gentile gallants and justiciers: great gamsters never without two or three Roning horses the best in england and venter the 100 pounds frely, etc."⁶²²

⁶²² Edmund Sandford, *Cursory Relation*, 29.

c. 1684. Classical features on the north front, as also the gate and pillars, added under the designs of Machel.⁶²³

1795. Purchased by John Sowerby.

TOWER :—31 by 25½ feet. Staircase turret in the south-west angle.

Height :—36 feet, or to the battlements of the turret 42 feet.

Axis :—East and west.

Walls :—5 feet tapering to 4 feet in thickness. Mural chamber in the north-east angle of solar.

Masonry :—Red sandstone, in large dressed stones laid in courses.

Projections :—Plinth and string course.

Entrance :—To ground level on west side. The cross-barred door of hammered iron still remains although bereft of all its oaken planking [see page 176]. It is round headed, and consists of four upright and eight horizontal bars, 2 by 1 inches, rivetted and clasped, within the outer framework, 6 by 3½ feet. It also has the usual two massive iron bolts. On the right hand is the entrance to the newel stair, whilst on the left there is a mural recess, 8 feet deep and 3 feet 4 inches wide, with a solid stone seat at the end.

Floors :—Vaulted basement, since converted into the chapel ; a solar 23 feet by 18 feet, enriched by fine oak panelling and a plaster work ceiling that covers an earlier oaken ceiling, with an oratory in the north-east corner, and a fireplace in the west wall once provided with shutters to enclose it ; a second floor above.

HALL :—42 by 21 feet.

REFERENCES :—*Transactions*, O.S., ii., 165 ; Jefferson, *Carlisle*, p. 394.

⁶²³ C. J. Ferguson says, "I found that Machel had adopted the device carried out in the colonnade leading to St. Peter's at Rome, and had made the inner pillars in all respects proportionably less." *Transactions*, O.S., ii., 171.

DRAWDYKES CASTLE. C. 16, S.E.

FOUNDATION HISTORY:—An early fortress without history.

1645. Thomas Lord Kirkcudbright and Lieut.-Gen^l David Leslie made it their headquarters during the siege of Carlisle.⁶²⁴

c. 1676. It was rebuilt by John Aglionby, who erected his coat of arms with the date on the north front, above the top middle window.

c. 1764. What remained after 1676 of the old fortress was pulled down to make room for a farmhouse.

1794. "There was formerly a very old castle of Drawdykes, situate where the present mansion now stands. . . . The Aglionby family . . . frequently resided at the ancient castle of Drawdykes, the greatest part of which was taken down in the last century and rebuilt in its present form by John Aglionby, the then Recorder of Carlisle . . . who placed the three remarkable stone busts upon the battlement. . . . The remaining part of the castle was taken down about 30 years ago, when the present farmhouse was built."⁶²⁵

There is a fine Roman sepulchral slab built into the south face of the tower about 6 feet from the ground, with an inscription in memory of Martius Troianus. Within the house there is an inscribed stone to Alan de Penitona; Alan de Pennington was mayor of Carlisle in 1287. The letters are deeply incised. These stones are, of course, not in their original position and were probably built into the walls by John Aglionby as curiosities.

TOWER:—42 by 27 feet.

Walls:—4 to 3 feet in thickness.

REFERENCE:—*Transactions*, N.S., xii., pp. 194, 199.

⁶²⁴ Cal. St. Pap. 1644-5, pp. 596, 613.

⁶²⁵ Hutchinson, ii., 581.

EWANRIGG HALL. C. 45, S.W.

Ulnerrigg, the ridge, as Ellenborough, was the burg, commanding the Ellen, *Alne* or *Olne*.

FOUNDATION HISTORY:—1368. Held by Margaret de Multon, and afterwards by the Thwaites and Barwis families.

1638. The Hall was conveyed by Richard Barwis to Ewan Christian of Milntown, Deemster of the Isle of Man.

c. 1640. Rebuilt by Ewan Christian, since whose time it has been enlarged.

1675. "Vnerigg an Ancient squires Towerhouse and familys residence for most part Though they had an other Lordship called Thwaites vp in the head of Millome: Mr. Joseph Thwaites . . . and his sone sold it to Mr. Barwis, and Mr. Barwis to Mr. Christian deimster of Ile of Man."⁶²⁶

1688. "Mr. Ewan Christian hath built a good house out of the shell of an old Tower."⁶²⁷

1777. "An old house built castle-wise."⁶²⁸

1794. "We visited the site of an old castle at Ewan-rigg, the account given of it having excited our curiosity . . . There is nothing remarkable in this remain."⁶²⁹

1903. The ruins were completely demolished.

⁶²⁶ Edmund Sandford, *Cursory Relation*, 22.

⁶²⁷ T. Denton.

⁶²⁸ N. and B., ii., 113.

⁶²⁹ Hutchinson, ii., 263.

GODMOND HALL. W. 33, S.E.

FOUNDATION HISTORY :—"Godmond Hall derives its name from the Godmond family, who resided at it. It consists of an ancient tower and a modern addition. The walls of the tower are 6 feet thick [*sic*]; its windows are small and crossed with strong iron bars; the lowest floor is arched over, and next above it laid with massy planks of oak, grooved into each other to prevent assaults from above."⁶³⁰

1829. "Godmond Hall now belonging to Richard Burn of London."

1847. A farm house was erected upon the site of the hall, but the tower was left standing at the eastern end of it.

1860. "Godmond Hall, a farm house, now occupies the site of an ancient hall, four miles north-by-west of Kendal."⁶³¹

TOWER :—20 by 18 feet, now gabled over.

Height :—20 feet to the eaves.

Axis :—East and west.

Walls :—4 feet in thickness.

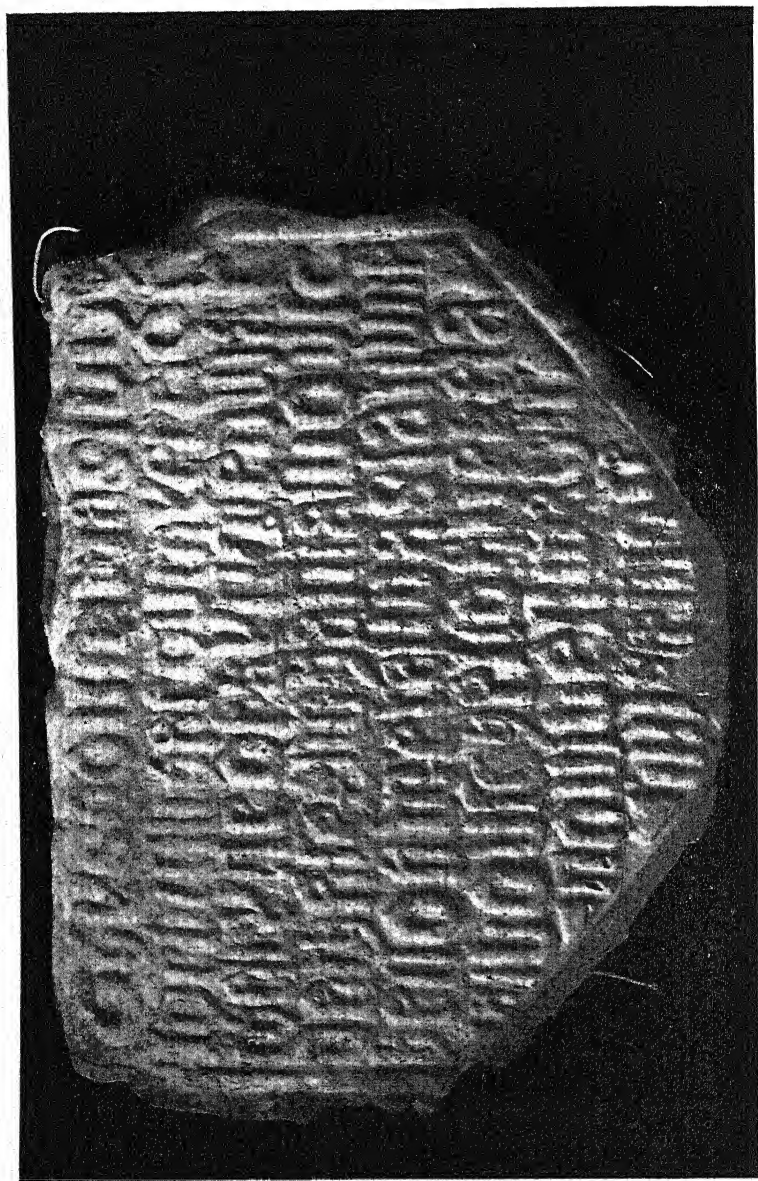
Masonry :—Limestone rubble.

Projections :—None.

Floors :—Vaulted basement, and apparently only one storey above.

⁶³⁰ Hodgson, *Hist. Westmorland*, 209.

⁶³¹ Whellan, 873.



HARBY BROW. Plaster cast of the inscription.

HARBY BROW. C. 36, S.E.

FOUNDATION HISTORY :—1465. The tower of Alexander Highmoor.

1550. Just within the farm-house entrance is a stone in the shape of a shield, 13 inches wide and 12 inches high, upon which is carved the following inscription in raised lettering :—

Thys house was bui
lded in the four yere of
the ryne of Kyng Edwar
de the sex whan a bousc
hel of wete was at viis
a bouschel of bere a
nowbel mault
iiiiis st. more.

The price of wheat at 7s. a bushel,⁶³² barley⁶³³ at 6s. 8d., and malt at 10s. 8d. was so abnormal as to have it recorded as fixing the year in which the house was built.

1594. Over a blocked up window into the yard are the initials and date F. 1594 H., as if a Highmoor made some additions or alterations at this time.

1675. "A Towerhouse sometimes of the Troughtons And some Tenents, but now they belong to Squire Blencoe of Blencoe Hall."⁶³⁴

⁶³² In 1549 wheat sold at 2s. a bushel and barley at 1s. 5d., but from this year prices rose considerably. In 1549-50 wheat reached 16s. 2d. at Cambridge, whilst the Navy, in buying large quantities, paid as high as 19s. 4d. the bushel. In 1550-51 the harvest was again bad and prices were very high. See *Notes and Queries*, 11th Series, vii., 288, 358; Thorold Rogers, *Hist. of Agriculture and Prices*, iv., 262.

⁶³³ Old English Bere or Bigg [*Hordeum Vulgare*] or four rowed barley, a coarse variety chiefly cultivated in the North of England and Scotland. Cf. "Abundance of barleie which the Scots call beir" [*Holinshed, Scot. Chron.*]; "Thatched with the straw of bear pulled up by the roots" [Pennant, *Tour in Scotland*].

⁶³⁴ Edmund Sandford, *Cursory Relation*, 25.

c. 1745. Purchased by Mr. Steel from the Blencow family.

TOWER :— $35\frac{1}{2}$ by $29\frac{1}{2}$ feet.

Height :—41 feet to top of the battlements.

Axis :—North-east to south-west.

Walls :—5 feet in thickness. Mural garderobes in the south-east angle.

Masonry :—Red sandstone rubble.

Projections :—None.

Entrance :—To basement at south-west angle.

Floors :—Vaulted basement and three storeys over.

REFERENCE :—Hutchinson, ii., 360.

HAYTON CASTLE, NEAR ASPATRIA. C. 35, N.E.

FOUNDATION HISTORY:—This early seat of the Tyllioli and Colville families, passed by the marriage of Margaret Colville to Nicholas Musgrave [d. 1434] a younger son of Thomas Musgrave of Edenhall.

1485, 11th March. K. Richard III.,—understanding that certain evildoers proposed to go armed to Hayton and forcibly enter the castle or house of Nicholas Musgrave, and further learning that Roland and Robert Martyndale, Philip and Bartholomew Colville, Robert Mathyng, William Brayton, William Seynos and others unknown have forcibly entered the castle and there have remained—issued a Commission to Humphry Dacre, Richard Ratclyffe and Christopher Moresby, Knights, and to Richard Musgrave the younger, Thomas Ratclyffe, Edward Ratclyffe, Richard Salkeld, Willm. Musgrave, John Crakenthorpe and Richard Lowther, to go in person to the castle, assembling the posse of the county if necessary, and to arrest and imprison all the evil doers who hold the castle and to certify thereon to the King in Chancery.⁶³⁵

c. 1648. Sir Edward Musgrave espoused the Royalist cause and Hayton Castle is said to have sustained a prolonged siege by the Parliamentary forces.

c. 1665. Sir Richard Musgrave rebuilt from the ground the castle which had suffered so much during the Civil Wars.

1675. "And down the sea side northward yow haue Hayton Castle a fair prospect over an arme oth sea into Scotland some six houes [*sic*] saile to Kirkowbry and Koues of Gallowey."⁶³⁶

⁶³⁵ Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1476-85, p. 545.

⁶³⁶ Edmund Sandford, *Cursory Relation*, 26.

1719. On the second floor, built into an old window in the east wall, is a stone with the inscription, "This chapel was repaired at ye proper cost of Anne Musgrave, third daughter of Sir Richard Musgrave, Baronet, and Dame Dorothy his wife in ye year Anno Domini 1719."

1794. "Hayton Castle is an old edifice, belonging to Mr. Jolliffe, pleasantly situated, and skirted with a little wood: the house and gardens much neglected."⁶⁸⁷

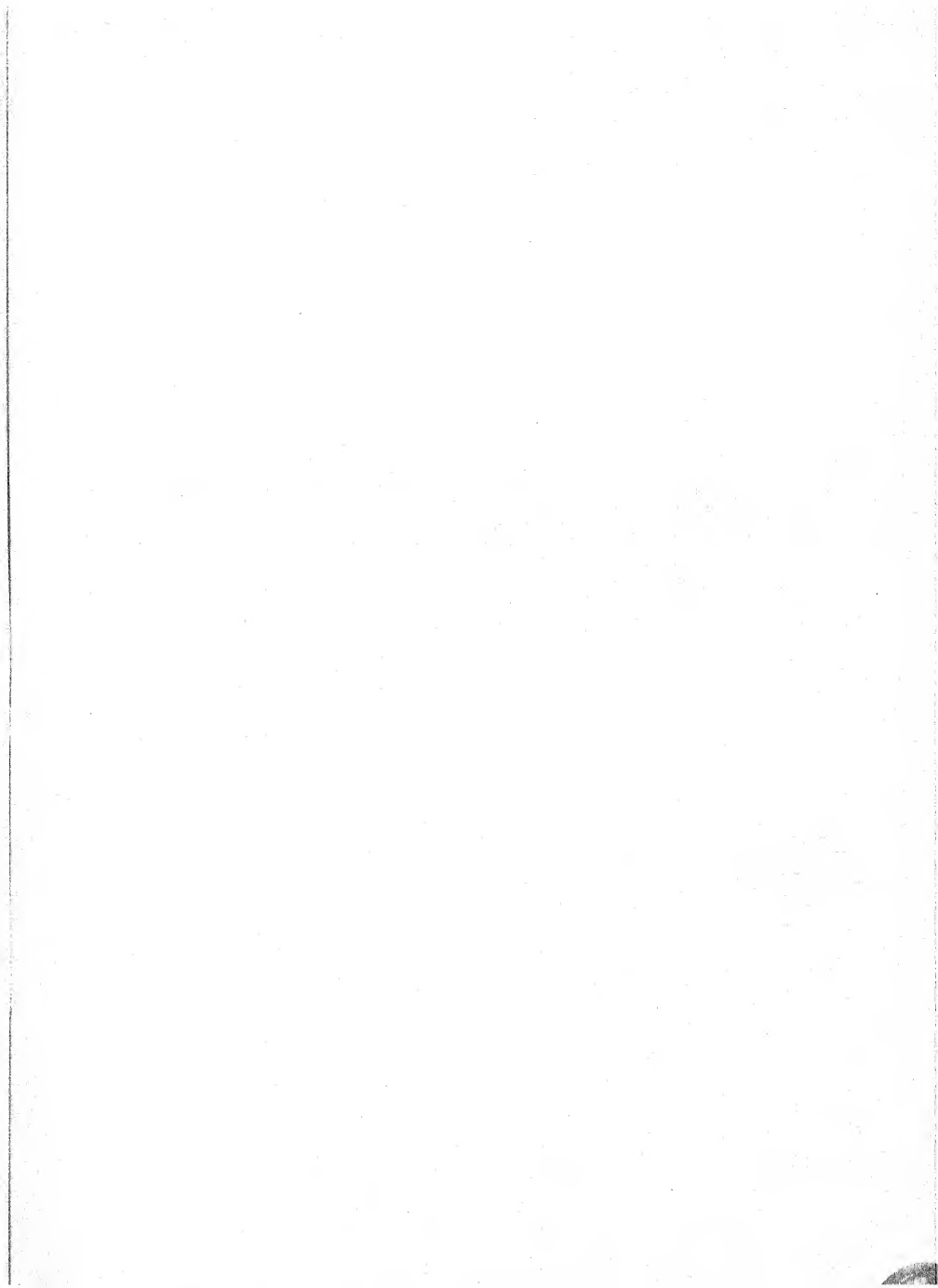
1860. "The ancient mansion of Hayton Castle is now occupied as a farm house."⁶⁸⁸

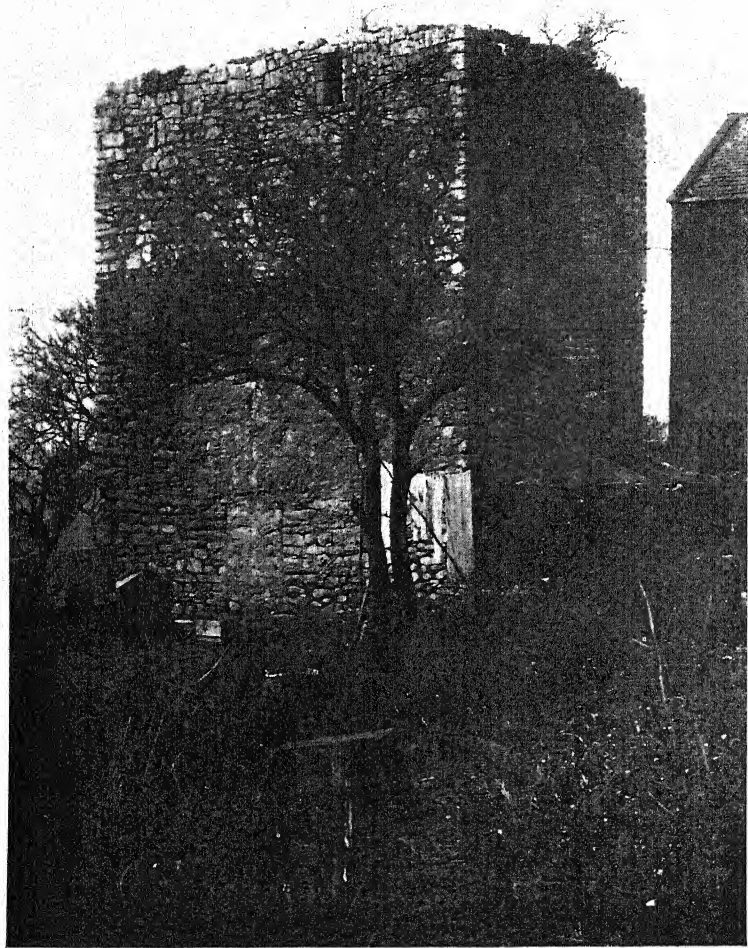
1913. "The site is comparatively open and unprotected. A small stream called Patten beck flows around the south and west sides, from which the ground rises in a steep bank to the level plateau whereon the castle stands. This plan seems to me to have been very similar to Howgill, viz., two towers, but the traces are not clear. The Towers would be at the north and south ends of the main frontage. The traces existing are more perfect at the north end where the tower is $30\frac{1}{2}$ by 27 feet externally, with the longer axis north and south. The north wall is some 7 feet 9 inches thick with mural chambers. The remains of the other walls are 3 feet 3 inches. The masonry is red sandstone dressed in courses. There are portions of a splayed plinth left."⁶⁸⁹

⁶⁸⁷ Housman's Notes to Hutchinson, *Hist. of Cumberland*, ii., 287.

⁶⁸⁸ Whellan, 207.

⁶⁸⁹ J. H. Martindale; see also *Transactions*, xiii., 234.





HAZLESLACK TOWER.

TO FACE P. 375.

HAZLESLACK TOWER. W. 46, N.W.

Helslack, Heslack.

FOUNDATION HISTORY :—There is no history about this tower. The *Beetham Repository* preserves a legend that it was built by one of the three co-heiresses of Thomas de Thweng, circa 1375, but this is manifestly incredible.

1811. "Helslack Tower is in ruins."⁶⁴⁰

TOWER :—29½ by 24 feet, with the shorter side lengthened out by a turret, 11½ by 5½ feet, at the south-east corner.

Height :—About 42 feet to the top of the battlements.

Walls :—Averaging 3 feet in thickness. The wall between the tower and the hall is 8 feet in thickness, but this is to accommodate the huge fireplace, of thirteen foot span, to the hall.

Masonry :—Rude limestone rubble.

Projections :—None.

Entrance :—To ground floor on southern face.

Floors :—The inner basement was vaulted. The three storeys over are all divided into two unequal compartments by a cross wall rising through the whole, but only the corbels which supported the flooring now remain.

REFERENCES :—Taylor, 215 ; *Beetham Repository*, pp. 99, 110, 148.

⁶⁴⁰ Hodgson, 228.

HUTTON JOHN HALL. C. 58, S.W.

FOUNDATION HISTORY:—1461. The Tower is supposed to have been rebuilt by Thomas de Hoton, who was probably of a younger branch of the Hoton family of Hutton.

c. 1525. The west block was added.

1564. The estate passed with Mary Hutton to Andrew Hudleston.

c. 1648. Laid under sequestration by the Commonwealth.

1662-1666. The north wing was built by Andrew Hudleston and Dorothy [Fleming] his wife, and exhibits their impaled arms on the front, with the date; above it is a cross with the legend "Hoc signo Vinces."

1675. "A little above Daker Kastle on Daker beck stands Hutton John: An ancient Sq^r family, and fair Tower mansion of Hutton."⁶⁴¹

c. 1775. The windows of the Tower were modernized.

1835. The south side of the central block was pulled down and rebuilt, the original windows were taken out and inserted on the north side. At this time an additional storey was added.

c. 1865. The Tower was repaired. In the north wall was discovered perhaps one of our earliest heraldic tablets, which will be referred to again later on.

TOWER:—38 by 30 feet, greatly modernized.

Height:—40 feet.

Axis:—East and west.

Walls:—8 feet thick at the basement level. Mural chambers 10 by 4 feet in the north wall, and garde-robes in the south-west angle of each floor. Newel staircase in the north-west angle. The considerable

⁶⁴¹ Edmund Sandford, *Cursory Relation*, 34.

thickness of the walls is the only clue we have to the surmise that an earlier Tower existed here before Thomas de Hoton undertook his work in 1461.

Masonry :—Red sandstone coursed rubble.

Entrance :—On north-west angle to ground floor.

Floors :—Vaulted basement and two storeys over.

REFERENCES :—*Transactions*, N.S., vii., 306 ; Taylor, 311.

ISEL HALL. C. 46, S.W.

Hisale c. 1200 ; *Ysoll*, *Yssoyl* (*Distrib. Cumb.*).

FOUNDATION HISTORY :—On the site of an earlier tower of the de Multons ; probably destroyed when the Scots swept down on Cockermouth in 1387.

c. 1425. Present tower built by one of the de Leighs.

c. 1525. Banquetting and entrance halls added.

c. 1600. The last wing was considerably extended, but at a lower level.

c. 1893. Addition of east wing.

NATURAL DEFENCES :—River Derwent on the south.

Note, the land to the north was an impenetrable forest, so that the site could only be reached from the south. Hence the Hall is on the north bank. There is also a small stream called the Bloomer Beck on the north and west sides.

TOWER :—43 feet by 25½ feet.

Height :—43 feet to top of battlements.

Axis :—North and south.

Walls :—6 feet with mural staircase in east wall of top floor.

Masonry :—Freestone rubble. The sixteenth century windows have red sandstone dressed quoins.

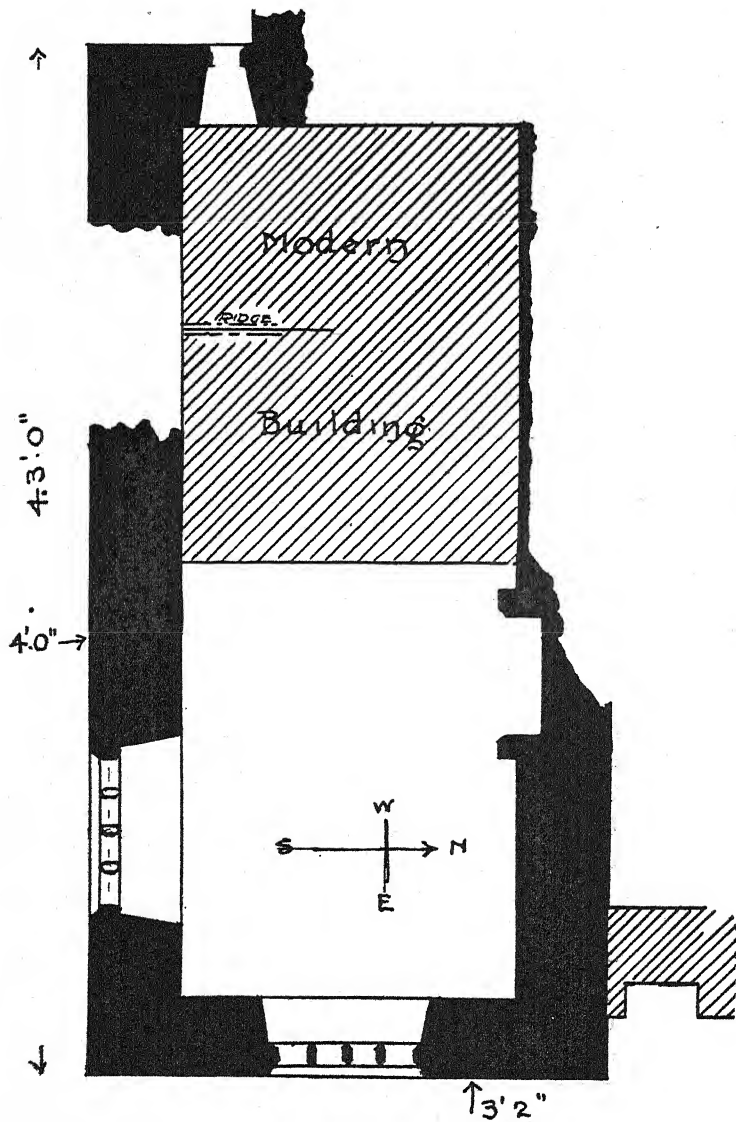
Projections :—None.

Entrance :—On south side to basement.

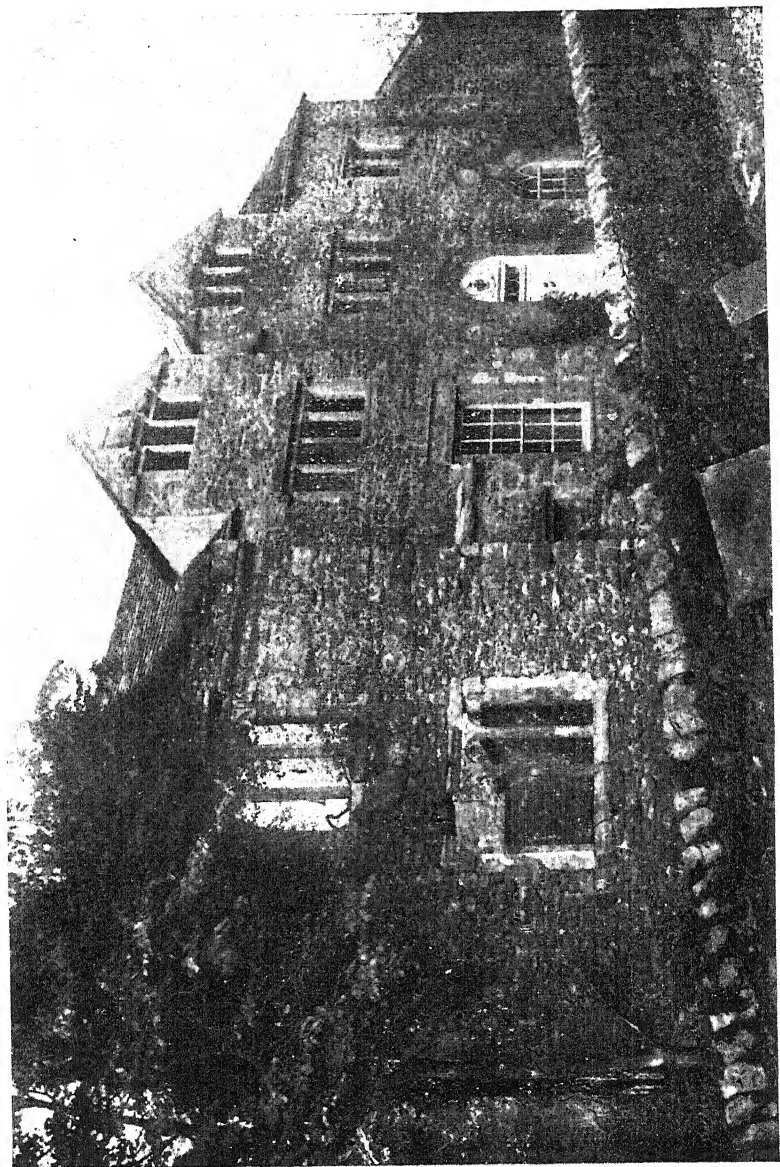
Floors :—Vaulted basement and three storeys above.

HALL :—40 by 24 feet.

REFERENCES :—*Transactions*, N.S., xi., 122 ; Taylor, 327.

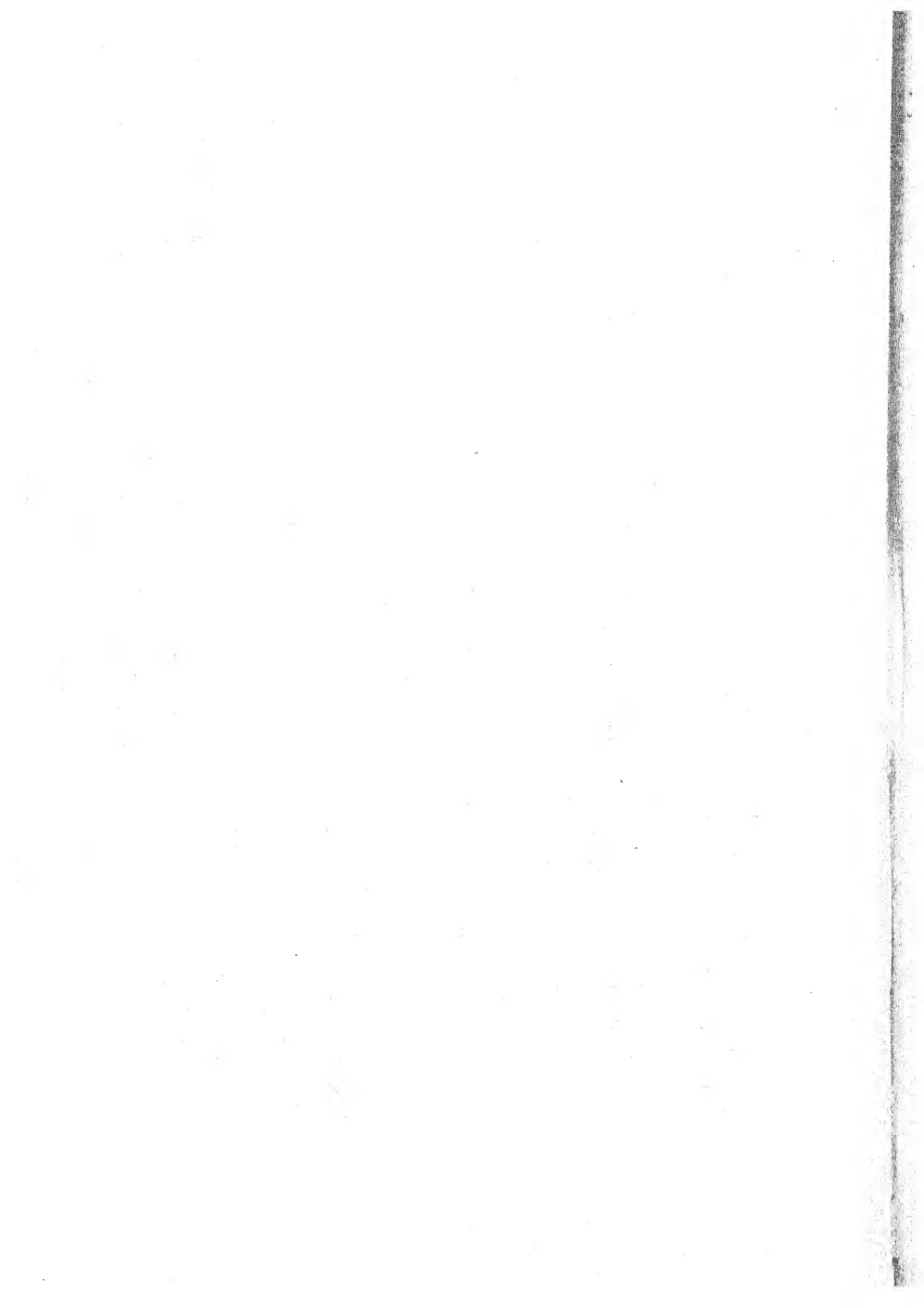


22'0"
Killington Hall:



KILLINGTON HALL, from the East.

Photo. by H. Bell.



KILLINGTON HALL. W. 39, S.E.

FOUNDATION HISTORY :—Early fifteenth century tower of the Pickerings.

1564. Christopher Pickering was the last of the family to reside here.

1640. Present domestic buildings to the north of the tower chiefly date from this period. On the walls are the initials T.K. and L.K. with this date, perhaps indicating the Keblethwaite family.

1803. Over the entrance door are the impaled arms of the Upton family, with initials and this date.

NATURAL DEFENCES :—Built on the verge of a rocky dell and protected in front by the steep banks of the ravine.

TOWER :—43 by 22 feet, now quite ruinous.

Height :—About 27 feet to the top of the battlements.

Axis :—East and west.

Walls :—4 to $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet in thickness.

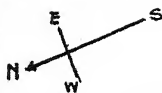
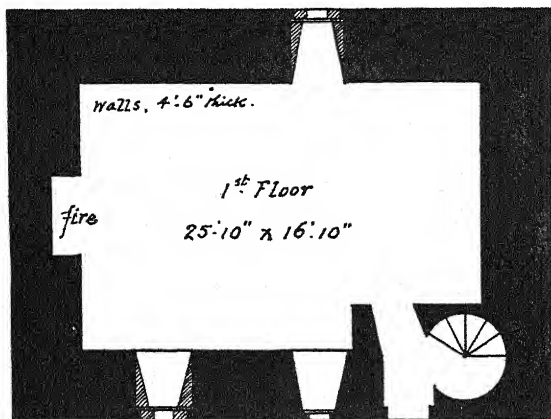
Masonry :—Limestone cobbles and rubble.

Projections :—None.

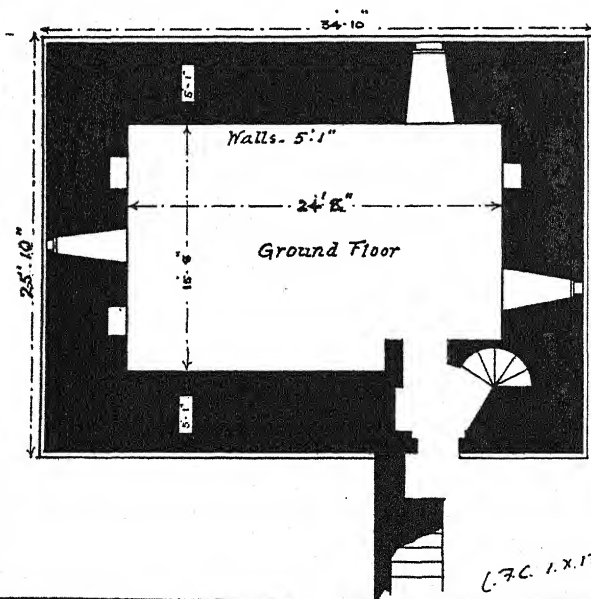
Entrance :—To ground floor at north-east corner.

Floors :—Basement not vaulted, and one storey over.

REFERENCE :—Taylor, 238.



Kirkandrew's-on-Esk:



KIRKANDREWS-UPON-ESK. C. 6, S.E.

FOUNDATION HISTORY :—Fifteenth century Tower and gatehouse, built upon the Debatable Land.

1527. Destroyed by the Armstrongs.

Rebuilt and transformed into a farmhouse.

TOWER :—35 by 26 feet, gabled over within the battlements.

Height :—40 feet to battlements ; the gable rises considerably higher.

Axis :—North-east to south-west.

Walls :—5 feet in thickness.

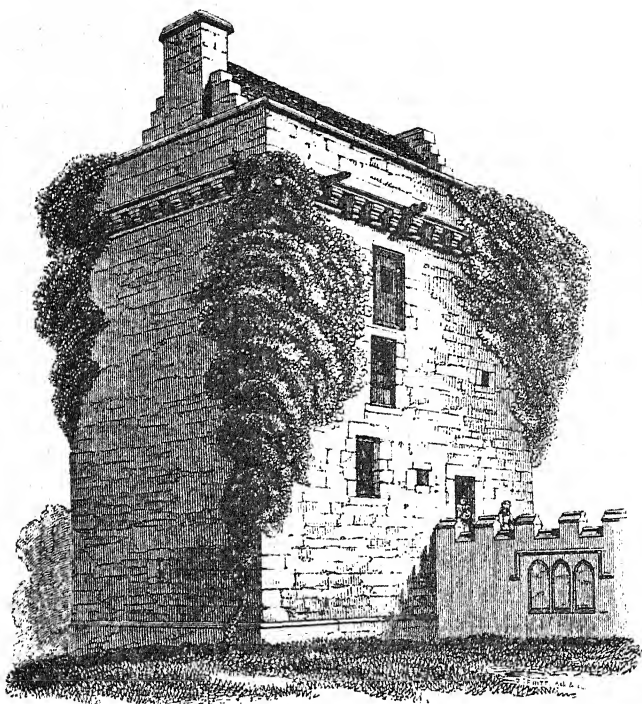
Masonry :—Red freestone ashlar.

Projections :—Plinth.

Entrance :—To first floor on the north-west face, with trap door to basement.

Floors :—Vaulted basement and three storeys over.

It will be noticed from the illustration (p. 382) that this tower bears all the Scottish characteristics. Like the tower of Brackenhill, we find it gabled over, within the parapet, with 'corbie'-stepped gables ; with bold corbels and moulded stringcourse supporting the parapet ; with cannon-shaped gargoyles, and with the entrance to the first floor.



KIRKANDREWS-ON-ESK.

From Parker, *Domestic Architecture*.

MIDDLETON HALL, WESTMORLAND. W. 44, N.W.

FOUNDATION HISTORY :—1327-1377. Thomas de Middleton settled here, but no trace of his pele tower remains, unless it be the Carnarvon-arched doorways which may have been re-erected in the Hall.

c. 1450. The present building is a fine and tolerably perfect specimen of a manor house of this period. It is fortified by high embattled walls surrounding the front and back courtyards.

1542. Transformed into a Tudor mansion, when the perpendicular windows were inserted, probably by John Middleton.

c. 1560. The room over the withdrawing room contains a mantelpiece displaying the arms of George Middleton, who married a daughter of Tunstal of Thurland.

1607. Initials and date, J.M., 1607, over the entrance. This date may refer to some alterations.

1640. The deer park was destroyed.

1811. "A large castle-like edifice, in ruins, excepting a small part occupied by a farmer. It has a chapel in it."⁶⁴²

c. 1850. Ancient kitchen pulled down, and the oak-panelling from the Guest Hall removed to Conishead Priory.

The buildings now consist in plan of a central block, standing north-west and south-east. Leading from out of the screens are three pointed doorways to the kitchen, buttery and cellar respectively. At the upper end are the two Carnarvon-arched doorways referred to, one leading to the withdrawing room, built upon the site of the ancient tower, and the other to a small lobby and staircase.

⁶⁴² Hodgson, *Description Co. Westmorland*, 234.

GATEHOUSE :—The segmental archway of the gatehouse, 12 feet in width, remains ; but the buildings above and on either side are gone, leaving only in the outer wall the remains of two trefoil-headed windows and a fireplace. [For illustration see opposite p. 186.]

CURTAIN :— $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick, built of good limestone without any plinth, off-set, or buttress. It is 18 feet high to the top of the rampart walk. The crenellated parapet is supported on unhewn corbels.

HALLS :—Domestic hall, 25 by 23 feet, which has been open to the roof. Guest hall, 36 by 17 feet, with chapel and dormitories over.

REFERENCE :—*Transactions*, N.S., xii., 107.

NAWORTH EAST PARK. C. 18, N.W.

This is known as the "Stone House."⁶⁴³ It stands alone without any additional buildings, as a sentry to the Castle. Two early windows remain, each having three horizontal iron bars clamped on to a central upright for protection.

TOWER :—54 by 24 feet.

Axis :—East and west.

Walls :—3 feet 9 inches in thickness. The west gable appears to have been rebuilt.

Masonry :—Rough local stone.

Projections :—None.

Entrance :—At the north-east corner, but there is no sign of a newel.

⁶⁴³ See below for other "Stone Houses."

NETHER LEVENS HALL. W. 42, N.E.

FOUNDATION HISTORY :—1188. The manor of Levens was divided into two moieties by Ketel, son of Uchtred, when Over Levens was granted to Henry de Redeman. c. 1197. Nether Levens passed into the family, who afterwards bore the local name, and resided on this site.

1452. Richard Preston obtained a licence to have an oratory here.

1594. The hall to the north of the tower was rebuilt by Thomas Preston; see the date stone at the northern or gable end.

1649. On one of the mullions is scratched this date, which may refer to the time when the hall was partitioned, an oak staircase erected, the kitchen turned into a parlor, and a new kitchen extension erected where we find the development of the ingle-nook. On the death of Sir Thomas Preston, the last baronet, the moiety passed by marriage of his eldest surviving daughter, Mary, to William [Herbert] Viscount Montgomery.

1694. The earl sold the estate to Edward Wilson of Dallam Tower.

CURTAIN :—This wall is 12 feet high to the rampart walk and $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide.

TOWER :—32 by 25 feet, now a total ruin.

Axis :—East and west.

Wales :— $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet in thickness.

Masonry :—Rough limestone rubble and boulders, all the stone dressings are gone.

Projections :—None.

Floors :—Basement not vaulted.

HALL :—48 by 22 feet, with the dais against the tower at the southern end.

PIGEON HOUSE :—The walls are covered with holes from floor to roof.

REFERENCE :—*Transactions*, N.S., iv., 235.

NEWBIGGIN HALL. W. 4, S.E.

FOUNDATION HISTORY :—C. 1332. Robert de Crakanthorpe married Emma the heiress of the de Newbiggins, and removed hither. There must have been in these days a defensive tower, but all vestiges of it have now entirely disappeared.

1533. The existing east-tower with a hall attached was probably the work of Christopher Cranckanthorpe, who raised above the entrance the inscription which is now placed over the side door.

Cristofer · Crakanthorpe · thus · ye · me · calle ·
 Wiche · in · my · tym · dyde · bylde · this · halle ·
 The · yer · of · owr · lorde · who · lyst · to · se ·
 A·M· fyue · hundreth · thyrty · and · thre ·

1585-1624. Henry Crackenthorpe added another tower, at the western end of the hall. From all external evidence he also erected the wing, known as the "Jerusalem," which abuts on to the north face of the eastern tower.

1671. "A fair old house, which hath a long time been the chief seat of the Crackenthorps, and being a family very antient and of good esteem. . . . All this house is not very antient, for its said that . . . verses are cut in freestone over the hall door, and that the new tower there, was built by Hen. Crackenthorp, Esq., who had four wives."⁶⁴⁴

⁶⁴⁴ Sir D. Fleming, *Description Co. Westmorland*, 24.

c. 1750. Inhabited by a farmer and allowed to fall into great dilapidation, since which time the east tower seems to have been considerably modernized. None of the original windows remain.

1844. The west-tower was taken down and rebuilt by William Crackanthorpe, under the direction of Anthony Salvin.

c. 1890. The addition to the east side of the "Jerusalem" wing was the work of Montagu Crackenthorpe.

TOWER :—East-tower, 45 by 30 feet, with a newel stair turret at the north-west angle.

Axis :—North and south.

Walls :— $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet in thickness. The parapet with its angle watch towers, especially the one to the south-west, does not appear to be of the original work. Neither can we believe the gun-hole in one of the merlons on the west-side with its splay on the outside, was made for anything more than the stone figures were for effect.

Masonry ;—Red Crawdundale sandstone, in large square ashlar and coursed blocks.

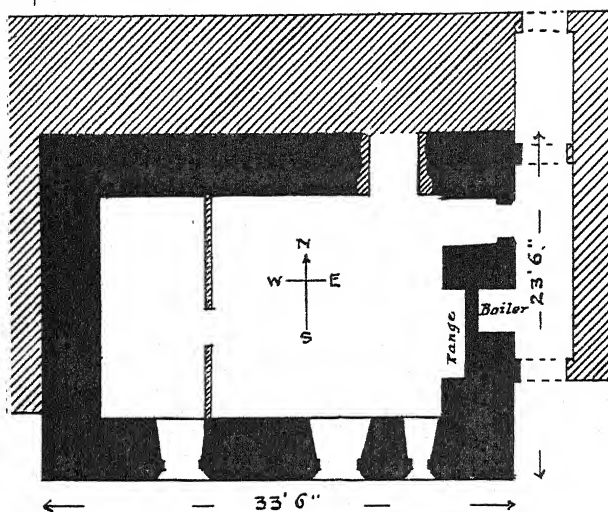
Projections :—No plinth or off-set. A bold corbelled tabling carries the overhanging battlements, from which cannon-shaped gargoyles project.

Entrance :—On the south face of the tower there are two heavy corbelled stones, about a yard apart, and immediately above them may be seen the vertical jambs of a doorway, which leads one to suppose, as there is now no other ancient doorway, that the original entrance was to the first floor.

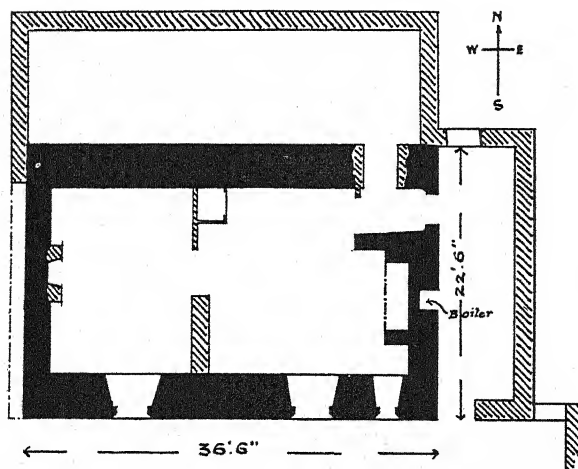
Floors :—Vaulted basement and two stories above.

REFERENCE :—Taylor, 147.

Peel O'Hill



Woodhead: Lagercost.



PEEL O'HILL. C. 8, N.W.

SITE :—Three-quarters of a mile north of Bewcastle. The tower is now embedded within the walls of a farm house, that stands up well and can be seen for considerable distances.

ARTIFICIAL EARTHWORK :—There are several earthen ramparts on the south and west sides, as if they were at one time stockaded fences for the enclosing and protection of cattle.

CURTAIN :—At the south-west there remains the foundation of a stone wall, some $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick.

TOWER :— $33\frac{1}{2}$ by $23\frac{1}{2}$ feet.

Height :—Lost by reason of its upper part having been pulled down and gabled over.

Axis :—East and west.

Walls :—The east wall is 5 feet and the others are 4 feet in thickness.

Masonry :—Rough local stone.

Projections :—None.

Entrance :—At the north-east corner to ground floor.

Floors :—Basement not vaulted and one storey over.

There appears to have been no hall, but the additions follow the plan adopted in these remote parts, viz. :—a through passage placed across the original entrance with a washing boiler inserted in the thickness of the Tower wall.

PRESTON PATRICK HALL. W. 43, S.W.

The name is derived from *prests-tūn*, priest's town or farm, and from Patric de Culwen. Cf. Bampton Patrick and Knipe Patrick, as part of the lands held by de Culwen around Shap and Thornthwaite.

FOUNDATION HISTORY :—C. 1191. Thomas de Wyrkington founded here an Abbey for the Premonstratensian Canons, and afterwards removed it to Shap.

1236. His son, Patric de Culwen, according to *Testa de Nevil*, held the fourth part of a Knight's fee of the Barony of Kendal, viz. :—lands in what are now known as Preston Patrick, Holme, and Old Hutton.⁶⁴⁵ Sir Gilbert de Curwen held the same in 1283.

1450. Sir Christopher Curwen died seised of Preston Patrick Hall and the manor.

c. 1530. The manor and Hall passed as Ellyn Curwen's dower when she married John Preston of Preston Richard and Nether Levens Hall. John Preston removed from Levens here.

c. 1625. The whole house appears to have been remodelled. The upper part of the eastern tower was rebuilt and made into a Court House. The hall was divided up into separate apartments.

TOWERS :—Twin towers ; the western one 42 by 23½ feet ; the eastern one 43 by 22 feet.

Height :—Lost on account of both towers being now gabled over.

Axis :—Each tower, north and south ; or combined, east and west, with the main frontage to the south.

Walls :—4 to 3½ feet in thickness.

Masonry :—Limestone rubble.

Projections :—None.

Floors :—Eastern tower has a vaulted basement, but not the western tower, and one storey over each.

⁶⁴⁵ Record Com., 412.

ROCKCLIFFE CASTLE. C. 16, N.W.

Old Norse, *raudhr*, red, in allusion to the colour of the river bank at this point, which in English would assume the form of *routh*. Hence we find in *Pedes Finium*, cited in Prescott's *Wetherhal* (p. 69), *Routhclive* in 1204; *Rowclyffe* in 1302; *Rokeclyffe* in 1589; *Rockclyfe* in 1610.

FOUNDATION HISTORY:—1539. "Rokclif a preate Pile or Castel of the lord Dakers over Edon on the farther Ripe about a iiij myle frō Cairluel."⁶⁴⁶

1569. It was seized and garrisoned by Leonard Dacre.

1570, 21st February. Lord Hunsdon took possession of Rowcliff for the Queen when the rebel Leonard Dacre fled to Scotland.⁶⁴⁷

1580. "This doth belonge to ye heires of ye late Leonard Dacre, standinge . . . two myles and haulfe from Scotland, nothings or lytle decayed, and yet thought meete in y^e platt w^{ch} herewth is sent to be sett forth and declared."⁶⁴⁸

1583. "Rokele Castel; the farthest strength of the west borders adjoyninge to Scotl. and the sea, apperteyninge to the baronie of Broughe in the handes of th' eyers of the late Lord Dacres. Moste requysyte yt is that there allwaies be . . . a true hable and sufficient man not onlie to kepe the same, but also chieffelie to se that all the borderers and tenantes apperteyninge to the same be well and sufficientlie horst and gerde⁶⁴⁹ as . . . they are for the defence of that contrye bounde to be." And to have 100 or 200 of them "nightlie with him,

⁶⁴⁶ Leland, vii., fol. 69.

⁶⁴⁷ Holinshed, Cotton MSS., Cal., i., fol. 384.

⁶⁴⁸ Christopher Dacre's Survey, Cal. St. Pap. Dom. Add., 1580, vol. 27, No. 44¹¹¹.

⁶⁴⁹ geared, i.e. armed.

especiallie at the ebbinges of the water, some to watche at the fords for the kepinge out of the Scottishe theves . . . that comonlie use to ride in the nighte time throughe the said barronrie of Broughe to th' incontrie, and not onlie breake pore mens howses but bereave them of all that they have and that which is worse, their lyves alsoe, which fords by good keepinge maie easillie be holpen and saved, either by their imedyate resistaunce or tymelie givinge of their crie and shoote inwarde that everye man hearinge the same maie be not onlie redie to save himselfe but to joyne with and helpe his neighbour alsoe."

1584. "Rokeley to be kept as in William lord Dacre's time, and the fords guarded at ebbtide, etc."⁶⁵⁰

1592. "Bourgh barronrie is under the governance of a steward, who ought to ly at Rockcliff castle, a castle buylded by the Lord Dacre for the readines and defence of all service, either generall or particular. He hath in charge that no Scottishe man passe thorough his charge without licence, and that none under his charge passe into Scotland without like licence. In this steward lyeth all the safetie of the west parte of the wardenrie."⁶⁵¹

1593. "Rowcliff Castle, 2 miles from Scotland and 3 from Carlile."⁶⁵²

1597. "I forbear to troble my lord Threasurer with remembrance for some lyttle allowance to repayre Rowclyffe with lead, which is most needful."⁶⁵³

1603. Rockcliffe was used as a prison for the Greames.

1600. "Crossing the Eden, you see Rowcliffe just upon the bank, a little Castle built not long since

⁶⁵⁰ Memoranda on the Borders, Cal. Border Pap., 1560-94, p. 168.

⁶⁵¹ Edward Aglionby's letter to Lord Burghley, Cal. Border Pap., 1560-1594, p. 391.

⁶⁵² Alexander King's Survey.

⁶⁵³ Henry Leigh's letter to Lord Scrope, Cal. Border Pap., 1595-1603, p. 483.

[sic] by the Lords Dacres for their own private defences."⁶⁵⁴

1682. "It was sold by the Duke of Norfolk to the Rev. Charles Usher, who erected a mansion on the site of the castle, and now belongs to Mr. Strong of Peterborough."⁶⁵⁵

1794. "The road now lies through the place where it stood and Eden has worked down part of the ground work."⁶⁵⁶

REMAINS :—Mr. T. H. B. Graham describes the remains as being 46 feet in breadth, due north and south. The garden wall of Rockcliffe Hall, built in 1730, which adjoins the site on the east, is built upon an old foundation exactly parallel with the former and may perhaps mark the position of another wall of the castle.

REFERENCE :—*Transactions*, N.S., x., 108.

⁶⁵⁴ Camden, Edition of 1600, p. 706.

⁶⁵⁵ N. and B., ii., 223.

⁶⁵⁶ Hutchinson, ii., 525.

SELSIDE HALL. W. 34, N.W.

Selsat (1376).

FOUNDATION HISTORY :—" This place gave name to a good family called Selsed, from whom, in temp. Richard II., it came by marriage to the Thornboroughs."⁶⁵⁷

- c. 1450. The southern tower is known to have been the residence of the Thornboroughs at this period.
- c. 1550. The northern tower was added when the hall was re-erected in the sixteenth century. Since which time the central block has again been completely modernized. It is said that on the first floor level there is a secret chamber communicating with the roof.

TOWER [South] :—46 by 19 feet.

Axis :—East and west.

Walls :—3½ feet in thickness.

Masonry :—Rough rubble ragstone, mingled with boulder blocks of red sandstone and conglomerate.

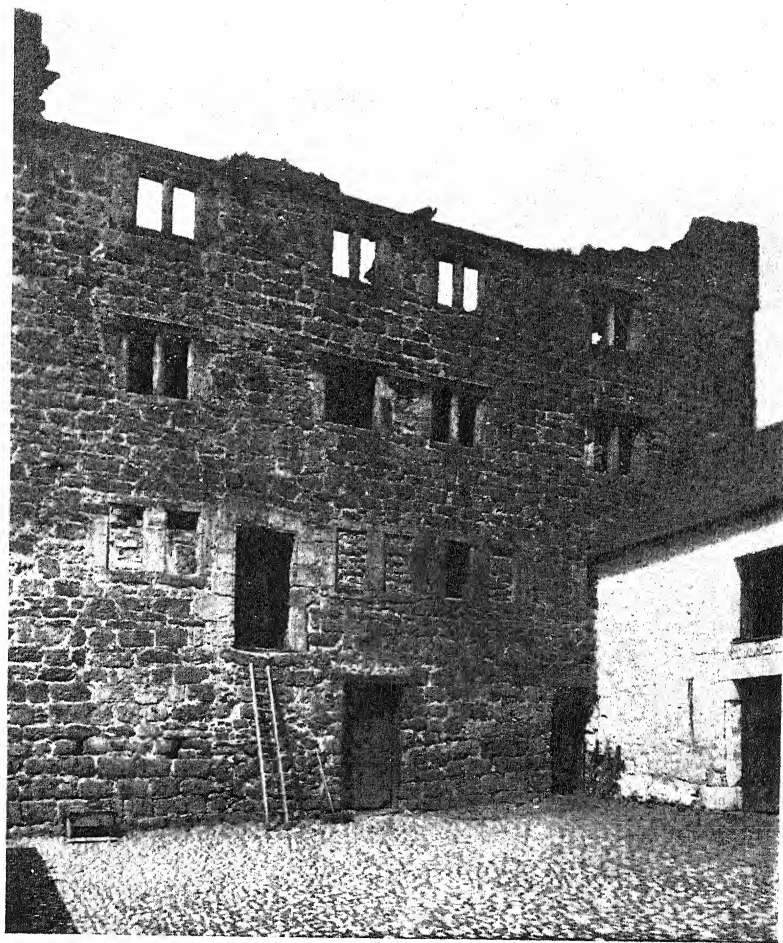
Projections :—None.

Floors :—Double vaulted basement and one storey over, with trefoil headed windows.

Some suppose that Watch Gate and Lee Gate were approaches to the Hall, and that Meal Bank, Edge Bank and Outer or Otter Bank refer to an outer defence, but this is very doubtful.

REFERENCE :—Taylor, 226.

⁶⁵⁷ Sir D. Fleming, *Description Co. Westmorland*, 14, 15.



SHANK CASTLE, from the South-East.

Photo. by Rev. G. J. Goodman.

TO FACE P. 394.



Photo, by Rev. G. J. Goodman.

SHANK CASTLE.

TO FACE P. 395.

SHANK CASTLE. C. 7, S.W.

This is a building without any history, and one which I have not been able to visit. From the thickness of the walls, the mural chambers, the garderobes, the entrance to the first floor and the newel stairway, it would appear as if it had been erected originally in the fourteenth or fifteenth century. Thomas Denton says that "Sir William Hutton built a neat house here for his own habitation, when steward to George, Earl of Cumberland, in the reign of James I.," and that he dwelt here to subdue the moss-troopers. Again, under date 1618, "S^r William Hutton hath a mansion house nere adioyning, called Shank, where hee much resideth."⁶⁵⁸ I can see nothing in this to preclude the theory that Sir William adapted an ancient castle for his neat residence, especially as he had to live in the way of the moss-troopers.

NATURAL DEFENCES :—On the south bank of the River Line.

TOWER :—Now about 52 by 29 feet.

Axis :—North-east by south-west.

Walls :—5 feet in thickness, with mural chambers and garderobes.

Projections :—None.

Entrance :—The original entrance to first floor, about ten feet from the ground, and with newel stairway to the basement.

Floors :—Now four floors divided by cross walls.

REFERENCES :—Taylor, 351 ; *Transactions*, N.S., ix., 217.

⁶⁵⁸ Lord William Howard's Report.

SKELSMERGH HALL. W. 34, S.W.

Skelmeresergh (c. 1220), the dairy of Skelmir, an old Norse name.

FOUNDATION HISTORY :—1301. Nicholas de Leyburne had a grant of free warren in Skelsmergh.

c. 1425. Tower of the de Leyburne family.

c. 1550. A two-storey block was attached to the south east corner of the tower, presumably in order to leave the old hall to the east of the tower intact until the new one was built and ready for occupation. This plan was frequently adopted, see Workington, Whitehall, etc.

1629: The block was extended eastward. An old date stone was discovered recently with this date upon it, and is now inserted over the main entrance. The kitchens were built at the extreme eastern end at a subsequent period. The whole block now presents a frontage of 75 feet to the south.

1715. The Leyburnes being a Roman Catholic family, we find the Hall forfeited and sold to Thomas Crowle.

TOWER :—40½ by 23 feet.

Height :—Lost by being now gabled over.

Axis :—East and west.

Walls :—5 to 3½ feet in thickness.

Masonry :—Rough rubble ragstone mingled with boulder blocks of conglomerate.

Projections :—None.

Floors :—Vaulted basement, lighted by small loops at each end and reached by a ladder from the floor above. There are two storeys over.

Entrance :—At the south-east angle, now covered by the annexed building.

REFERENCE :—Taylor, 223.

STONEHAUGH. C. 3, S.W.

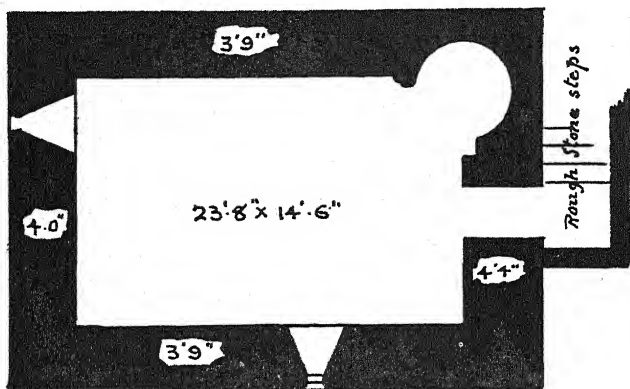
NATURAL DEFENCES :—Situating just on the English bank of the River Liddel, which at this point divides Scotland from England.

TOWER :—40 by 24 feet.

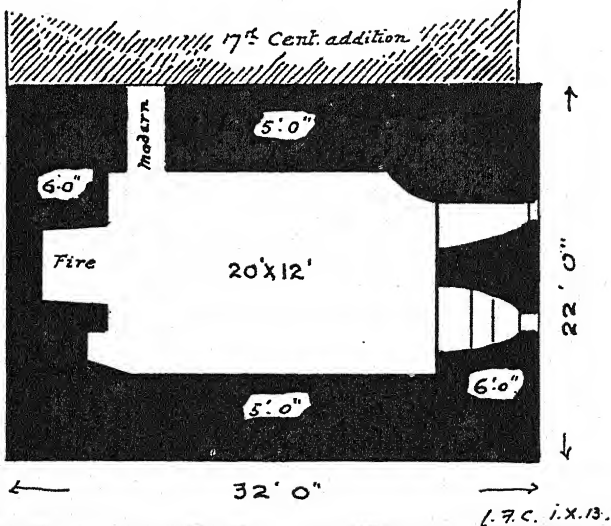
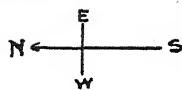
Axis :—East and west.

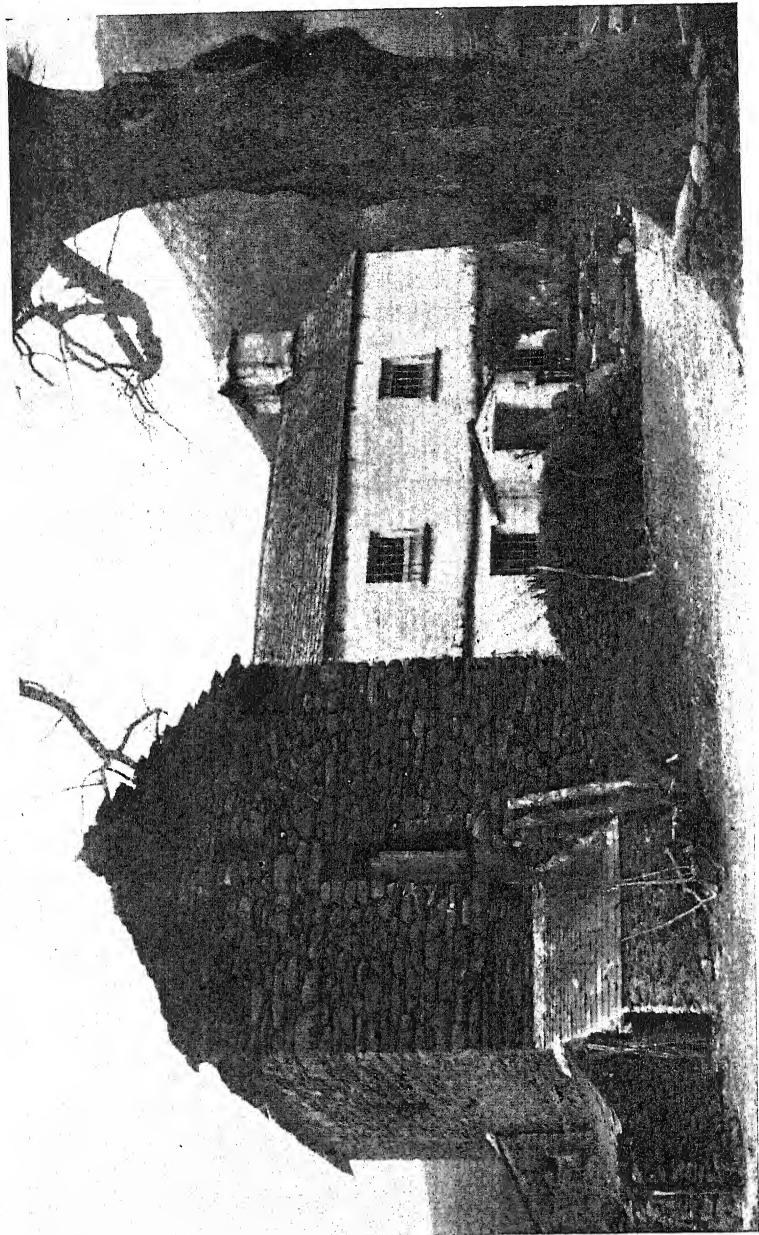
Walls :—The eastern and southern walls, which are $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick, and contain many stones of great size, remain standing to the height of 12 feet. The centre of each is pierced by a loophole near the ground, 16 inches wide within but tapering to a mere slit on the outside face. The northern and western walls, or those towards Scotland, have been demolished, but their foundations are distinctly visible.

REFERENCE :—*Transactions*, N.S., ix., 216.



Ubarrow Hall:





UBARROW HALL, from the South-West.

Photo. by H. Bell.

UBARROW HALL. W. 27, S.E.

Ubery.

FOUNDATION HISTORY :—" The most considerable house in the dale [Longsleddale] was Ubery Hall, having an ancient Tower and the walls 2 yards thick. This seems to have been part of that which was granted to Robert de Leyburne [temp. Henry III.] and came with a daughter of Leyburne to a younger brother of Harrington of Wreysham [Wraysholme] Lancashire, in whose name and family it continued for several generations."⁶⁵⁹

1697. One of the Harringtons paid to Queen Katherine a free rent of 1s. for Ubarrow Hall.

1762. Over the pig-styes is a long lintel for a two-light window; on the left-hand side are the initials H. W. I., and on the right hand side the date 1762.

TOWER :—32 by 22 feet.

Height :—Lost by being now gabled over, but it is 24 feet to the eaves.

Axis :—North and south.

Walls :—North and south walls 6 feet thick, east and west walls 5 feet thick.

Masonry :—Rough rubble ragstone, not pointed.

Projections :—None.

Entrance :—To first floor on the south side.

Floors :—Vaulted basement and two storeys over.

For an illustration of the vaulted basement see opposite to page 180.

⁶⁵⁹ N. and B., i., 133.

ULPHA OLD HALL.

Ulfhay ; *Ulfshagi*, Ulf's inclosure?

FOUNDATION HISTORY :—"Ulfhay was granted to one Ulf, the son of Evard, whose posterity enjoyed it till the time of K. Hen. 3rd. . . . Mr. Huddleston, the present Lord Millum, and diverse of his ancestors have made there a park enclosed for deer which yet to this day is called Uffhay Park."⁶⁶⁰ The author of *Antiquities of West Cumberland* (1849) says that "no one can tell when or by whom it was built, or to whom it has belonged as a residence . . . nothing now remains, save the one tower . . . the surface of the neighbouring ground shows that the enclosure has been extensive . . . the cemented cobbles are bound together by a lime to which age has given the tenacity of stone and there has been a facing of hammered freestone, still discernible in parts." Ulpha Park still exists in name.

NATURAL DEFENCES :—Situated on the brink of a ravine overlooking the Duddon.

TOWER :—47 by 29 feet, with a turret projecting 10 feet on the western face.

Height :—East wall now stands 22 feet high.

Axis :—North and south.

Masonry :—Hammered freestone facing upon cobble core.

Walls :—East wall, containing flues, 6 feet, the other walls 4 feet in thickness.

Floors :—Two storeys remain. No vaulted basement.

REFERENCE :—*Transactions*, O.S., xv., 315 with plan.

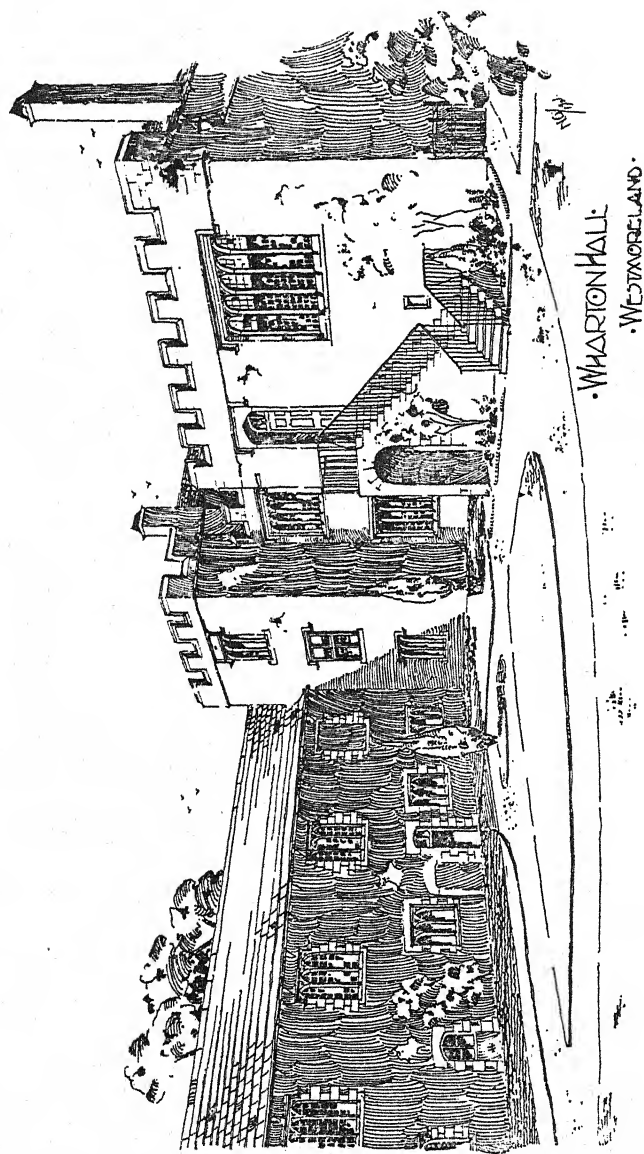
⁶⁶⁰ John Denton, *Accompt* 14.

WHARTON HALL. W. 30, N.W.

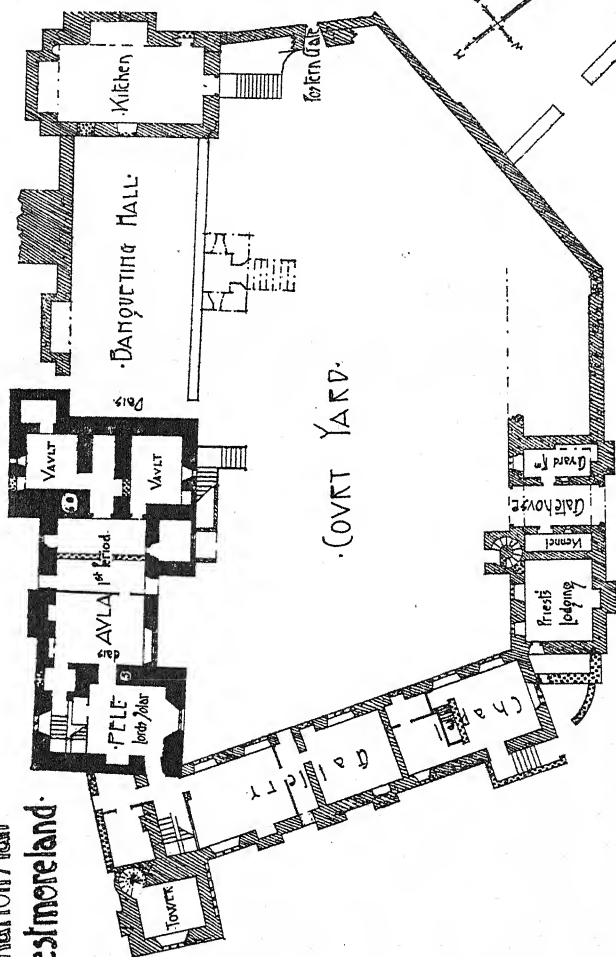
FOUNDATION HISTORY :—1415-18. The tower and aula were erected about the time when Richard Wharton sat in Parliament. The extent of the building is clearly shown by heavy black walls on the accompanying plan.

c. 1540. The Banquetting Hall and Great Kitchen were built by Thomas, Lord Wharton, when Warden of the Western March. Unfortunately this superb hall has now become a complete ruin, but Machel has left in the first volume of his MS. a little sketch plan of the building as he saw it in 1680, and Pennant gives an illustration as it existed in 1773. From both sources we gather that the entrance was by a flight of steps to a porch projecting into the court, and carried up to the full height of the building. On the opposite wall, and near to the dais, was a most capacious fireplace, spanned by a Tudor arch. The Great Kitchen is still existing very much in the original state; it presents a tower 40 by 25 feet, containing a single room with lofty walls reaching to an open collar-beam roof, twenty feet from the floor. It is lighted by two very high transom windows into the court, and is furnished with two wide fireplaces: that on the south-east wall measures 13 feet 6 inches across the opening and that on the north-east wall 11 feet.

1559. The gatehouse, over which Lord Wharton erected his coat of arms, bears this date, when also he erected the west wing, once open to the roof and comprising a Long Gallery and Chapel. About this time also a heavy oaken staircase was erected in the tower in place of the early newel.



Wharton Hall.
Westmoreland.



Scale of Feet

John C. Brown, Esq. 1879

1728. Philip, Duke Wharton, being a rebel, the Hall was confiscated and sold to Robert Lowther.

1777. "Now in ruins and desolate, inhabited by no human creature but a poor hind."⁶⁶¹

c. 1785. The first Lord Lonsdale repaired the solar, raised up an outside stair and broke through a doorway where the old bay window formerly existed. He also again made habitable the western wing, and converted it into a farm dwelling.

CURTAIN :—14 feet high and 3 feet thick.

GATEHOUSE :—48 by 21 feet. Crenellated of three storeys.

On one side is a guard room; on the other, which adjoins the chapel, are several rooms assigned to the resident priest. [For illustration see opposite p. 187.]

TOWER :—35 by 26 feet.

Axis :—North-east and south-west.

Walls :—5 feet in thickness with mural staircase in the north-east angle.

Projections :—None.

Entrance :—To the ground level.

Floors :—Three storeys.

HALLS :—Domestic hall, 33 by 20 feet.

Banqueting hall, 68 by 27 feet, with open timber roof, and the Great Kitchen Tower, 43 by 24 feet, adjoining.

REFERENCE :—*Transactions*, N.S., ii., 257.

⁶⁶¹ N. and B., i., 561.

WHITEHALL. C. 36, N.E.

FOUNDATION HISTORY:—1399-1413. The manor of Whitehall was restored to Sir Henry Percy. It afterwards became the property of a younger branch of the Salkelds of Corby.

1589. The tower was restored by Lancelot Salkeld, who erected his arms, carved on a stone over the entrance:—"Lancelotus Salkeld Filius Thomæ Salkeld, hoc fieri fecit, 1589."

1675. "Squire Salkelds of Whitehall, an estate of £500 p. ann. and a very fair fabrick and warm place and pleasant parke as any in England but now The Deare is destroyed."⁶⁰²

1687. "Sir Francis Salkeld of Whitehall, Lord of Blennerhasset."

1745. Dr. Henry Salkeld was the last of this family at Whitehall. During the war of 1745 he was immured in Carlisle Gaol for 7 months, without any accusation other than that he was a Roman Catholic. He died shortly after his release.⁶⁰³

1794. "Whitehall has been for some time the object of legal contentions, so that those who have the present care of the castle suffer the buildings to go to decay. The house is ruinous and the lands around it are run wild. We find the initials of the owners' names carved on almost every doorhead."⁶⁰⁴

1816. "The mansion has been long in ruins."⁶⁰⁵

1858. The estate passed to the late George Moore.

1860. "Whitehall, the ancient seat of the Salkelds, is now occupied as a farm house."⁶⁰⁶

1861. Restored and enlarged by the late George Moore.

⁶⁰² Edmund Sandford, *Cursory Relation*, 25.

⁶⁰³ *Carlisle in 1745*, pp. 259-263.

⁶⁰⁴ Hutchinson, *Hist. Cumberland*, ii., 361.

⁶⁰⁵ Lysons, *Magna Britannia*, iv., 9.

⁶⁰⁶ Whellan, 203.

TOWER:—44 by 27 feet. Now gabled over within the battlements. Staircase turret at south-east angle. Height:—41 feet to the top of battlements, or $45\frac{1}{2}$ feet to the top of staircase turret.

Axis:—North and south.

Walls:—Varying from $4\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 feet.

Masonry:—Sandstone rubble.

Projections:—None.

Floors:—Basement and two storeys above.

Hall detached from the tower and apparently not in its original position, measuring 38 by $18\frac{1}{2}$ feet.

WOODHEAD. C. 8, N.E.

NATURAL DEFENCES:—Some three-quarters of a mile south-east of Bewcastle, there is a tower situated upon a high and very steep bluff looking northward.

ARTIFICIAL EARTHWORK:—There are several earthen ramparts on the western side, as if they were at one time stockaded fences for the enclosing and protection of cattle.

TOWER:— $36\frac{1}{2}$ by $22\frac{1}{2}$ feet [see illustration on page 388].

Height:—Lost by reason of its upper part having been pulled down and gabled over.

Axis:—East and west.

Walls:— $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet in thickness. The western wall has been rebuilt; it is now 2 feet thick but the foundations of the early wall remain on the outside.

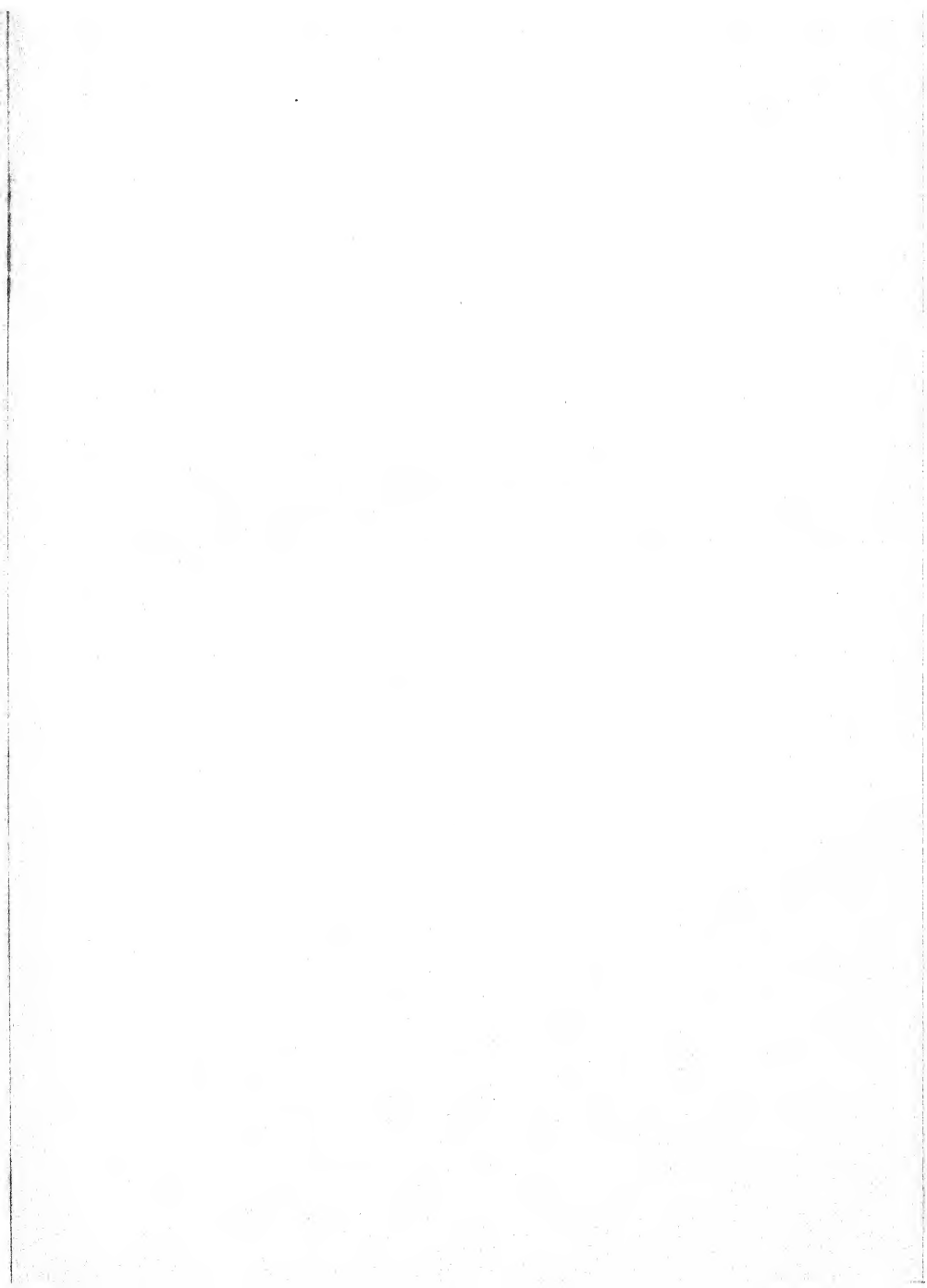
Masonry:—Rough local stone.

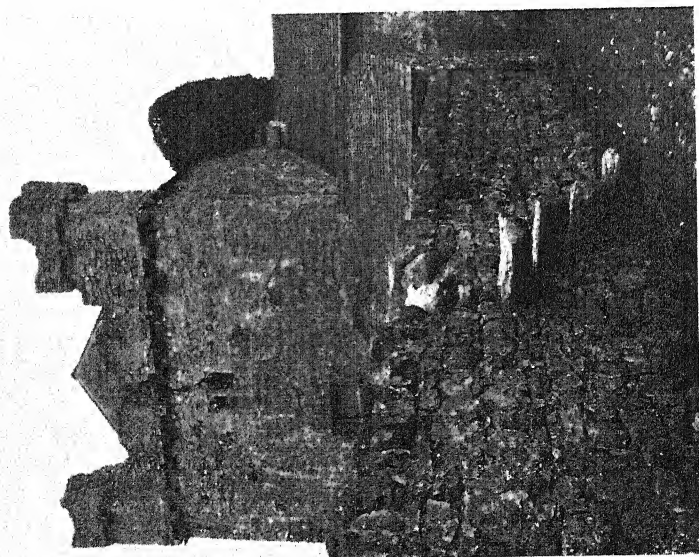
Projections:—None.

Entrance:—At north-east corner to ground floor.

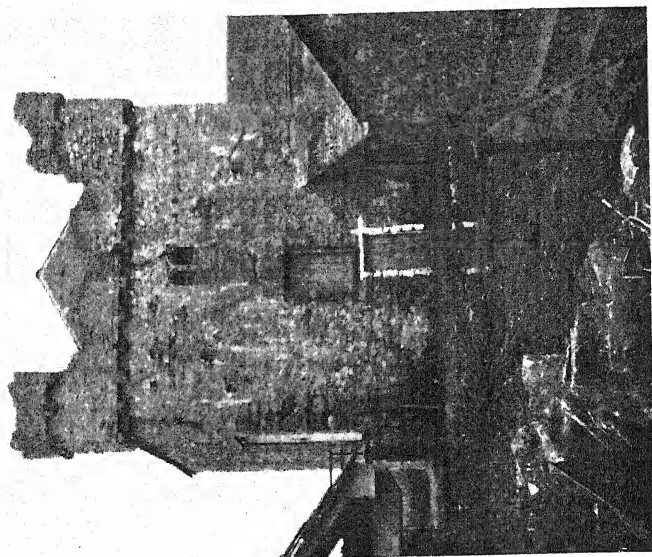
Floors:—Basement not vaulted and one storey over.

There appears to have been no hall, but the additions follow the plan adopted at Peel O'Hill and other of these remote towers, viz., a through passage placed across the original entrance, with a washing boiler inserted in the thickness of the tower wall.





WRAYSHOLME TOWER from the North.



TO FACE P. 407.

WRAYSHOLME TOWER.

Raisholme, 1585.

FOUNDATION HISTORY :—C. 1485. Tower of the Harringtons of Gleaston, with a later hall attached on north face.

1848. Modern farm house.

TOWER :—46 by $28\frac{1}{2}$ feet, with projecting garderobe turret at the south-west angle, 7 feet square.

Height :—39 feet to top of battlements.

Axis :—East and west.

Walls :—4 feet in thickness.

Masonry :—Rough rubble limestone.

Projections :—No plinth or offset, but the parapet projected out on a corbel table.

Entrance :—On north face to ground level.

Floors :—Basement not vaulted, and two storeys over.

Hall :—30 by $20\frac{1}{2}$ feet.

REFERENCES :—Roper's *Castles of North Lancashire*, p. 97 ;
Annales Caermoelesenses, 478.

STONE HOUSES.

There are two very interesting groups of smaller towers which should be mentioned, although they are probably of late date. The most northerly group forms a remarkable line, from north-east to south-west, stretched at right angles across the Maiden Way, just south of Bewcastle. It consists of High Grains and Low Grains, [Woodhead], Collin Bank, Tower Brae, and Askerton Parkgate, with outposts at the Knowe, [Peel O'Hill] and Mossthorn. Some six miles further south, the second group takes a parallel line, but not quite so straight, along the southern bank of the Irthing flats. Temon, [Denton Foot, Naworth

East Park], Cumcatch, Farlam, Talkin, Hayton, and Bleatarn, with Tindale Tarn and Castle Carrock towers in the rear. The towers placed within brackets have been already described.

Mr. Henry Penfold of Brampton tells me that they are mostly referred to, in inquisitions and surveys, as "stone houses," presumably in contradistinction to the ordinary timber and daub dwellings of the people, and he kindly sends me information concerning them, which I have put into the following notes.

HIGH GRAINS. C. 8, N.E.

The base of a tower between the Birky Cleugh and the Bull Cleugh, which two streams join together to form the Kirkbeck.

LOW GRAINS. C. 8, N.E.

The remains of a small pele belonging to the Armstrongs, with walls some two to three feet high. An early seventeenth century building has been added.

COLLIN BANK. C. 8, S.W.

On the Side Fell, beside the Maiden Way, is a grassy mound, on which stood a pele, the foundations of which are still clearly traceable.

GILLALEES BEACON. C. 8, S.W.

The foundations of this house are to be found on the west side of the hill, near to the head of Melefarm Beck in the "Yellow Coat" slack. The situation commands the whole of Bewcastle, and it has a wonderful view over the plains of Cumberland, right down to the Solway.

WILLEAVA. C. 8, S.W.

This tower stood near Park Gate and was the residence of one of the Armstrongs. Mr. R. Wrigley of Brampton informed Mr. Penfold that an old man, whilst doing same excavations many years ago, came upon the foundations buried beneath the soil.

WHELPDALE HOLME. C. 4, S.W.

The remains of a small pele are clearly seen on the north bank of the Black Lyne, close to the Knowe farmhouse.

MOSSTHORN. C. 7, S.E.

This was the site of a tower, but Mr. Penfold is not certain whether there are any remains still existing. Mr. Wrigley says that in 1665 Mossthorn was occupied by a well-known Quaker family of the name of Atkinson.

TEMON. C. 12, S.E.

Just within the Cumberland boundary, on the military road from Brampton to Haltwhistle, are the remains of a pele now incorporated into the outbuildings of a farm-house.

CUMCATCH. C. 18, N.W.

One mile east from Brampton. Here in the walls of the present stable are to be seen the foundations of a Stone-House, which is referred to in the 1589 survey of Leonard Dacre's possessions. "The demesnes and scite of Cumcache, with the mill, are set forth 72s. rent."⁶⁶⁷

⁶⁶⁷ Hutchinson, *Hist. of Cumberland*, i., 123.

FARLAM HALL. C. 18, S.W.

The walls of the kitchen and parlour, in the present gardener's cottage at the Hall, once formed the lower storey of a Stone-House.

TALKIN AND HAYTON. C. 18, S.W. and 24, N.E.

All traces of these ancient buildings have disappeared. As regards Hayton, we have the following item, dated 1633:—"Rec. of John Knight for the halfe yeare's rent of the Stone House, and one other tenement ther, due at Martinmass, 1633, iiii^{li}." ⁶⁶⁸

BLEATARN. C. 17, N.W.

Beside the Roman wall was a strong pele, known to have been the residence of the Hetherington family. The clan were returned as "gentry" in the time of Henry VI. They were also seated at Hethersgill, where is an old house with thick walls, known as the High Gate, in which William Taylor, a noted freebooter, resided in 1600. See Lord William Howard's *Household Books*.

TINDALE TARN HOUSE. C. 18, S.E.

Considerable portions of an old pele tower, with its curtain walls, are incorporated in the present building. For instance the dining room, about 20 feet square internally, is the base of the tower, whilst the wall running from it, past the parlour, pantry, dairy and kitchen, occupies the site of the southern curtain wall. The northern wall continued for the same

⁶⁶⁸ Lord William Howard's *Household Books*.

length and thickness, but a large portion of it was pulled down in 1843, when the house was somewhat modernized. The house stands in the old King's Forest of Briarthwaite, Brearthwaite or Bruthwaite.

CASTLE CARROCK. C. 25, N.W.

Here the present yard wall contains the remnant of an old pele.

CLARGHYLL HALL. C. 34, N.W.

This seems to be a late tower in the form of a pele. Its axis lies north-west to south-east, commanding an extensive view of the Pennine Range. At first it would appear as if it consisted of a basement with two storeys over, built of local rubble. Miss James informs me that Mr. Nathaniel Whitfield erected the greater part of the house in 1678-9, but that her father added a third storey with square coursed walling, and a fourth in the gable. The gables rise in "corbie" steps from angle parapets to chimney stacks at the apex. Other accommodation is provided by a wing on the north-east side. One window has a quaint motto carved below the sill:—

He that would at quiet be,
Must shun all evil companie.

XVI.

THE CONTINUED UNREST ON THE BORDER.

FLODDEN answered Bannockburn on the 9th of September, 1513, when Lord Dacre's mounted men from Gilsland were apparently the only cavalry in the field of that crushing victory. Scotland was left with a widowed Queen, an infant son, and the turbulent Duke of Albany as regent whose impolitic rule kept Cumberland in a state of constant panic.

Then came Aske's sad rebellion, known as the "Pilgrimage of Grace," on behalf of the ejected monks. The disaffection spread over Stainmore to Kirkby Stephen. Dr. James Wilson fully describes⁶⁶⁹ the course of events in Cumberland, and how that on the 16th October, 1536, the rebels divided themselves into two columns and marched, one on either side of the Eden, to Penrith. Within a few days the disturbance became general over Cumberland, although few men of position joined the movement and even the parish clergy held aloof. The only anxious moment seems to have been when, on the 3rd November, some 15,000 of the rebels assembled on Broadfield Common with the intent of besieging Carlisle castle. Happily, by the intervention of Sir Christopher Dacre, they were dissuaded and the disturbance died down for a short time. It was, however, rekindled on the 12th of the following February, when Sir Thomas Clifford attempted to arrest at Kirkby Stephen Nicholas Musgrave and Thomas Tibbay, the two ringleaders, who had taken refuge in the tower of the church. A skirmish ensued

⁶⁶⁹ *Vict. Hist. Cumb.*, ii., 270.

in which Sir Thomas was defeated and forced to retire upon Brougham Castle. Following up such an unexpected victory, the insurgents quickly raised a body of from 4,000 to 5,000 men and marched to Penrith and Greystock. Being joined there by other contingents, the combined forces moved forward and "mayd a sawtt at Carlill the frydday next afor the fryst sowndey of Lent," 16th February, 1537. As can well be imagined, it was an undisciplined army and one that was easily repulsed by Sir Christopher Dacre. Out of the 6,000 prisoners taken, seventy-four were chosen to be hanged at their respective villages and in sight of their families.

Unfortunately, the insurrection aggravated the differences already existing between Henry VIII. and James V., for many of the "rebellis and brokin men . . . grey freris, uther doctouris, and religious men" took refuge beyond the Border and were there "resett wythin the reaulme of Scotland," to the great indignation of the English King.⁶⁷⁰ On the other hand, James disapproved of his uncle's political actions, and so the two countries gradually again drifted into war.

In the autumn of 1542 an English army crossed the Eastern border, and James organized a counter attack against Carlisle. His army was necessarily drawn from the Western Lowlands, and was therefore largely composed of the followers of Cassilis and Glencairn, amongst whom the steady growth of the Reformation had made considerable progress. Lord Maxwell marched out of Lochmaben on the 24th November, but not until the Esk was crossed did his army realize the fact that they were called out mainly to serve the interests of the papal clergy. With the knowledge, however, disgust rapidly grew into a definite expression of revolt. In the meantime, Sir Thomas Wharton had dispatched a force, under Sir

⁶⁷⁰ *Vict. Hist. of Cumb.*, ii., 274; *Hamilton Papers*, Scot. Rec. Pub., i., 41, 84.

Thomas Dacre and Jack Musgrave of Bewcastle, to meet them, who, witnessing the strange confusion, found no difficulty in forcing the enemy back upon Solway Moss. It was no battle, but rather a pitiful surrender, in which two earls, five barons and thousands of men chose sooner to become the prisoners of England than to fight against their own faith.

For us, Edward the Sixth's reign is signalized by the division of the Debatable Lands. Hitherto "the just bowndes towards Scotland were in debate in diverse places where the two realmes towche, and hath beine cawse of great controversie betweene the nacions. By meanes wherof ther be certayne parcellis of grownd uppon the edge of the frontier doutefull to whether realme they appertayne, and these are called the Debatable Landes, in truth usurped by the Scottes as well during the warres . . . as also in the time of peace."⁶⁷¹ It is not known with certainty when the term "debatable" was first applied to the territory, which lies between the Sark and the Esk, but it is supposed to have been left undivided at the time of the settlement of the Border during the reign of Robert le Bruce. We find it so termed in a truce agreed to on 15th November, 1449, "that all the claymers and chalougours of the landez called Batable landez or Threpe landez, in the West Marchez, shall in evyn maner entircomyn in the same, as well bi lande as bi watir, without pyndyng, parkage, or other distourbinn during the said triewes, etc."⁶⁷² The territory formed a sort of buffer state whereon both sides by agreement enjoyed a right of common pasture, so long as they drove their cattle home before sunset. Lord Dacre alludes to this ancient custom in his letter to the Scots Privy Council, 6th July, 1517:—"My Lords there is a grounde called the Debatable grounde, lycing betwene the realme of England and Scot-

⁶⁷¹ Cal. Border Pap. 1560-94, pp. 30-32.

⁶⁷² Armstrong, *Hist. Liddesdale*, i., 170.

land, wherein there is no strife for the boundes of the same; but it is wele knowne by the subjects of bothe the realmes, and allweyes has been used and accustomed to pasture upon the same ground with bit of mouthe, from the sonne rising to the sonne setting, with all manner of cattell, for the subjects of bothe the realmes. And if any subject of ayther realme wilfully will stub or stake⁶⁷³ or kepe any cattell under cover of night, it is and always has bene at the likkes of the Wardenis, lieutenants and subjects of ayther realme, fyndeing them greved, to brenne, destroye, waiste, take and drive away all suche goods and cattell as there shalbe founde so wilfully kept under cover of night."

As late as 1526, it was still considered and agreed that no man should occupy the "Bayttable" ground, and that any houses built upon the territory might lawfully be burned down, or any cattle housed within the same, even during day time, might be seized.⁶⁷⁴ The Armstrongs, however, contrived to obtain possession of a considerable portion of the area, and erected unlicensed towers along the river banks;⁶⁷⁵ therefore William Lord Dacre undertook the task of destroying them. In his first raid, February 1528, he "burned the Hollows" on the Esk, belonging to Johnnie Armstrong of Gilnockie, who retaliated by destroying Netherby; on his second raid Dacre boastfully says that he "scourged the district with fire and sword, destroying all the houses remaining in the Debatable Land, especially a strong pele belonging to "Ill Will" Armstrong.⁶⁷⁶ And yet we find that immediately following these "crushing invasions" Johnie and Simon Armstrong were not only in complete possession of the territory, but were at the head of a well-armed force hurling defiance at his lordship.

⁶⁷³ See Jamieson's *Scottish Dictionary*, "Stob and stalk—to hold stob and stalk in any place, to have one's permanent residence there."

⁶⁷⁴ Armstrong, *Hist. Liddesdale*, i., 215, 231.

⁶⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 245.

⁶⁷⁶ Cal. Letters and Papers, Henry VIII., vol. iv., pt. 2, p. 1827.

Thus did this sore remain an open wound for many years. Remedies were sought for in vain, and even as late as April 1551, Edward VI. issued instructions to the Commissioners of the North, to let the land remain neutral as before.⁶⁷⁷ But early in the following year the King came to an agreement with the French Ambassador accredited to his Court, that an effectual remedy should be sought. At first it was suggested that, agreeably to the Treaty of Norham, the district should be wholly evacuated and laid waste ; but with saner judgement it was settled, that an earnest endeavour should be made to arrive at a just division of the land between the two Kingdoms. In the illustration, which I have copied from a coloured plan preserved at the Public Record Office and evidently prepared for the use of the Commissioners, four straight lines will be found drawn across the area enclosed within the dotted boundary. (1) The most northerly is drawn from Pingle Knowe through the Theefe Slacke to the bend of Wodesborne, a little above its junction with the Esk, and styled the "English Com^{is} Offerr." (2) A line drawn from Howeborne where it falls into Sark, to the point where Wodesborne falls into Esk, marked with a star at each end and styled "The accord with the French Embassador." (3) A line drawn from the same point as No. 2 to the mouth of the Glenyer borne, where it falls into Esk, south of Tom Greme's house, and styled "The Scottes Offerr." (4) A line drawn from Sark, south-east of Sandy Armstrong's tower, crossing No. 3 diagonally to Dyndsdayle on Esk, opposite the house of Fergus Greme, marked with a cross-pattée at each end and styled "This is the last and fynal lyne of the particōn concluded xxiiij Septembris 1552." Agreeably to this division a treaty was drawn up between Sir Thomas Wharton and Sir Thomas Challoner, as Commissioners for Edward VI., and Sir James Douglas

⁶⁷⁷ Cal. Scottish Pap., i., 185.

of Drumlangrig and Richard Maitland of Lethington, as Commissioners for the Queen of Scots. It was ratified by Edward VI. at Westminster, and by the Governor of Scotland at Jedburgh, during the month of November, 1552. Subsequently, by a further agreement, an earthen wall was raised along the new boundary, four miles long, when it was directed that a pyramid of squared stone, ornamented with the arms of the two sovereigns, should be set up at Dimmisdale. Such is the brief history of "The Scots Dyke."⁶⁷⁸ [See page 198].

Under Queen Mary, the Catholics of the North enjoyed special favour, but with the accession of Elizabeth they became subjects of suspicion and penal laws were quickly enforced upon them. Their religion made them look upon this great Princess as the daughter of a concubine, therefore they turned to the young Queen of Scots as their rightful sovereign, and entered into a conspiracy to place her on the throne of England. Mary's title lay through her grandmother, Margaret the sister of Henry VIII., and as she was by now the wife of Francis II. of France, we can well understand the splendid visions opened out to her uncles of the house of Guise. The princes of Lorraine even went the length of having money struck, bearing the arms of England, and proclamations made in the names of Francis and Mary, as King and Queen of France, England and Scotland. With the death of Francis in 1560, the widowed Mary, scarcely nineteen years of age, returned to Scotland, and in 1565 strengthened her claim to the English throne, and her immortal rivalry with Elizabeth, by marrying Lord Darnley, who, as grandson of her own grandmother, by a second marriage, was considered next to Mary in the English succession. With Mary's third marriage to the vicious Bothwell in 1567, and the consequent great

⁶⁷⁸ For further information see an admirable paper by Mr. T. H. B. Graham in the *Transactions*, N.S., xii., 33.

revulsion of feeling in Scotland, with her captivity and her abdication in favour of James VI., we have no need to deal. Neither is it necessary to enter into the details of the "Rising of the North" with the avowed intention of liberating Mary, further than where it touches Naworth and the treachery of Leonard Dacre. When, according to the watchword, "The brooks were rising" or all going well, Dacre's voice was in the forefront; but when trouble came he stole away, betrayed his companions, begged mercy of Elizabeth, and then retired upon Naworth and fortified the castle.⁶⁷⁹ Ultimately, when Earl Percy and his devoted wife, the Lady Anne, and Charles Nevill, Earl of Westmorland, reached Naworth in a deplorable condition, after the hardships of a week's flight by unfrequented ways, Dacre denied even a few hours' rest or nourishment to them. In vain did these two great earls, once the supreme rulers of the North, appeal to his sense of knightly courtesy and beg shelter of Naworth. After spending some time among the outlaws of Liddesdale, Nevill found refuge in Ker's castle of Ferniehirst, but Percy was captured by the regent Moray, with the aid of a conveniently treacherous Armstrong.⁶⁸⁰ On the following night, Charles Nevill, with his host, Sir Thomas Ker, Sir Walter Scott of Buccleuch and a force of 2,000 horse, dashed over the Border and wrought desolation on those who remained loyal to Elizabeth. Probably they did not penetrate so far as to wreak vengeance on

⁶⁷⁹ At this time Naworth was in the possession of George Lord Dacre, a minor, and Leonard Dacre of Horsley, co. York, second son of Lord William of Gilsland, was his uncle. At first by legal process he endeavoured to gain possession of Naworth, Greystoke, Kirkoswald and Rockcliffe. Failing in this he tried to gain the interest of the Duke of Norfolk—the guardian of the three sister co-heirs of the young Lord George, who had just been killed in an accident—by assisting in the Rising. Seeing that things were not likely to succeed in this direction he took the bold step of betraying his colleagues, trusting that the Queen would grant his desire as a recompense. For the moment, blinded by his protestations, the Queen issued a Commission giving him power to raise forces against the rebels, and with such help he found little trouble in taking forcible possession.

⁶⁸⁰ This defiance of the unwritten law of cross-border sanctuary led probably to Moray's undoing. On the 23rd January, 1570, he was murdered.

Dacre, but Elizabeth, no longer blinded by his pretences, directed Lord Scrope to "get Leonard Dacre into safe custodie." The Lord Warden therefore invited Dacre to confer with him at Carlisle, to which he received answer that Dacre was kept to his room by an "outrageous ague," but if Lord Scrope would "vouchsafe to take part of an ill dinner" at Naworth he would be glad to see him. Scrope wrote at once to Cecil, "I dare assure you that by force of this country he is not to be touched," whereupon Elizabeth sent word to Lord Hunsdon, Governor of Berwick, to assault the rebel at Naworth, and arrest "that cankred suttill traitor." Hunsdon found "every hylle full of men, bothe horsemen and footmen," the entrance to the castle "very straightly kept" with "ordenance and gones levied at every corner." He thereupon feigned to go on his way to Carlisle, when Dacre, attributing his conduct to fear, sallied out and vigorously fell upon him at Hill Beck. In the State papers Hunsdon describes his victory and how that Dacre "was the first man that flew, like a tall gentleman, and, as I thinke, never looked behind him tyll he was in Lyddesdale."

In September, 1579, Esmé Stuart, Lord d'Aubigny, came from France to Scotland, and by his courtly manners gained the favour of the boy King James and received the lands and earldom of Lennox. His intention seems to have been the renewal of the Franco-Scottish League and the restoration of the Roman church. His sudden rise to power occasioned, no doubt, the muster on the English border in the beginning of 1580, and the examination in the autumn into the armaments of the border fortresses. The long array, certified by Christopher Dacre of Lannercost on September 11th,⁶⁸¹ giving the individual names of nearly 9,000 men in the Western March and their equipment, is a valuable record of the sturdy yeomen of

⁶⁸¹ Cal. St. Pap. Dom. Add. 1580, vol. xxvii., No. 44.

Cumberland and Westmorland. It is also interesting to note that the jack or leathern coat and cap, with the spear, predominate next the border, whilst the bow and bill predominate in Westmorland.

The wisdom of Elizabeth's government is made conspicuous by the care taken to put the defences of the realm, both by sea and land, in a complete state of efficiency. The internal defences were promoted by the systematic organisation of the militia, by holding of general musters and by a periodical survey and repair of all her fortresses. Thus Christopher Dacre reported in 1580 to the Privy Council the various statements which we have quoted under the headings of the respective strongholds. It is somewhat pitiful to hear Dacre complain, twelve years afterwards, that "I had the whole travail for a quarter of a year in making the survey at my own charge and have as yet received no recompense." He also recommended that two new fortresses should be built. "For as much as her Ma^y hath not any castel or fortresse upō ye front of the sayd border betwene the castel of Bewcastel and her Ma^s castel of Woulstrie, w^{ch} is about xxvj myles . . . it is therefore thought verie convenient [if y^t may so stand wth her Ma^s pleasure] that two new fortresses be there deuised and made upon the verie ringe and front of y^e sayd border . . . w^{ch} new fortresses as y^t is esteamed may be made wth five hundred pounds a peece suffycient for a garrison of a hundred horsemen or footmen." Acting doubtless upon this report, and similar ones made for the middle and east marches, the Lords framed an Act, in the beginning of 1581, "for fortifieng the Borders towards Scotland." This the Commons refused to pass, but framed their own Act, which the Lords ultimately passed on the 13th March.⁶⁸² This statute enacted that the Queen should

⁶⁸² Redpath's *Border Hist.*, 1810, p. 657; *Parl. Hist.*, p. 235; D'Ewe's *Journal*, p. 305, 273.

appoint Commissioners to inquire what "Tenancies and Houses of Habitation were decayed and not occupied by men able to serve as Horsemen or Footmen, according to the ancient Duty of those Tenancies, and to examine the probable Causes of those Ruins and to give Order for the Reformation thereof with all Speed. Also howe many Castles, Fortresses, Fortelettes, and Habitacions were meete to bee made of newe within the said Counties and in what places the same were most meete to be scytuate . . . and thereupon to take such order for the reedifieng . . . and for the newe erectyng and makyng of others . . . provided always that by colour or vertue of this Commission they doo not reedifie newe make or inclose in any place or places . . . being in distance and lyeng above twentye miles from the Knowne partes of the borders of Scotlande."⁶⁸³ Little seems to have been done, however, until June 1583, when we find some further rules for the defence of the Borders,⁶⁸⁴ in which the castles of Roccliffe, Netherby, The Mote, Bewcastle and Askerton Towre are mentioned.⁶⁸⁵ Two months later, 11th August, the Council wrote to the Commissioners, "John busshop of Carlisle, Henrye lord Scrope, Sir Symond Musgrave, Sir Henrye Curwine, Christopher Dacre, Geordge Lamploughe, Geordge Salfelde, William Musgrave and John Mydelton," to the effect that "her Majesty having sent you her commission to inquire of the decays of the castles etc. wishes that before any reparaçons are made you should send a certificate of your surveys and receive directions for your further proceeding."⁶⁸⁶ In the spring of the following year⁶⁸⁷, the Council again wrote to Henry Hastings, 3rd Earl of Huntingdon and Lord Lieutenant of the North,

⁶⁸³ 23 Elzth., cap. iv.; Statutes of the Realm, iv., part i., p. 266.

⁶⁸⁴ Cal. Border Pap. 1560-94, p. 101.

⁶⁸⁵ See report of 1583 quoted under the headings of the respective strongholds.

⁶⁸⁶ Cal. St. Pap. Dom. Add. 1580-1625, p. 92.

⁶⁸⁷ May 20, 1584.

to use all expedition in sending a certificate with an estimate of the charge of repair. "Advertise us how soon you can proceed to the execution of your commission, her Majesty is so earnest for speed that she blames us that it has not been executed, and being a matter of importance and the time so long past, we have promised her there shall be no more delay."⁶⁸⁸

The need for this vigilance is evinced by the fact that raiding was becoming ever more incessant and indeed the chief occupation of the inhabitants of every class. Nearly all the movable property in the district was more or less afloat on the wings of the foray; cattle, corn and chattels being tossed about until all trace of original ownership was hopelessly lost. The great families living near the border, on both sides, regarded it as free warren, and so often, we are told, as the lady of the house found her larder growing bare she served up to her lord a dish containing only a pair of spurs. A single night's raid was generally sufficient to replenish the household.

In the year 1587, an anonymous writer humbly submitted to the Queen a plan of defence against the Scots which he calls an "Inskonce," but which seems to have been nothing more or less than a wall like Hadrian's, but of earth, be thrown up on the Cheviot frontier. He thus describes it:—"An Inskonce is a speciall kinde of an arteficiall fortyficacion consystinge for the most parte onelye of mayne earthe, raysed with trenche and rampyour and flauncked with bulwarkes . . . drawn out by a right lyne and dystended even to the whole length of the Border . . . from the easterne to the westerne sea and streching to 80 myles in lengthe or thereabouts . . . it would not cost the Queen more than 30,000^l. sterling." The third chapter of his description refers to the "skonses" that are to be planted on the wall at least a mile distant from each other,

⁶⁸⁸ Cal. St. Pap. Dom. Add. 1580-1625, p. 120.

intended for habitation and fortified towards Scotland to resist artillery. The objection that a navy might land an army and turn the flank is met by saying that "y^e is oddes the sayde fleete wyll never touche the pretended forte," and as there could be no horsemen with them, the invaders after using the "victualls in ther pockettes" must either starve or surrender.⁶⁸⁹

In August 1595, the Queen received information against Thomas Musgrave, captain of Bewcastle, for "familiarity and friendly intelligence with the Scots, permitting them to pass through his rule without resistance,"⁶⁹⁰ to which Scrope replies that he will collect information, sending him before her commissioners "if matter worthie prove against him," but that this wardenry is too weak for offence or defence; "thus Liddesdale passes easily through it to attack Gilsland and as the K. of Scots gives no more than fair words without performance and the people in my rule are like to suffer more damage I would most humbly beseech her Majesty to send hither speedily some 100 of the Berwick foot, etc."⁶⁹¹ In September there is a warrant by the Queen to Lord Hunsdon, commanding him to choose and send 100 foot of the Berwick garrison to Carlisle to be under Scrope's orders.⁶⁹² And yet, after a serious fray, poor Scrope had to write again on December 25th to the Council, saying "the Scots threaten with 'highe and proude boastes,' and as the soldiers are not yet come I humbly pray for speed in the matter as also for a few horsemen, for footmen are not so good to defend and pursue as for offence," adding, "I beseech you that Thomas Musgrave may be speedily returned to his charge . . . it would be good that he gave assurance before leaving you to furnish himself with and keep a fit retinue

⁶⁸⁹ This is very interesting as the idea is submitted only one year after Camden's first account of the Roman Wall was published.

⁶⁹⁰ Cal. Border Pap. 1595-1603, p. 51.

⁶⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

⁶⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 55.

furnished with their due number of horses, till the office is in better strength ; but better assurance must be taken than his simple promises for I fear his performance will not be answerable to his promises and fair speeches.”⁶⁹³

1596. We now come to the struggle between Lord Scrope and the Grames, aided by the Lowthers, which commenced by the seizure of William Armstrong, alias “ Kinmont Willie,” on the 17th of March, 1596, for his “ notorious enmity to this wardenry and the many outrages lately done by his followers,” Lord Scrope writes to the Privy Council on April 12th, “ Your lordships have been from time to time made acquainted with the undutiful carriage of the Grames, and hoping that it will please your wisdoms to have tender consideration of this border, suffering under the ‘ tyranny ’ of them and theirs, I trust that you will write me ‘ a straight letter ’ commanding me to send up to you those of the surname, named in the note herewith,⁶⁹⁴ and on their appearance commit them to ‘ the Fleete ’ or other prison, having no doubt that at my coming I should show proof of such matter against them as deserved due punishment.”⁶⁹⁵ Two days later Scrope again writes to the Council saying, “ I thought it my duty to acquaint you with ‘ the proude attempte ’ which the Scots have made on this her Majesty’s castle of Carlisle, her chiefest fortresse in these partes. Yesternighte in the deade time thereof Buclughe’s chief man with 500 horsemen did come armed and appointed with gavlockes and crowes of iron, handpeckes, axes and skailinge lathers, unto an outewarde corner of the base courte of this castell and to the postern door of the same—which they undermined speedily and quietlie and made themselves possessores of the base courte, brake into the

⁶⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 89.

⁶⁹⁴ The names were:—Walter Grame of Netherbye; William Grame of the Mote; Richard Grame of Braconhill; William Grame of the Rosetrees; John Grame alias Willes Jocke; Hutchin Grame alias Richies Hutchin.

⁶⁹⁵ Cal. Border Pap. 1595-1603, p. 120.

chamber where Will of Kinmont was, carried him awaye, and in their discoverie by the watch, lefte for deade two of the watchmen, hurt a servante of myne and were issued againe oute of the posterne before they were descried by the watche of the inner warde and ere resistance could be made. The watch as y^t shoulde seeme, by reason of the stormie night, were either on sleepe, or gotten under some covert to defende themselves from the violence of the wether, by which meanes the Scots atchieved th' interprise with less difficultie . . . And regardinge the myndes of the Louthers to do villeny unto me I am induced vehementlye to suspect that their heades have bin in the devise of this attempt and am also perswaded that Thomas Carlton⁶⁹⁶ hath lent his hand hearunto ; for y^t is whispered in myne eare, that some of his seryauntes, well acquainted with all the corners of this castell, were gydes in the execution hearof."

If Kinmont had been fairly captured and hanged, no fault could have been found with Scrope, but it was the treachery of his arrest which roused the Scot. Kinmont had been present at Day Holme, near Kershope Foot, on the occasion of a day of truce, when every man was immune from arrest according to the time-honoured custom of the Border. On making his way home again Kinmont and his friends were suddenly surprised and captured by a troop of 200 light horse under the command of Salkeld, the deputy English Warden, and carried in triumph to Carlisle. On the other hand, it must be said that his release from the castle by internal treachery⁶⁹⁷ turns out to be rather different from the picturesque detail of the well-known ballad. It must be remembered that the enmity between Thomas, Lord Scrope, and the Lowthers arose from the fact that Richard Lowther had been appointed Lord Warden temporarily after the death

⁶⁹⁶ Lowther's ex-constable.

⁶⁹⁷ Cal. Border Pap., 1595-1603, p.129.

of Henry, 9th Lord Scrope. But the policy of Elizabeth was not to appoint local magnates permanently, rather men from a distance who could have no local connections with the borderers. Therefore, within a year Lowther received a mandate to deliver up the Wardenry to this Thomas, 10th Lord Scrope of Bolton, which was very much to his displeasure. Their great hostility to one another is revealed in several letters addressed by Scrope to Sir Robert Cecil, as for instance :—"The Louthers ar my greate adversaryes and Gerard is now on his jorney to London; if he shall broatche anythinge against me, I desier and assure myselfe that you will stande my honourable frende."⁶⁹⁸ "I have none to trust now but myselfe being an unequal match for 'old Belzebub' Gerard Louter."⁶⁹⁹ "Yeesterdaye⁷⁰⁰ olde Gerard Lowther departed this transitorie lyfe to goe and yeeelde an accompt of his stuardship in the Soverayne Court."⁷⁰¹

⁶⁹⁸ Cal. Border Pap., 1595-1603, p. 92.

⁶⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 269.

⁷⁰⁰ 15th July, 1597.

⁷⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 361.

XVII.

THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE PELE TOWER.

THE transformation of the Pele Tower was brought about during two vital epochs in Domestic Architecture. The first is known as the Tudor Period, and coincided roughly with the reigns of Henry the Seventh and Eighth, whilst the second is indelibly associated with the reign of Queen Elizabeth. The revival of letters unmistakably altered the outlook upon life and tended indirectly to produce the great change. Although this revival had its birth in Italy, nowhere was it more genuine than in England,⁷⁰² and it was just because of its depth and soundness here that our builders refused to plunge into, and slavishly imitate, the somewhat emotional classicism of the continent. Scotland, on the other hand, held to French traditions, so that their "Baronial" architecture, with round pepper-box turrets and "corbie-stepped" gables, resembles that of the Renaissance châteaux of France.

Side by side with this, the dissolution of the monasteries was also an important factor, for it brought to the royal favourites vast grants of conventual property, and, consequently, a sudden acquisition of great wealth to a numerous class of new men. Moreover, under the strong hand of Henry VIII., trade with foreign countries developed to an amazing extent, so that merchants and manufacturers sprang up and amassed fortunes by their

⁷⁰² Erasmus writing to Colet in 1498 said, "this England of yours, dear to me on many accounts, is above all most beloved because it abounds in what to me is best of all, men deeply learned in letters."

own labours. In our own district, which was one great sheep walk from end to end, the woollen trade accounted for much. English wool was esteemed beyond any other, and, before we began the manufacture of woollen goods, our dalesmen exported so much unwrought wool that the breeding of sheep was the general occupation, and that to the enrichment of the landowner.

England, therefore,—freed from the nervous dread of attack and with comparative peace within her own borders, also awakened in all departments of human learning and enterprise, and further possessed with an unbounded wealth—was well equipped for a genuine advance. And the one outstanding point of this advance is, that England held her own in the uses that she made of her advantages.

Shall we say, then, that it was owing to the simple upbringing of the new men, whose families during the last century had raised themselves into some position, and who were now living in a homely and refined manner, that the birth of Tudor architecture was due? Due to the men of talent and of business habits, who, unfettered by traditions, brought to their buildings a simplicity of thought, a directness of purpose and the restful influence of home life, that ultimately charmed and captivated the nation?

It was a new style that gradually evolved out of the Perpendicular. There was no striving after any eccentricities or unnecessary embellishment. Everything was thoughtful and correct, and this is perhaps the most astonishing thing about the style, that, no matter who the builders, whether town masters of the craft or only local country men, they seem to have naturally grasped the spirit and understood intuitively the exact relations of voids and solids, of heights and string-coursed widths.

The fifteenth century halls may have been eminently suited for the requirements of the feudal days, when the

dominating factor of a dwelling was that it should be easily defended, and the word "home," with all that it connotes, was a word of little meaning. But with this changed order of national life, very naturally, they were considered as cold, bare and unfit for the progress of the age. For instance, the earthen floor had hitherto been laid with rushes during winter and with fragrant herbs during summer, which in truth, unless changed pretty often, must have been trodden into anything but sweetness. If, therefore, the tower was retained at all, the first essential alteration was to raise the hall from off the earth and to board the floor with wood, resting upon cellars beneath. That is to say, to raise the hall up to within 12 inches of the first floor level of the tower so that an even way might be had from off the dais into the solar. Of course this great improvement necessitated an external staircase from the courtyard, a feature which, as seen at Levens, Sizergh, Naworth and many other places, adds so much to the dignity of the entrance.

During the sixteenth century the hall still remained the most prominent and distinctive portion of the house, although, as the custom of privacy strengthened, it was rapidly losing its original purpose. Other features are found in the bay-window at the dais end brought down low enough to afford an outlook; and the fireplace *recessed into* the side of the wall, beneath a gaping but enclosed flue which rose up as an independent shaft and formed an essential structural feature.

The "elegant and commodious tube," now termed a chimney, was first introduced into the castles of Kenilworth, Conway and Bolton, and Leland describing the latter castle [1539] says, "One thinge I mucche notyd in the Hauille of Bolton, how Chimeneyes were conveyed by Tunnells made on the syds of the Wauls bytwixt the Lights in the Hauill; and by this meanes, and by no Covers, is the Smoke of the Harthe in the Hawle wonder

strangely convayed.”⁷⁰³ This refinement was not altogether relished at the time. Harrison, the chaplain to Lord Cobham, writing his *Description of England* in 1557, laments the change of manners, increase of luxury and declination of manly courage by saying, “Now haue we many chymneys, and yet our tenderlings complaine of rhumes, catarhs, and poses. Then had we none but central fires, and our heads did never ake. For as the smoke in those daies was supposed to be sufficient hardening for the timber of the house, so it was reputed a far better medicine to keep the goodman and his familie from the quacke or pose wherewith as then verie few were oft acquainted.” However, chimneys rapidly multiplied, and apologies were made to visitors if they could not be accommodated with a *camera cum camino*. At first the flue from a fire on the first floor was placed in front of the flue from the fire downstairs, and, in the same way, the flue from a fire on the second floor was placed in front of the two others, so that the size of the upper room became very much diminished by this great projection into it. To obviate this difficulty, it took the combined talents of all the master builders until the latter part of the seventeenth century, to devise the method of placing the flues side by side.

But to return to the hall; here we find the fireplace made wide enough to take long lengths of wood, laid across andirons, and the masonry protected from extreme heat by iron firebacks, initialled and dated.⁷⁰⁴ In front were other smaller supports, called “creepers” or “fire-dogs,” and frequently an ingenious device for warming plates, made of a ball with six legs, called the “fire-cat,” for however you might drop it, it always alighted upon its feet.

⁷⁰³ Leland, viii., fol. 66b. His erratic spelling could scarcely be better exemplified than in this short sentence, where “hall” is spelt in three different ways and “conveyed” in two.

⁷⁰⁴ The oldest known specimen, in the Victoria and Albert Museum, is dated 1584.

Glass was still exceedingly scarce. Warton mentions a hall near Brazenose College, named "Glazen-hall" from having glass windows affixed in it when it was built. On a survey of Alnwick Castle made in the year 1567, the report says, "Y^t it were good the whole leights of eviry windowe at the departure of his lordshippe, were taken downe and lade upe in safety, as the decaye therof shall be verie costlie, and chargeable to be repayred."⁷⁰⁵ Usually, however, his lordship took it with him, together with his furniture, arras, and rarer bedding, packed away in seventeen cumbrous waggons that preceded "my lord's chariot" and the cavalcade of horsemen and litters bearing the gentlewomen.

Tapestry now covered the walls and depicted subjects of historical event up to the time of the Renaissance, after which they became scriptural or pagan. Curtains were used for covering the doors and windows, whilst the window seats and perhaps a couple of squat chairs were covered with "carpets." To sit on a chair was considered as the prerogative of the master of the house, or as an honor to be conceded only to a distinguished guest. Indeed, this usage is supposed to survive in our term "chairman" to denote the master of a meeting. We find Sir John Harrington complaining even at Court, and enquiring if it would not "as well become the state of the chamber, to have easye quilted and lyned forms and stools for the lords and ladies to sit on, as great plank forms, that two yeomen can scant remove out of their place, and waynscot stooles so hard, that since great breeches were layd asyde, men can skant indewr to sitt on."⁷⁰⁶ It was not until late in the century that the low squat chair developed into an imposing piece of furniture, with a high panelled back and arms. Cowper speaks of them as narrow and upright, which

⁷⁰⁵ Northumberland Household Book.

⁷⁰⁶ *Nugæ Antiquæ*.

Pressed hard against the ribs,
 And bruised the side ; and elevated high
 Taught the raised shoulders to invade the ears.

Only by looking through the dry schedules of household effects, and by taking note of the very few beds and tables that the family possessed, of their pots and pans and other such like domestic chattels, are we enabled properly to judge how meagrely our ancestors were lodged and how far from luxurious their daily life must necessarily have been. Even so late as 1608, Tom Coryat speaks of forks as a novelty. In his work⁷⁰⁷ he mentions a custom throughout the cities of Italy which he had never observed in any other country, namely that of using "forckes when they eat their meate." In Ben Johnson's Comedy of *The Devil is an Ass* [1616], Sledge inquires—"Forks? What be they?" To which Meercraft replies—

The laudable use of forks,
 Brought into custom here, as they are in Italy
 To th' sparing o' napkins.

Horn and wooden spoons seem to have been almost the only aid to the fingers in eating.

The halls vary considerably in their dimensions, according to the amount of state maintained and the number of retinue kept. Thus we find the two halls of Naworth and Wharton of magnificent proportions. They were each built by the Lord Wardens of the Western March as banqueting halls, who by reason of their offices were obliged to entertain in a lordly fashion :—

Naworth, built by Thomas Lord Dacre 78 by 24 feet
 Wharton, built by Thomas Lord Wharton 68 by 27

⁷⁰⁷ *Crudities hastily gobbled up in five months' Travels in France, Savoy and Italy*, published in 1611.

The dimensions of other halls are as follows :—

| | | | | |
|-------------------------|----|----|----|---------------|
| Workington | .. | .. | .. | 56 by 22 feet |
| Cappleside | .. | .. | .. | ? 52 by 18 |
| Nether Levens | .. | .. | .. | 48 by 22 |
| Askham | .. | .. | .. | 44 by 23 |
| Millom | .. | .. | .. | 43 by 30 |
| Yanwath | .. | .. | .. | 42 by 24 |
| Dalston | .. | .. | .. | 42 by 21 |
| Brougham | .. | .. | .. | 40½ by 19½ |
| Howgill | .. | .. | .. | 40 by 24 |
| Isel | .. | .. | .. | 40 by 24 |
| Levens | .. | .. | .. | 40 by 22 |
| Sizergh | .. | .. | .. | 40 by 20 |
| Beetham | .. | .. | .. | 39½ by 25 |
| Catterlen (Elizabethan) | .. | .. | .. | 37 by 20 |
| „ (Renaissance) | .. | .. | .. | 36 by 18 |
| Barton Kirke | .. | .. | .. | 36 by 18 |
| Mauld's Meaburn | .. | .. | .. | 36 by 18 |
| Scaleby | .. | .. | .. | 35 by 22 |
| Thornthwaite | .. | .. | .. | 35 by 16 |
| Heversham | .. | .. | .. | 30 by 27 |
| Wraysholme | .. | .. | .. | 30 by 20½ |
| Greenthwaite | .. | .. | .. | 29 by 18 |
| Kentmere | .. | .. | .. | 28 by 14½ |
| Blencow | .. | .. | .. | 27 by 21 |
| Sockbridge | .. | .. | .. | 27 by 18 |
| Coniston | .. | .. | .. | 26 by 23 |
| Kirkby Thore | .. | .. | .. | 26 by 22 |
| Burneside | .. | .. | .. | 25½ by 22 |
| Middleton | .. | .. | .. | 25 by 23 |
| Little Strickland | .. | .. | .. | 25 by 15 |
| Hornby | .. | .. | .. | 21 by 21 |
| Newby | .. | .. | .. | 21 by 21 |
| Orton Old Hall | .. | .. | .. | 21 by 18 |

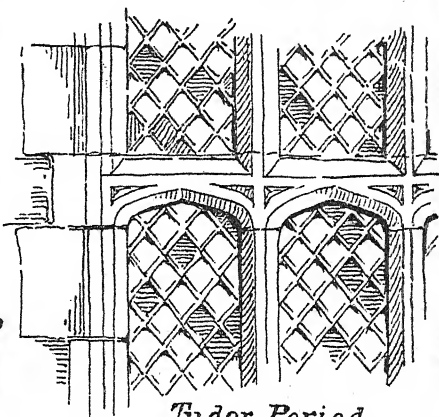
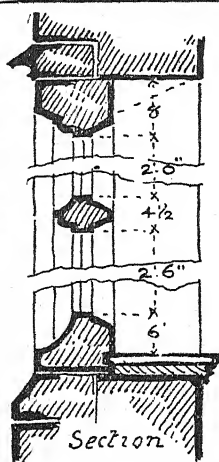
It was, however, during the Elizabethan period that our grim old fortalices began to be completely transformed into stately mansions. The courtyard, hitherto enclosed by a simple defensive wall, now became surrounded by extensive wings from the house. The Long Gallery which occupied the upper floor of one of them is a very characteristic feature, for it only continued in fashion for some eighty years. Hampton Court possesses the earliest known example, dating from about 1540, whilst few, if any, examples are known to have been built after the reign of James I. Its precise object is not quite clear, but Sir Henry Wotton implies that it was a place for indoor exercise—"All [the rooms] that are appointed for gentle motions, as galleries," should be on the northern side.⁷⁰⁸

Although the gatehouse had ceased to be of more practical use than a bar to the entrance of marauders and beggars—who, by the way, caused no little anxiety, especially in the years following the suppression of the monasteries where hitherto they had found shelter—yet the seclusion it ensured and the dignity it gave to an approach were sufficient reason for its retention in peaceful days.

Another characteristic feature is the square-headed mullioned window. Previous to the time of Elizabeth the plain square head hardly ever occurs; it is always pointed and down to the end of the fifteenth century it was usually cusped. In the Tudor period it became flat pointed and the cuspings disappeared, but now one is struck with the almost entire absence of the arch.

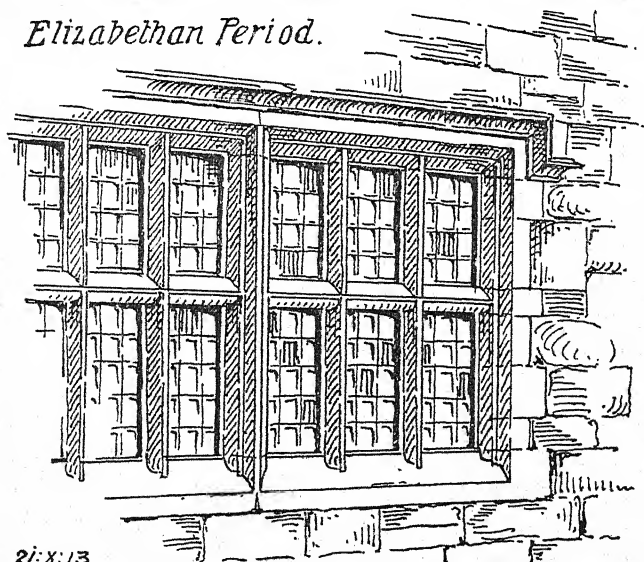
It is a singular fact that side by side with the remarkable expansion of rooms in the Tudor period, the staircase still remained of little importance. Tucked away in angles of the building, the circular stairway, at best inconvenient, persisted long before it eventually developed

⁷⁰⁸ *Elements of Architecture.*



Tudor Period.

Elizabethan Period.

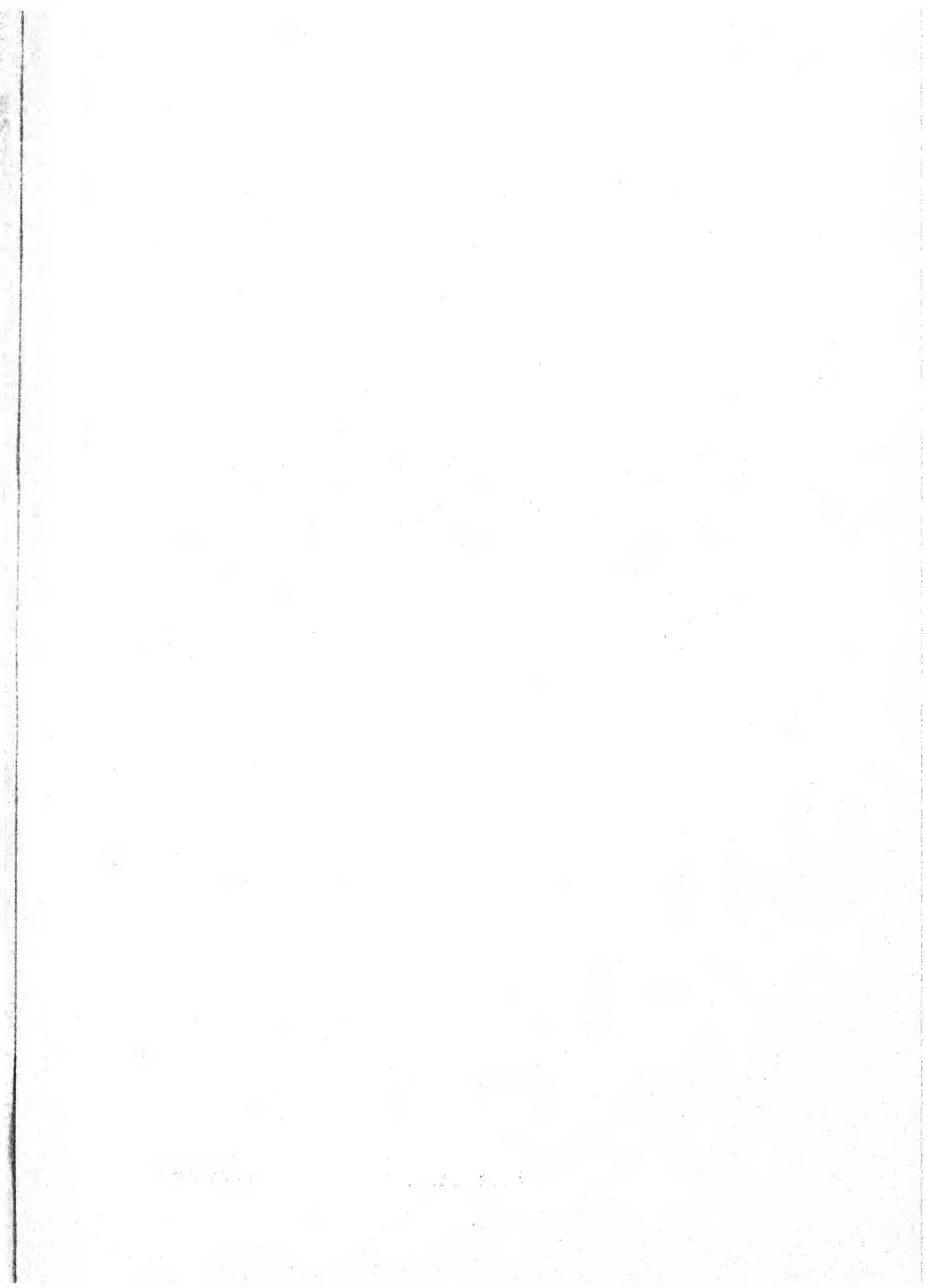


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under Elizabethan craftsmen into an imposing structure, upon which was lavished both design and workmanship. Now we find broad flights, with short runs of steps from landing to landing, the posts stout and tall, the ballusters thick and the handrail massive.

While the bay window developed into one of the most important architectural features of a façade, the chimney became far simpler. It was in the reign of Henry VIII. that they assumed their elaborate form, but with the growth toward Italian detail this excessive play of fancy died out. A strong prejudice against coal still lingered. Elizabeth prohibited its use in London during the sitting of Parliament, lest "the health of the Knights of the Shires might suffer during their abode in the metropolis." And yet the Queen realised that every day wood was becoming scarcer and more difficult to procure for ship-building. This is shown by her proclamation that no oak, beech or ash tree, growing within fourteen miles of the sea, should be converted into fuel. "It may be conceived no woode meant no kingdome."

Wainscoting the walls with oak now superseded, to a great extent, hand-made tapestry. Wainscoting that was beautiful in its simplicity, relying for effect upon the polished markings of the English oak rather than upon any mouldings. Where enrichment was sought, the favourite device was some variation of the so-called "linen-fold." It was framed together in a simple and straightforward manner and then pegged with wooden pins. The total absence of metal nails stabbing into the flesh and decaying the tissues of the wood, is considered the chief secret of its great durability. But unfortunately Flemish influence soon stepped in to spoil this simplicity. Artisans from the Lowlands, driven from their country by the inhumanity of Alva, came over here in great numbers and were received by Elizabeth with cordial hospitality. And it is to them that we owe those





BLEAZE HALL.

TO FACE P. 437.

grotesquely modelled scrolls and unnatural figures, which are so essentially opposed to that dignity which had hitherto marked the work of English craftsmanship.

The veneer panelling of the "Inlaid Chamber" at Sizergh was of Italian workmanship. With wonderful labour and exactness each panel was ornamented with arabesque patterns inlaid with holly, ebony and fossil oak. West says⁷⁰⁹ that this room was finished about the year 1573, and that an apprentice served his time of seven years whilst assisting at the work. There is a tradition that Sir James Bellingham keenly felt the rivalry of the neighbouring hall at Sizergh, and that he lavished all the wealth he could upon the panelling at Levens, sooner than be outdone by a Strickland. Truly the richness and magnificence of the Drawing Room mantelpiece, dated 1595, and which, by the way, is considered to be one of the finest specimens of carved oak work in the kingdom, is sufficient evidence of his determination.

During the Tudor period the ceilings had been, not infrequently, enriched with heavily moulded beams and with carved bosses, of considerable vigour, at the intersections. Prior Senhouse [1507], in the solar at Carlisle Deanery, went further and illuminated both the beams and the spaces between them with quaint devices, inscriptions and heraldry.⁷¹⁰ But during the Elizabethan period the ceilings underwent a complete change. Plasterers had begun to learn from Italy the power within their reach for modelling ornamental designs, and it quickly became the height of fashion to indulge in this new art. Our craftsmen, however, had to rely upon their own powers of design. It was no help for them to copy blindly the ceilings of the South, with their deep and shadowy cavities made to absorb the light, as far as

⁷⁰⁹ *Abstract of Ancient Writings belonging to Thomas Strickland*, published in 1778.

⁷¹⁰ *Transactions*, O.S., xv., 14; N.S., vii., 191; see also page 357 of this book.

possible, from the blazing sunshine. Since in our latitude the ceiling is about the least illuminated surface in a room, it was necessary that they should make the most of the light available by diffusing and irradiating it. The hard projections and undercut modellings of the South served them no purpose, and it is to the great credit of our English craftsmen that they realised this and aimed rather at softness and delicacy. So that at Sizergh and Levens, Bleaze and Barton, Hornby and Hutton John, Gerard Lowther's house at Penrith and Calgarth on Windermere, we have some very fine examples of patterns in low relief with their outlines melting tenderly away into the background, and affording the most charming field for the ever-changing play of lights and cross-lights. Sprigs of foliage, fleur-de-lis, Tudor roses, and other heraldic emblems were moulded and freely interspersed between small ribs, with their dropping pendants and leaden leaves, made to mask the intersections. As Gray says, in those days they employed the power of fairy hands

To raise the ceiling's fretted height,
Each panel with achievements clothing.

Stone carvers, in a somewhat similar way, were called upon to exemplify their craft upon the entrance. It had ever been a prevalent usage to display on the frontage of a building some token or distinctive indication of personality or ownership. As early as ever an ensign or emblem was borne by right of battle, the banner of the knight floated over the front of his fortress wall, and a wooden shield, blazoned with his coat-of-arms, was hung over the gateway. The most laudable custom, however, of sculpturing the lintel of the door with the full coat-of-arms, the legend, the date, and the initials of the builder of the house, was reserved for this period. The earliest stone that we possess of this character is one preserved at

Hutton John. It is a flat slab about three feet six inches long, displaying an eagle with outstretched wings and talons, but having an hinder part apparently of a fox. The Hutton coat-of-arms is quartered with Thurlwall, whilst above is the inscription, "Thys mayd Tomas," boldly carved in Old English characters. Another early tablet is one set up by Christopher Crakanthorpe at Newbiggin as follows:—

Cristofer · Crakanthorpe · thus · ye · me · calle
Wiche · in · my · tym · dyde · bylde · this · halle
The · yer · of · owr · lorde · who · lyst · to · se
A · M · fyue · hundreth · thyrty · and · thre ·

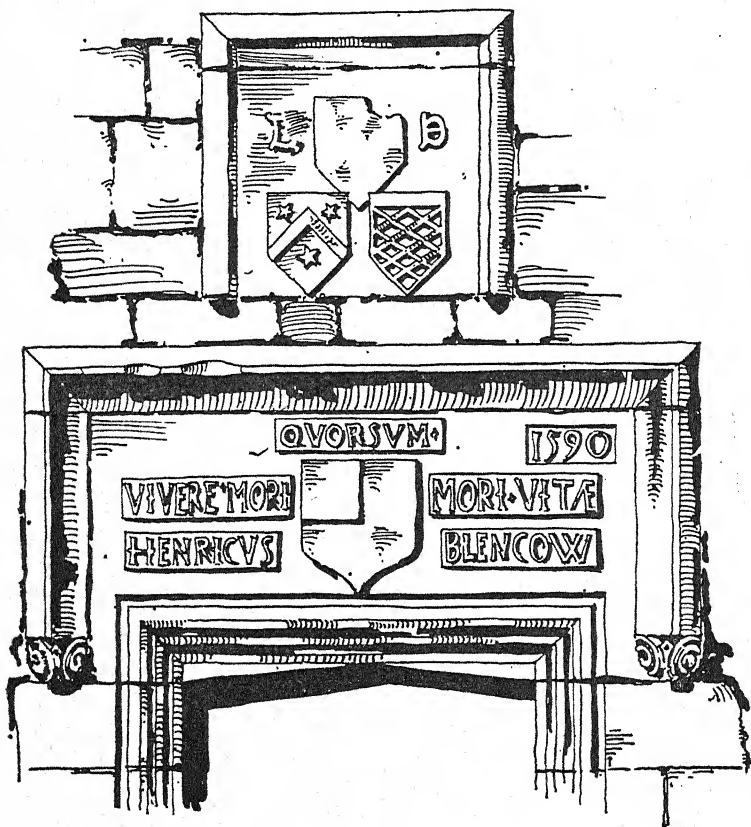
At Askham Hall we find Sandford's full achievement quartering English, Crackanthorpe and Lancaster, with an inscription beneath in capitals curiously conjoined and contracted:—

Thomas · Sandford · Esquir ·
For · thys · payd · meat · & · hyr ·
The · year · of · oure · savyoure ·
XV · hunderthe · seventy · four ·

Above the entrance to the Elizabethan wing at Catterlen we find an inscribed stone protected by a square-framed label mold. The upper half contains the arms of Vaulx of Catterlen, quartered with those of Delamore, within a circle bearing the legend "Let mercy and faithfulness never goye frome the"; the initials R. V. are in the upper and A. V. in the lower corners, for Roland and Anne Vaulx. The lower half contains the inscription "At thys tyme is Rolande Vaux lorde of thys place and builded thys hall yr of God 1577."

At Blencow Hall we find the paternal coat-of-arms with the following inscription surrounding it in raised Roman capitals: "Quorsum; vivere mori, mori vitæ. Henricus Blencow, 1590." It would seem that Henry's grandfather, Anthony, married Winifred the daughter of

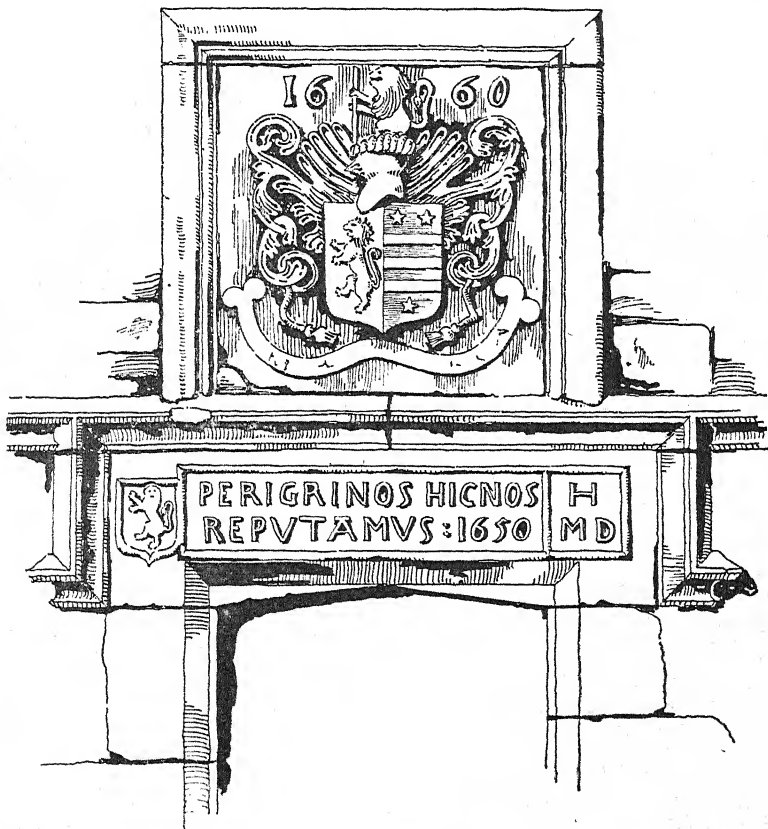
Thomas Dudley of Yanwath, and thus the Blencows were related to Lord Guilford Dudley, the husband of the unfortunate Lady Jane Grey. On the night before her execution, it is related, Lady Jane wrote an exhortation at the end of a New Testament, which she sent to her



sister, Lady Catherine Grey, in which are these words :—
 “ Live still to die, that you by death may purchase eternal life.” And so here we find an echo :—“ Whither [are we going] : To live [rightly is] to die [to yourself] : To die [is part of] life eternal.”

At Crakeplace Hall, we find:—1612. Christopher Crackplace built the same when he was servant to Baron Altham."

It is a very rare thing to find an inscribed stone dated during the disturbed reign of Charles I. During the

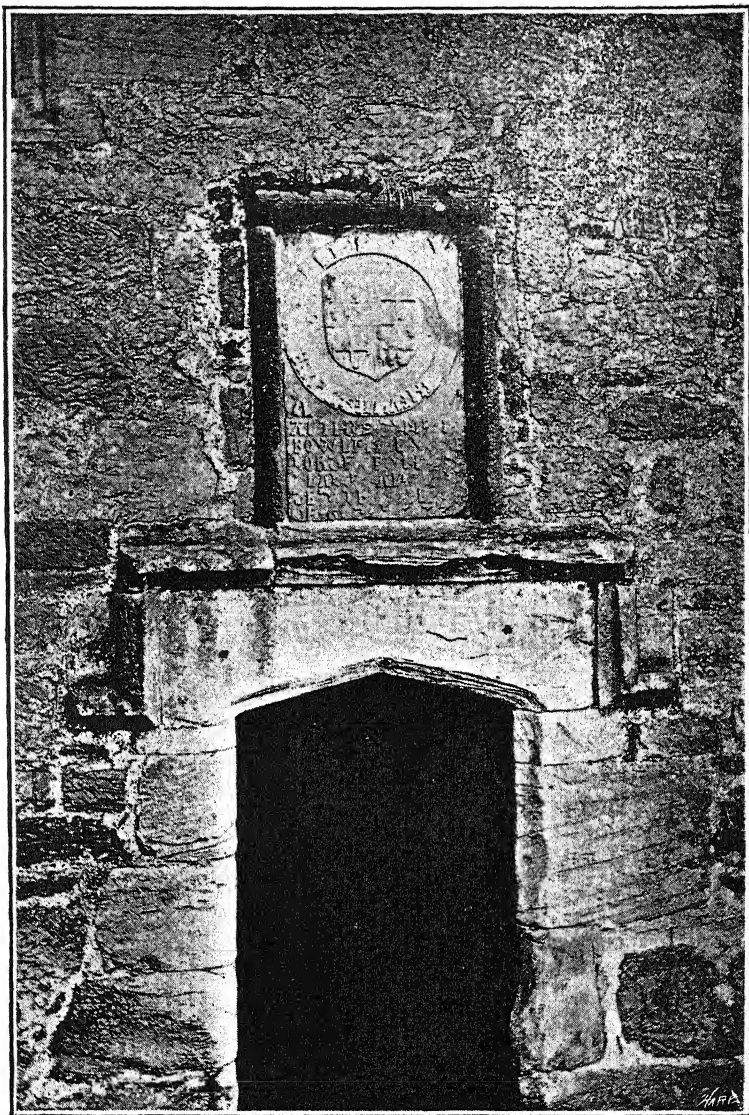


Commonwealth it was the custom to choose legends embodying some moral sentiment, such as we find at Greenthwaite Hall, near Greystoke:—" Peregrinos hic nos reputamus, 1650." "Here we consider ourselves pilgrims," suited to the age; but ten years later when

coat armour was no longer considered ungodly, we find Miles Halton inserting above it a carved stone bearing his full achievement. Up to this time the letters were always raised in relief, but, speaking broadly, after the year 1700 we find them, together with the figures, incised into the stone.

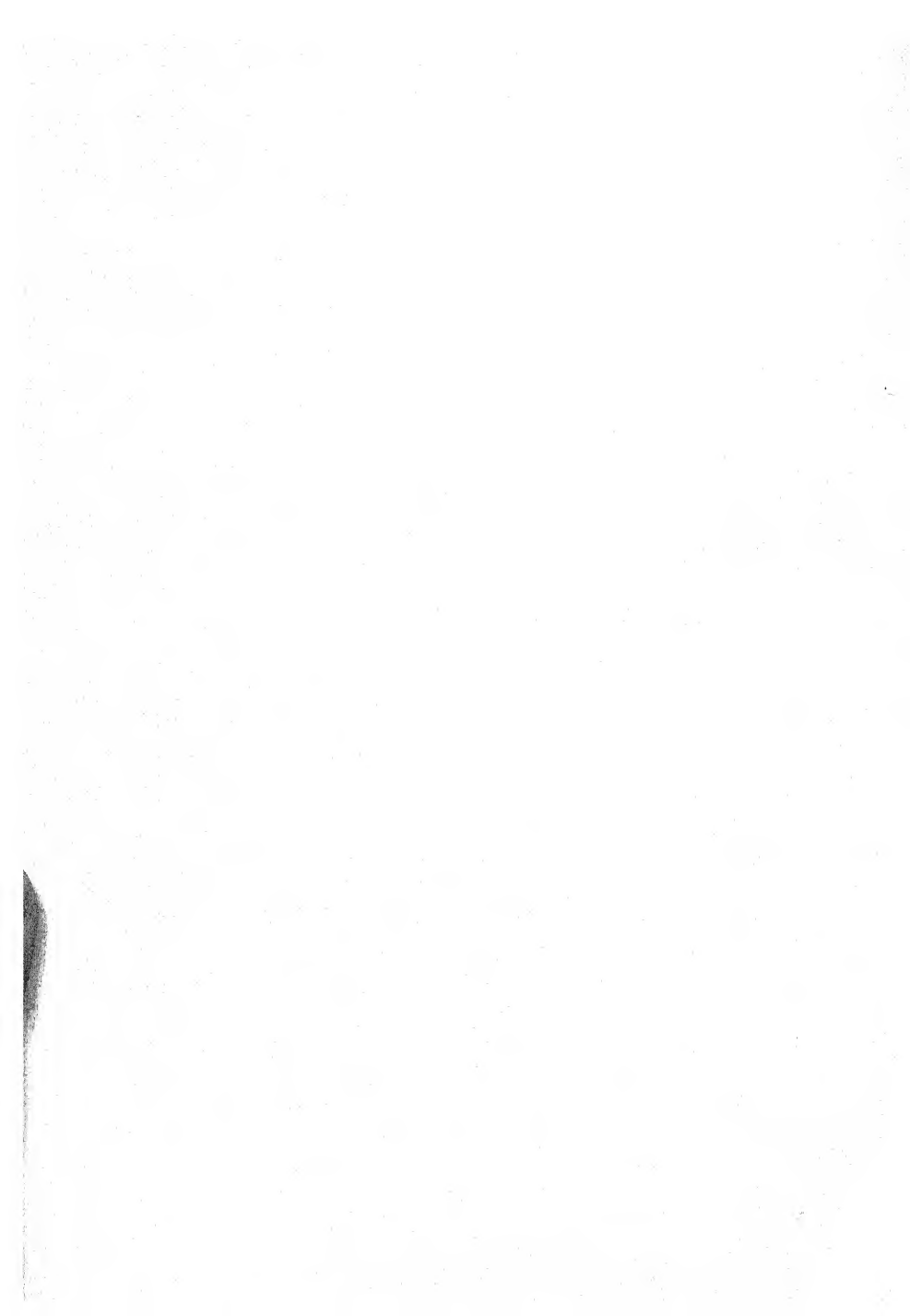
What is known as pure Renaissance in architecture, took root in England much later than in any other country, owing, as we have said, to the vigorous and sensible architecture that already existed. It is true that we meet with isolated examples during Elizabeth's reign, such as at Longleat in Wiltshire, where John of Padua built the hall between 1567 and 1597; but even here, between the pilasters, are English mullioned and transomed windows, obviously not due to the Italian artist, but to the English master mason who could not conceive of any other form. It is also true that the spirit invaded decorative details, such as the inlaid panelling that was erected in Sizergh and finished about the year 1573, but it never took hold upon the nation until the reign of Charles I. when Inigo Jones [1573-1653] developed it to its perfection, until the Civil War broke out in 1642 and all building was stopped. With the restoration of Charles II., and the return to power of an aristocracy who considered themselves patrons in the arts, the interest in the new style revived. The treatise of Vitruvius almost became the Bible of Architecture, and the country gentlemen, spurred on by the great works of Christopher Wren⁷¹¹ [1632-1723], studied it with the hope of getting their workmen to copy and carry out the principles. Thus we find the owners of Askham, Branthwaite and Catterlen, Dalston, Hayton and Highhead, Hutton-in-the-Forest, Mauld's Meaburn and Randalholme, beside

⁷¹¹ Wren was the first architect to introduce the habit of supplying full-size details of his mouldings for the men to work to, instead of letting the master masons cut them according to their own caprice.



CATTERLEN HALL.

TO FACE P. 442.



other places, all vieing with one another in this display of the new fashion. Recasing old walls or erecting new façades with pilasters, pediments, quoins and dormer windows ; whilst the internal doorways, hitherto hidden by tapestry or mysteriously worked into the general oak panelling, now asserted themselves without fear and became important features.

The great curtain wall was obviously antagonistic to the new conditions, so it disappeared to the grievous detriment of our once fortified dwellings, and the word " pele " passed into its last transition of sense, from the enclosing fence into the thing once so enclosed.

Thus have these ancient towers gradually developed. Their glory is in their age, as Ruskin says, " in that deep sense of voicefulness, of stern watching, of mysterious sympathy, nay, even of condemnation or approval, which we feel in walls that have long been washed by the passing waves of humanity. It is in their lasting witness against men, in their quiet contrast with the transitional character of all things, in the strength which through the lapse of seasons and times . . . maintains its sculptured shapeliness for a time insuperable."⁷¹²

⁷¹² *Seven Lamps of Architecture*, vi., § 10.

XVIII.

THE LORD WARDENS OF THE WESTERN MARCH.

THE office of Lord Warden⁷¹³ of the Marches grew out of the earlier office of Warden of Scotland, which was created soon after Balliol's rebellion and Edward's famous inroad as far north as Elgin, in the year 1296. After Scotland, however, regained her independence, the Border was divided into three Marches, with a Warden over each, for guarding it against the Scot.

The Warden's authority was both military and civil. He had command of the soldiery and power to muster and array all men, capable of bearing arms, for the defence of the Border. By virtue of his civil authority he held Warden's Courts and had to take notice of all breaches of the Border Laws and arrest all persons found in league with the enemies of the English Crown.⁷¹⁴

The Wardens were also charged with secret investigation into the internal affairs of Scotland and with the intercourse that she held with the Continent. The necessity for vigilance, it is hardly necessary to say, arose from England's constant struggle with France and Spain, the allies of Scotland, and later from the perpetual plots to liberate the Queen of Scots. The insecurity of Elizabeth's reign was not much relieved even after the tragedy of

⁷¹³ The same as "guardian"; *Gardianus* in the Latin becoming Warden in the English. The word "March" is derived directly from the French *marche*, a boundary; cf. the German *margrave*, *marchiarum comes*, the governor of a district.

⁷¹⁴ For a full description of the manner of keeping Wardens' Courts, also of the ancient Border Service and Laws against murder, fire-raising, violent theft, deadly feud, wounding, maiming and depasturing cattle, see Nicolson and Burn's History, also the *Acts of Parliament of Scotland*, i., 83.

Fotheringay. The long reports which the Wardens forwarded, from time to time, to the Secretaries of State, are abundant evidence of the efficient manner in which they discharged these onerous duties.

Each Warden had a suite of officers—his bodyguard, his deputies, his constable, his land sergeant for apprehending thieves and fugitives, his water sergeant to patrol the rivers forming the boundary so that none should ford them without his licence, his setters and searchers and his clerks. The official headquarters were at Carlisle Castle, whilst his deputies held the advanced fortresses of Bewcastle and Rockcliffe—the former guarding against forays from Liddesdale and the latter protecting the mouths of the Esk and Eden.

The *Border Papers* give us a letter from Edward Aglionby to Lord Burghley under date March 1592, shewing the division of the duties assigned to the Deputy and Constable. "The Warden has charge as generall. His deputie hath in charge all particular service either for defence or offence. In defence, as when any sodden rode or secreat thrift is made by any Scottes or Englishe borderers, to be readie upon the first showt or fray, with a score att the least of the Warden's men, to follow to where the fray is, or to ride betwixt them and home, as the service requires. In offence, when the Warden doth make any rode, to go with a compotent number and take a boutie with Scotland. His Constable hath in charge certain tenantes belonging to the demeasnes or mannour of the Castle, which are the Quenes tenantes in socage, who are att all tymes readie att the Constable's call, either for service in the castle or in the field, as the Warden shall direct."

Occasionally in seasons of great unrest, a Lieutenant-General was appointed over the three Marches, the West, the Middle, and the East, for the purpose of taking military charge of the whole frontier.

AN APPROXIMATE LIST OF
THE LORD WARDENS OF THE WESTERN MARCH.

1297. CLIFFORD, Robert de.

On the 12th July Clifford was appointed captain "municionis Regis in partibus Cumbrie" against the Scots till further orders. (*Pat. Rolls, 25 Edw. I., pt. ii., m. 1*).

In 1298 he was appointed Captain in the counties of Cumberland, Westmorland, Lancaster, Annandale and the Marches.

In 1299 he was called Captain of the defence, *municionis*, in the parts of Carlisle, and the King's lieutenant there. (*Pat. Rolls, 27 Edw. I., m. 28*).

1309. HEREFORD, Earl of,
CLIFFORD, Sir Robert de,
CROMWELL, Sir John de.

November 1. Appointed Commissioners by Edward II., to defend the March at Carlisle. (*Lanercost Chronicle, 1309*).

1322. HARCLA, Andrew de.

March 26. Appointment, during pleasure, to be Keeper of the counties of York, Lancaster, Cumberland, Westmorland, Northumberland and of the bishopric of Durham, for the purpose of repelling the Scots, with power to array the forces of those counties.

September 15. Writ to aid, during pleasure, for Andrew de Harcla, appointed Chief Warden of the counties of Cumberland, Westmorland and the Marches adjoining, and Head Arrayer and conductor

of the men-at-arms and the foot thereof. (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1321-24, pp. 92, 205).

1322. BELLO MONTE, Henry de.

Writ of aid, for Henry de Bello Monte, appointed Warden of the Marches for the defence thereof against the Scots, but this is to be without prejudice to the commission issued to Andrew de Harcla, Earl of Carlisle, who is to be fully obeyed. (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1321-24, p. 140).

1323. KENT, Edmund, Earl of.

Mandate to all persons to supply Edmund, Earl of Kent, the King's brother, appointed his Lieutenant in the Marches of Scotland, in place of Andrew de Harcla [executed for treason 3rd of March] with carriages for his harness, victuals and other goods for himself and household. (*Ibid.*, 245).

1325. LUCY, Anthony de.

Appointment, during pleasure, as Warden of the counties of Cumberland and Westmorland, during the King's absence in Aquitaine, to resist all those that come against the King by land or sea. (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1324-27, p. 171).

1327. SURREY, Earl of.

Appointment as Lord Warden General of the Western, Middle and Eastern Marches. (*Howard Pease*, "*The Lord Wardens of the Marches*," 195.) This was after Edward II. was deposed and the consequent vexation of the Scots who had been offered by him the practical independence of their nation.

1328. PERCY, Henry, 2nd Lord.

Appointment as Lord Warden General of the Western, Middle and Eastern Marches. (*Ibid.*, 195).

1334. NEVIL, Ralph, 4th Lord,

PERCY, Lord.

Appointment as joint Lord Wardens General. (*Ibid.*, 195).

1341. LANCASTER, Henry de, Earl of Derby.

Assignment to Henry de Lancaster in satisfaction of 1000 marks given to him by the King for his remuneration in the custody of the March of Scotland which he has undertaken at his request. (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1340-43, p. 269).

1341. KIRBY, John, Bishop of Carlisle.

£200 was ordered to be paid to him on account of arrears of wages for the men abiding with him for the safe keeping of the Marches against Scotland.

1349. KIRBY, John, Bp. of Carlisle,

LUCY, Thomas de.

Appointed jointly and severally as Lord Wardens. In the Calendar of Patent Rolls (1348-50, p. 589) we find Thomas de Lucy described as "One of the Wardens of the March of Scotland."

- 1351, 28 October. Commission of oyer and terminer to Thomas de Musgrave and others touching a grievous complaint received from Thomas de Lucy, Warden of the March of Scotland, that whereas he was followed from Brampton and assaulted by armed malefactors at Treremain who imprisoned him there and assaulted his men and servants, etc. (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1350-54, p. 202).

1352. PERCY, Henry, 3rd Lord.

On the death of John Kirby, Lord Percy acted for a time as Lord Warden General of the three Marches.

1360. WELTON, Gilbert de, Bp. of Carlisle,

LUCY, Thomas de.

Joint Wardens of the Western March. (*Epis. Reg. Carlisle, Bp. Welton*).

1367. APPLEBY, Thomas, Bp. of Carlisle,

CLIFFORD, Roger de,

LUCY, Anthony de,

Dacre, Ranulph de.

Joint Commissioners of the Western March. (*Epis. Reg. Carlisle, Bp. Appleby*).

1371. APPLEBY, Thomas, Bp. of Carlisle,
CLIFFORD, Roger de,
MUSGRAVE, Thomas de,
HETON, Alan de.
Joint Commissioners of the Western March. (*Rymer*,
vi., 657).
1374. HATFIELD, Thomas, Bp. of Durham,
APPLEBY, Thomas, Bp. of Carlisle,
MORTIMER, Edmund, Earl of March,
CLIFFORD, Roger de,
DACRE, Ranulph de,
STAFFORD, Richard de,
SCROPE, Henry le,
MUSGRAVE, Thomas de,
APPLEBY, John de, Dean of St. Paul's.
Joint Commissioners of the Marches. (*Epis. Reg.*
Carlisle, Bp. Appleby).
1380. NEVIL, John, 5th Lord.
Warden of the East and West Marches. (*Howard*
Pease, "*The Lord Wardens of the Marches*," p. 195).
1386. CLIFFORD, Thomas de,
NEVIL, Ralph, 6th Lord.
Joint Wardens of the Marches. (*Ibid.*, 195).
1391. PERCY, Henry "le Fitz."
January 14th. Licence for Henry de Percy "le
fitz," whom the King lately appointed Warden in the
West March of Scotland, who is going abroad on
certain business, to appoint Ralph de Percy, his
brother, his deputy for executing the office. (*Cal.*
Pat. Rolls, 1388-92, p. 367).
1407. NEVIL, RALPH.
September 19. Appointment of the King's brother,
Ralph, Earl of Westmorland, Marshall of England
and Warden of "le Westmarche" of England towards
Scotland, as the King's deputy and commissary with
full power to treat about truces between the King's

lieges of the said March and the Kingdom of Scotland. On 17 February, 1408, he was appointed Constable of the castle and town of Carlisle, and granted £1,000 for the safe keeping of the March, from the grant by the clergy of the province of York. (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1405-8, pp. 360, 487).

1412. YORK, Edward, Duke of.

The Lord Warden of the Marches. (*Howard Pease*, "*The Lord Wardens of the Marches*," p. 197).

1429. NEVIL, Richard, Earl of Warwick and Salisbury, The Lord Warden of the Marches. Mr. Howard Pease places him here in 1420. (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1429-36, p. 327; also *Nicolson's "Border Laws."*)

1439. PERCY, Henry, the 3rd Earl of Northumberland. Lord Warden General of the three Marches. (*Howard Pease*, "*The Lord Wardens of the Marches*," p. 197).

1453. WARWICK, the King Maker.

He is found associated with his father, the Earl of Salisbury, as Lord Wardens General. (*Ibid.*, p. 197).

1470. GLOUCESTER, Richard, Duke of.

The King's brother, Constable and Admiral of England and Guardian of the Westmarches towards Scotland. (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1467-77, p. 439).

May 7. Appointment of Sir William Parre his lieutenant during pleasure.

In 1482, the Duke was appointed Lieutenant-General of the Marches. (*Howard Pease*, "*The Lord Wardens of the Marches*," 197).

1484. DACRE, Humphrey Lord.

September 5. Appointment, during pleasure, as Lieutenant-General of the wardenship of the West Marches with power to appoint all necessary diets between the commissaries of the King and of his kinsman James, King of Scots. (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1476-85, p. 485). He died in the following year.

1495. YORK, Henry, Duke of.

Appointed as "Custos Generalis" of the three Marches with Thomas, Earl of Surrey, as his "subcustos et viceguardianus" to perform the duties. (*Howard Pease*, "*The Lord Wardens of the Marches*," pp. 197, 215).

1509. DACRE, Thomas Lord.

He died in 1525.

1525. CLIFFORD, Henry de, 1st Earl of Cumberland. (*Ibid.*, p. 199.)

1525. DACRE, William Lord. (*Ibid.*, p. 199).

For a time Henry, 6th Earl of Northumberland, acted as Lieutenant-General of the North, until the outbreak of Aske's Rebellion.

1537. WHARTON, Thomas Lord.

Appointed in 1537 as Lord Warden of the Western March, and in 1541 as Captain of Carlisle Castle.

1542. SCROPE, Lord.

Mr. Howard Pease says that he retained Lord Wharton as his deputy. (*Ibid.*, 199).

1549. DACRE, William, Lord. (*Ibid.*, 201).

1550. DORSET, Henry, Lord.

Lord Warden General of all the Marches. (*Ibid.*, 201).

1551. November. NORTHUMBERLAND, Duke of.

Edward VI. "lately appointed the Duke of Northumberland warden general of all his marches." John, Lord Conyers was his deputy on the Western March. (*Bain, Cal. Scot. Pap.*, 1547-63, p. 189).

1552. WHARTON, Thomas, Lord.

He was Warden at the time of the division of the Debatable Lands. His masterful manner made him always at variance with his neighbours, so that we find he removed from Wharton Hall to Healaugh because of "the continual danger he was in among the commoners of Westmorland." Sir Thomas Dacre was his deputy. (*Bain, Cal. Scot. Pap.*, 1547-63, p. 191). In 1553, he was appointed deputy Warden-

General of all the Marches and finally was appointed to the East and Middle Wardenries only, until his death in 1568.

1563. DACRE, Lord.

January 5. Mary, Queen of Scots, writes to Queen Elizabeth, "The Master of Maxwell, warden of our West March, has often complained that he can by no means obtain justice from Lord Dacre, your warden, for attemptates continually committed, etc.". (*Bain, Cal. Scottish Pap.*, 1547-63, p. 676).

1563. SCROPE, Henry, 9th Lord.

Appointment by letters patent in 1563. (*Cal. St. Pap. Dom. Add.*, 1580-1625, p. 332). On account of the yearly fees reserved and granted to Lord Scrope, 6th April 1563, as Captain of the Castle and City of Carlisle and for 20 horsemen attending him £200; as Lord Warden of the Western Marches with allowances for two under wardens and two serjeants £424. The following testimony to his greatness is recorded in a letter, dated 16th June 1592, from James VI. to "our trustie and weilbelovit Mr. Richerd Lowtheare, warden deputie" as follows:—"Our servand the Laird Carmichaell has signified unto us the death of the lord Scrope of gude memorie, quhilk treulie wer na plesant newis unto us in consideratioun of his honorable doingis in administratioun of justice and intertenyment of the amitie betwix the realmes during the haille space that he has continewit officiar in thay boundis." Signed "Your gude freind James R."

1592. LOWTHER, Richard.

June 17th. Appointment by letters patent. (*Cal. St. Pap. Dom. Add.*, 1580-1625, p. 332). The Queen to Richard Lowther. "We understand that God has called to His mercy the Ld. Scrope, our late Warden of the West Marches towards Scotland,

whereof we have great cause to be sorry. As you were his deputy there and have diligently supplied that room, it being needful, until we appoint a Lord Warden, to have the country kept in good order and the laws of the Border duly observed, we for the present authorize you to use the office of Warden of those West Borders." To which he replies to Lord Burghley, June 26th, "I humbly offer thanks for your continued favour of me and crave your lordship to make known to her Majesty how greatly I am bounden to her highness for committing to me the charge of this place for the time, which I shall keep as my life, till her highnesses further pleasure is determined." (*Cal. Bord. Pap.*, 1560-94, 398).

1593. SCROPE, Thomas, 10th Lord.

Appointed by letters patent. (*Cal. St. Pap. Dom. Add.*, 1580-1625, p. 350).

With the death of Elizabeth and the changed relations between the two countries the old office of Wardens ceased to exist.

XIX.

APPENDIX.

I.—APPLEBY CASTLE.

1241, 4 August. Appointment during pleasure of Gilbert Kirketon to the custody of the castle. (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1232-47, 255.)

1268, 21 August. "In 52 Henry III., on Sunday after the Nativity of the Blessed Mary, at York, before Walter, Archbp. of York and others, it was covenanted between Sir Roger de Clifford and Sir Roger de Leyburne, guardians of the lands and heirs of Robert de Veteri Ponte, concerning the partition of the lands of the said Robert in Westmorland as follows:—That with the assent of either party there should remain to Roger de Clifford by reason of his guardianship of Isabel, first born daughter and one of the heirs of the said Sir Robert, the castles of Appleby and Bruham; and to Roger de Leyburne by reason of his guardianship of Idonea, the second daughter, and the other of the said heirs, the castles of Brough and Mallerstang without compensation to either party, etc., etc." (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1266-72, 290.)

1316. Commission of oyer and terminer to John de Penreth and Henry de Wardecop, on complaint by Bartholomew de Badlesmere, keeper of the land of Robert de Clifford, a minor committed to his custody by the King, touching the persons who broke the parks of the said heir at Appleby and Brougham, entered his free chaces at Brough under Staynmor and Kirkby Stephen, hunted therein and carried away deer. (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1313-1317, 595.)

II.—BROUGHAM CASTLE.

1268. See Appendix I. under this date.

1316. See Appendix I. under this date.

1644, 20 July. Sir John Lowther petitioned Prince Rupert that "haueinge a commission granted for the government of Browham castle wherein your Petitioner had both bestowed cost and laide in sume provision of corne and fireinge at his owne charge, for preventinge an enemye from possessinge the same. Yet soe it is that Sir Philip Musgrave Barronet withoute any cause knowne unto your Petitioner hath set a centry upon the Castle and endeavoureth as it seemeth to possesse himselfe thereof." To which Rupert responds, "I think it most just that Sir John Lowther be continued in the custody of the Castle of Browham, without any lett or interuption from Sir Philip Musgrave and that convenient allowance be made for the support of the Garrison in the sayd Castle from tyme to tyme." (*Hist. MSS. Com. Rep., Lonsdale, xiii., Appendix vii.*)

1656. The Countess of Pembroke's Pillar, close by, is 12 feet high. It has a large quadrangular capital with the faces set to the cardinal points. On the east, west and south are dials, whilst on the north side there is the following inscription:—"This Pillar was erected A.D. 1656, by the Right Honourable Anne Countess of Pembroke, and sole heir of the Right Honourable George, Earl of Cumberland, for a memorial of her last parting, in this place, with her good and pious mother the Right Honourable Margaret Countess Dowager of Cumberland, the 2nd of April, 1616. In memory whereof she has left an annuity of £4 to be distributed to the poor within the Parish of Brougham every 2nd day of April for ever, upon the stone hereby. Laus Deo."

III.—MOSTLY FRESH MATERIAL GATHERED FROM THE
STATE PAPERS, FOR THE MAKING OF A HISTORY OF
CARLISLE CASTLE.

1173. William, son of Erenbold, renders his account to Robert de Vallibus for £20 to retain knights in the Castle of Carlisle. (*Pipe Rolls*, 19 *Henry II.*, Rot. 7. dorso.)
1222. Hugh, Bp. of Carlisle, gives to our Lord King 200 carucates of oxen to cultivate the King's land; Thomas de Multon gives one *balistam de troil* and one carucate of oxen; and the men of Carlisle give 60 measures of oats to sow the King's demesne withal. (*Royal letters of Henry III.*)
- 1261, 20 October. Eustace de Balliol is commanded to victual the castle at the King's expence by reason of the disturbance now arisen in the realm. (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1258-66, 179.)
- 1263, 18 September. Letter to Eustace de Balliol as to the victualling of the castle. (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1258-66, 278, 302.)
- 1277, 6 May. Acceptance of a demesne to farm for six years, made by Thomas de Normanvill, King's steward, to Robert de Hampton, of the King's demesnes belonging to the Castle of Carlisle, at a rent agreed between them in writing. (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1272-81, 202.)
- 1297, 2 May. Edward I. hearing that his engines at Carlisle are in a very bad order, to his great loss and damage, commands the Sheriff at once to send a man there to see the state of affairs, and if they find matters are as reported, he is to collect all the timber in one place and cover it up, and let no man work at it, for the King understands that the workmen do us more harm than ever their work will be profitable to us. (*Exchequer Q.R. Memoranda*, 25 *Edw. I.*, m. 24;

also see Stevenson's "*Documents illustrative of the History of Scotland*," ii., 166.)

1297, 21 October. John de Halton is ordered to pay Henry de Percy 50 marks of the King's money toward the expenses of the troops defending Carlisle against the Scots. (*Episc. Reg. of Carlisle, John Halton*, 106.)

1298, 25 February. Invoices of three cargoes of grain brought from Drogheda and Dublin, for the provisioning of Carlisle Castle, of which the Bishop was keeper. (*Ibid.*, 110.)

1299, 24 June. The King intends to be at Carlisle with his army on June 24 on his way to Scotland, and orders the Bishop to be ready with his men to join him there. (*Ibid.*, 117.)

1299. Michael de Harcla is allowed £7 6s. 3d. for the carriage of timber, taken from Inglewood Forest to Carlisle, to construct four large engines there; also £143 11s. 3d. for iron, steel and brass bought for the same purpose; also £152 2s. 8d. for wages of smiths; also £40 10s. 7d. for the carriage of stores for the engines. (*Rotuli de Liberate.*) A total sum of money equal to about £5,000 now-a-days for these four engines!

1302. Bishop Halton complains that the herbage of his demesne was depastured by the horses of Edward, Prince of Wales, and of others in his company, and that the houses of the tenants of the castle were burned during the siege so that he could not levy the farm and answer for it at the exchequer. (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1301-7, p. 273.) Thereupon, King Edward issues a writ to the Treasurer and Barons of the Exchequer, stating that as the produce of the farm has been consumed by our Welsh, Irish and English soldiers on their way to or from Scotland, that they should enquire into the Bishop's losses and make them good. (*Historical Letters and Papers from the Northern*

Registers, p. 153). As a result we find that he was allowed £20 4s. 8d. for the repair of the houses and £2 3s. 11d. for the construction of new stockades and posts and for the repair of one springall. (*Rotuli de Liberate*; *Archæological Journal*, September, 1859, pp. 336-7.)

Carlisle Castle, in these days, was the centre of great activity. Edward I. assembled three of his parliaments here, viz., those which met in 1299, 1300 and 1307, from the second of which he set out for the famous siege of Caerlaverock.

1307, 17 February. The two brothers of Robert le Brus, Thomas and Alexander, captured in Galloway, were brought to Edward I. and sentenced at Lanercost. Thomas was to be drawn at a horse's tail in Carlisle and then to be hanged and his head set upon the keep, and Alexander to be hanged and his head set upon one of the gates of the city.

1307, 20 July. Edward II. received, at Carlisle Castle, fealty and homage from nearly all the chief nobles and prelates, when he was proclaimed King.

1317, 7 March. Commission to John de Halton, keeper of the tower and Castle of Carlisle, to enquire into the report that divers men of these parts tradewith the Scots and supply them with victuals and other necessities, contrary to the King's prohibition, to the retarding of the war against the Scots. (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1313-17, 686.)

1322, 25 March. Commission to Andrew de Harcla, Earl of Carlisle, and John de Hartcla, to select 3,000 footmen in Cumberland and Westmorland for the Scottish expedition and to conduct them to Carlisle by the Octaves of Holy Trinity. (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1321-24, 96.)

1324, 24 April. Robert de Chisenhale, the King's clerk of works, was appointed, during pleasure, as surveyor

and controller of the works in the castle and city at 8*d.* a day from the 20th of May next for as long as he is so engaged. (*Ibid.*, p. 407.)

1336, 14 January. Commission to Peter Tilliol and Robert Brun to survey the Castle of Carlisle and to send their inquisition to the King without delay. (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1334-8, p. 219.)

1343, 26 June. Commission to Peter Tilliol, Clement de Skelton, and Robert de Tybay to make inquisition touching defects in the Castle of Carlisle and the alleged carrying away therefrom of armour and other things appointed for the defence thereof. (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1343-45, pp. 93 and 182.)

1344, 27 April. Commission to Peter Tilliol, Hugh de Louthre and John de Orreton to survey the castle of Carlisle as well as the defences of the said castle and the city, and the store of victuals, armour and other things affecting the safe custody of the castle and city which are reported to be dangerously defective. (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1343-45, p. 291.)

1345, 16 September. Commission to Henry Fitz Hugh, William de Dacre, Thomas de Rokeby, William Heroun, Thomas de Fencotes, Thomas de Seton, Roger de Blaykeston, Peter de Richemond, Hugh de Sadelyngstanes and John de Haveryngton of Thirneby to make inquisition in the county of Cumberland touching an information that the mayor and bailiffs of Carlisle without the king's warrant have adjudged some men to be hanged and drawn for sedition against the city and castle of Carlisle and have caused the sentence to be carried out, and that very many men, Scots as well as others, solemnly indicted of such sedition, stay within the city at their will, and are maintained by the mayor, bailiffs and many others of the city, without justice done upon them, that Peter Tyliol and the mayor and bailiffs of the city

assembling the commonalty and the said Scots and others indicted of the said sedition, without regard to a proclamation openly made by the sheriff of Cumberland in the said city that none on pain of forfeiture to the king of all that he could forfeit should approach the castle with arms or armour to attack the same, to do harm to the garrison, have come so armed, have besieged the castle in hostile guise and have made various assaults on the castle and on John, Bishop of Carlisle, the constable thereof, and the king's men in garrison there, entered the first ward of the castle, wickedly and atrociously wounded with arrows, quarrels and other arms very many of the garrison within the castle and continued their assaults upon the castle from without as well as from within as though they would take the same until driven by force from the siege by the bishop and the king's men ; and that the mayor and commonalty by pretext of a grant from one of the king's progenitors for them to approve the waste within the city, have built a long street upon the king's highway and upon the dyke of the castle, and have arrented the same to themselves, avouching that soil, which has pertained to the crown of ancient time, to be their own, and also have made many indictments of things emergent within the precinct of the castle, claiming two parts of the castle as their soil whereas the same have not been so at any time, and that many other misdeeds as well by the said Peter as by the bailiffs and commonalty and others of those parts of their confederacy are perpetrated daily to the contempt of the king and the peril and the loss of the city and castle. (*Cal. State Papers.*)

1369, 4 May. Commission to Adam Parvyng, sheriff of Cumberland and the keeper of the castle of Carlisle, to repair the said castle by view and testimony of the

prior of Carlisle, and take for this sufficient hewers of stone, carpenters and other workmen in the said county and put them to work to stay as long as shall be required ; also to buy stone, timber and other things necessary for the work, and take carriage for the same ; with mandate to all in the county to be of aid to him. (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1367-70, p. 241.)

1384, 4 December. Two great "gunnes" were placed on the keep of the castle and a lesser gun in the angle of the outer ward, mounted on wooden frames and bound with iron "ligatures." Purchases of "powder de saltpetre" and "live" sulphur were made at York, and a mason was employed for five weeks polishing 120 stones for the guns. (*Victoria Hist. Cumb.*, ii., 264.)

1442, 4 May. Grant for life to John Lematon of the office of Clerk of the King's works at the castle and town of Carlisle in lieu of a grant during pleasure to Alex. Lermouth. (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1441-46.)

1467, 23 July. Grant to Richard Salkeld, for his good services in capturing James, Earl of Wiltshire, traitor and rebel, and seizing the city and castle of Carlisle and afterwards defending them against the rebels, both Scots and English, of the lordships and manors of, etc. (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1467-77, 25.)

1486, 4 April. Grant for life to Christopher Sandes, servant to the King's most dear Mother of the office of porter of the inner Gate of the Castle of Carlisle. ("Materials illustrating the reign of Henry VII.," vol. i., 410.)

1522. In this year the Duke of Albany was deterred from attacking Carlisle by the news that it mounted forty-five pieces of cannon ; these were probably the little brass "pot-guns" that are noticed in Queen Elizabeth's days.

1596, 13 February. Richard Musgrave writing to Burghley says, "There being great want of skill in the cannoniers paid by her Majesty at Carlisle, I thought it my duty to move your honour to exchange one Daniel Spence, presently paid 12*d.* a day as master gunner in the castle, for John Smithe a very able, honest and sufficient man, to take such charge and instruct others in the science of gunnery whereof they have noe smale need at Carlisle." (*Cal. Border Papers*, 1595-1603, *p.* 106.) But when we notice the following letter from the Master Gunner of England to King Charles written 40 years later, this apparent slur upon the garrison would seem ameliorated:—"to his great regret, he dares to say that there are few gunners in your kingdom who understand the several ranges of ordnance, or the use of the mortar, which are in effect the special points belonging to a gunner, and impossible to attain unto without a great and continual practice." (*Cal. St. Pap.*, 1638-39, *p.* 448.)

1634. During the years 1623 and 1634 two surveys were made of all the forts and castles in England to ascertain how many brass ordnance remained in the King's hands. In the report of the last survey it was recommended that the brass cannon at Carlisle castle should be sent on board the King's ships, which were at this time short of ordnance, and that iron cannon should be substituted in their place. (*Cal. St. Pap. Dom.*, 1634-5, *p.* 384.)

1638, 29 January. Owing to the rising of the Scottish Covenanters, Charles I. issued a proclamation to the effect that all the nobility and gentry of Cumberland, and other northern counties, except those which were in attendance upon his services, were to repair, on or before the 1st of March, to their several houses and lands, and there to remain in readiness, well armed and provided for the defence and safeguard

of the county. (*Transactions*, O.S., xi., 104.) In 1640 a garrison of 500 extra men, under the command of Sir Francis Willoughby, was thrown into Carlisle.

In the meantime General Alexander Leslie crossed over from Sweden to take command of the Covenanters. They quickly crossed the border and occupied Newcastle, Tynemouth and Morpeth. Every member of the Commons knew that Scotland was fighting the battle of English liberty, so that all hope of bringing the soldiery to attack the Scots proved fruitless. On the 24th August Charles again called upon Cumberland to furnish all the trained bands of horse and foot, and to raise any other possible force, for the securing of the passes that led southward. And it would seem that the men of Cumberland were so anxious not to have their ancient enemies, the Scots, through their land again that they voluntarily agreed, on the 23rd September, to a general call-to-arms. It was agreed that one able man out of every five should join the force, and that the other four were to furnish with arms and daily allowance the fifth man chosen to defend them and their county. This was to continue from time to time, so long as necessity lasted. The first rendezvous of the trained bands was arranged for the following Wednesday at Carlisle castle with seven days' provisions, and it was ordered that upon pain of death each man of the volunteer force was to repair with all speed to Carlisle whenever the beacons should be fired. In like manner the men of Westmorland agreed among themselves to arm at their own charge every third man in the county and that the other two were to provide the necessary fitment and provision. (*Cal. St. Pap. Dom.*, 1640-41, pp. 40, 87, 148, 157; *Transactions*, O.S., xi., 106.) Things must have looked pretty gloomy when the Earl of St. Alban's wrote on

the 9th October to Sec. Windebank, saying :—" The success which you have had in your Treaty of London (with the Scots) was joyfully received at York, but I do not find it will be of power to remove the Scotch forces from their stronghold of Newcastle, since my Lord Lieutenant has, in public, declared it an impossibility to regain that place this winter, and did likewise give up Cumberland and Westmorland for lost if they attempted it." (*Ibid.*, 152.)

1640, 4 October. Warrant to Edward Walker, paymaster of the garrison at Carlisle :—" You are to pay at the end of every seven days, all the captains, officers and soldiers of the five companies of foot . . . also of the train of artillery . . . also of the troop of horse in garrison at Carlisle. You shall likewise pay the persons employed in the fortifications, and for all materials used, etc." (*Ibid.*, 137.)

1641, May. Warrant to all Mayors, Justices of the Peace and all other his Majesty's subjects. " To assist in the conveyance of the treasure for the payment of the garrison of Carlisle through the several counties, you are to appoint able and sufficient persons of quality to aid and guard the same by day, in its progress from place to place, and others to watch and guard the same by night ; you are likewise to provide convenient rooms for the treasure and lodgings for those that attend it and carts and teams for the conveyance thereof." (*Ibid.*, 592.)

By the 25th August the Scotch army had returned into Scotland with the Treaty of London. (*Cal. St. Pap. Dom.*, 1641-3, p. 106.) Having for the moment satisfied the Covenanters, King Charles now determined if possible to secure their allegiance to his cause. If only the veterans who had followed General Leslie through two campaigns could join with his cavaliers, then he would have a sufficient

force and one that would be capable of overcoming the Parliament.

The whole story of the great Civil War, so far as it relates to our district, is so intimately connected with Carlisle, that perhaps we may be allowed to briefly summarize the events here.⁷¹⁵

1643, 21 May. Being Holy Thursday, "There came an army into Furness of 1,000 horse and 500 foot; Lord Molineux of Bardsea, Sir George Middleton of Leighton Hall, Sir John Girlington of Thurland and others being commanders . . . They took Cartmel and Ulverston and made a warlike excursion far and wide." (*Britton's "Beauties of Lancashire,"* 89.) About the same time Bartholomew Noble's *Chronicle* referring to Kendal says:—"Lancaster men took this town." These were probably Parliamentary men. By September, Lancashire seems to have been almost wholly in the hands of the Parliamentary leaders. James Stanley, 7th Earl of Derby, was sore pressed, and Sir John Girlington was being besieged by Colonel Alexander Rigby in Thurland Castle. The siege lasted for seven weeks. "During most part of the siege the greatest part of the Forces of Westmerland lay within our view, and daily threatened us . . . and whilst these things were in suspense a Design was set on foot by all the malignant Gentry of Westmerland and Cumberland, to raise all the forces of Cartmell and Fournes part of Lancashire, to joyn with Cumberland and Westmerland . . . to assault us on all sides and to raise our siege . . . And to this end they drew together . . . to about the number of 1600 . . . I forthwith took

⁷¹⁵ These notes are provokingly meagre, but they are put together with the hope that some day further research may supply what is lacking. For instance, at present we have no information concerning the siege of Millom and Hayton Castles, and nothing is known of the supposed dismantling of Bewcastle and destruction of Brougham. Surely also others of our strongholds must have a Civil War history.

500 foot, 2 Drakes [cannon], and 3 small Troopes of Horse, parcell of my forces at Thurland, and with them in one day I marched about 30 miles, over mountaines, and thro Sea sands and waters, within two miles of the Enemy, and the next morning, being the Lords day [1 October] we found the Enemy in the Field [Lindal Close]. . . . They all trusted more to their feet than their hands ; they threw away their arms and colours and were totally routed. . . . We took their Colonel [Sir William] Huddleston of Millam . . . returned forthwith to our siege at Thurland ; most of our Horsemen without alighting from our horses, and most of us all without eating or drinking, so that early the next day we came again to Thurland, where we found our siege continued within view of more than treble forces from Westmerland. This worke in Fournes had that influence upon all the Castlers and all the Gentry of Westmerland and Cumberland, who then lay within our sight at Kirby Loynsdale, that within two days after, the Castle was by the negotiation of Sir Philip Musgrave, agreed to be rendered unto me to be demolished, which is accordingly done." (*Col. Rigby to Lenthall, Speaker of the House of Commons, dated 17 October, Chetham Socy., O.S., ii., 148.*)

About this time an attempt was also made by Sir Wilfred Lawson and Barwise of Langrigg to seize Carlisle Castle for the Parliament.

1644, July 30. After the battle of Marston Moor, Colonel George Goring, together with some foot under Colonel Clavering, retired through Westmorland to Carlisle castle, where they took up their headquarters for a time. (*Cal. St. Pap., 1644-5, pp. 388, 399, 410.*)

1644, 12 August. After the fall of York, Sir Thomas Glemham and Sir Marmaduke Langdale, with the remnant of the garrison, also retired upon Carlisle.

- 1644, September. The local Royalists under Sir Philip Musgrave, Sir Henry Bellingham and Sir Henry Fletcher were defeated on the banks of the Eden, near Great Salkeld, by the Scottish troops, who were now on the side of the Parliament. General David Leslie pursued them as far as Carlisle, but was forced on the following day to turn aside to Newcastle. "Some English troops in the regiment of one Wren, a Parliament co^l in y^e County of Durham, took their opportunity a^t y^e same time y^t y^e Scotch Horse came into Cumberland, and came to Hartly, and finding only some few servants of S^r Philip Musgrave, they plundered the House and drove away his flocks of sheep, all his cattle and Horses," etc.⁷¹⁶ Sir Thomas Glemham, now in command at Carlisle, at once took steps to put the castle in readiness to stand a siege. The local troops were mostly disbanded owing to a doubt, after the experience of Great Salkeld, as to their fidelity to the Royal cause.
- 1644, October. General David Leslie returned with a portion of his army and laid siege to Carlisle. He established his headquarters at Dalston Hall and raised "works" across all the roads that communicated with the city. (*Transactions*, o.s., xi., 110.)
- 1644, 8 October. Sir William Armyne informed Mr. Speaker Lenthall that the castles of Scaleby, Naworth and Millom were holding out against the Parliament as obstinately as Carlisle. (*Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.*, *Portland MSS.*, xiii., *Appendix*, i. 185-6.)
- 1645, February. The garrison and townsmen of Carlisle were put on short allowance, but they are "not yet if report be true, so narrowly straitened as to come to reasonable terms." (*Cal. St. Pap.*, 1644-5, p. 329.)

⁷¹⁶ Burton, *Life of Sir Philip Musgrave*, p. 9. The Rev. Gilbert Burton was Vicar of Edenhall from 1669—1683, and therefore contemporary with Sir Philip, who died in 1678. His MS. was published by Samuel Jefferson in 1840.

Scaleby Castle, however, surrendered to the Parliamentary forces during the month.

1645, Eastertide. The soldiers of Captain Orfeur of Plumbland and Colonel Wilfred Lawson entered Rydal Hall, searched for money and carried off Richard Harrison, the factotum.

1645, 24 April. We now come to the agreement made and signed on behalf of Cumberland and Westmorland, undertaking the whole responsibility of the siege of Carlisle. Cumberland was to provide 2,000 foot and 400 horse, Westmorland 1000 foot and 200 horse, all sufficiently armed and ready to take up the siege by 8th May. Leslie's forces were not beloved in the sister counties, so that they preferred to undergo this service rather than have the Scots in their midst and be obliged to pay for their maintenance. (*Cal. St. Pap.*, 1644-5, pp. 428, 431, 432.)

1645, 10 May. The northern counties were associated together for the purpose of raising a northern army. For the maintenance of these forces and the train of artillery, monthly assessments were to be made, beginning from 1st June, viz. :—Per mensem, Yorkshire, £7,000 ; Lancashire, £2,520 ; Durham, Northumberland and Cumberland, £1,000 each ; and Westmorland, £600. (*Ibid.*, 473.) Carlisle continues strictly besieged by *English* horse and foot. (*Ibid.*, 551.)

1645, 21 May. News reached the Parliament that Charles had determined to invade Scotland. Lord Fairfax, therefore, again sent the Scottish forces northward to intercept the King. These were placed under General Alexander Leslie, the Earl of Leven, and he took the circuitous route through Westmorland because, as he says, " By no other way could I drag the cannon across the hills." They were at Kirkby Stephen on the 23rd, at Ravenstonedale on the 25th,

and at Appleby on the 30th. At this latter town Leslie required the county to supply him with provisions equal to 18,000 lbs. weight per diem. (*Ibid.*, pp. 537, 542, 543.)

1645, 1 June. When an advanced column, under Lord Kirkcudbright, reached Carlisle, trouble came. As representing the main army, Kirkcudbright tried to compel the local army to obey his orders. He forcibly endeavoured to take possession of a sconce on Botcherby Mount that Colonel Lawson's men had made at great pains, and where they had camped the cold winter through. Lieutenant-Colonel Beecher writes, "I received peremptory order from his lordship to quit the work at my peril, as he commanded in chief, and he would see whether I durst disobey him. I submitted that I knew my Colonel [Sir Wilfred] had a commission to command all the English forces and the power to question my life if I disobeyed, but if his lordship could show me a commission giving him power to command my colonel, I would obey him but otherwise not. I then repaired to my colonel, who sent me an express command not to quit the work; but that night our dear brother [Kirkcudbright] gave order that 300 foot and three troops of horse should immediately beleaguer our sconce and not suffer any relief to come to our men, which they did till 9 o'clock next day, about which time my colonel met his lordship, and forced him to draw off his men." (*Cal. St. Pap.*, 1644-5, pp. 552, 558, 559.) With the addition of the Scottish forces, the difficulty of provisioning the army was greatly increased. The total cost paid by the two counties to the Scots alone amounted to at least £40,000.⁷¹⁷ At length the Scottish force was withdrawn; for the

⁷¹⁷ Remonstrance and petition of the inhabitants of Cumberland to Parliament. *Ibid.*, 576.

beleaguered city was so far reduced that their continued presence was obviously unnecessary. Horseflesh without bread or salt, hempseed, dogs and rats were all that the city had left in the way of provisions.⁷¹⁸

1645, 21 June. Sir Thomas Glemham sent Capt. Hudleston Philipson with a message to Lawson asking in case he be compelled to surrender the town, which he describes as in "good condition to defend themselves," to whom he should apply and what conditions would be offered. Whereupon, Lord Gen^l Alexander Leslie, who had returned south again, sent David Leslie on the 23rd with full power to offer terms and receive the capitulation. (*Cal. St. Pap.*, 1644-5, pp. 603, 606.)

1645, 25 June. Lieut-Gen^l David Leslie met Sir Thomas Glemham at 2 p.m. and received the surrender of the castle and city.⁷¹⁹

When the royalist, Hudleston Philipson, was thus able to get away from Carlisle, he hastened south to Windermere, in order to relieve his brother Major Robert Philipson [Robin the Devil] who had been for some ten days besieged in his house on Belle Isle by their kinsman Colonel Edward Briggs, a Parliamentarian. Sir Philip Musgrave, Sir Henry Fletcher and Sir Thomas Dacre, however, straightway joined the King. During the battle of Rowton Heath, Cheshire, Sir Henry Fletcher and Philip Howard were killed, while Sir Philip and Sir Thomas were taken prisoners to York. In spite of the objections (*Cal. St. Pap.*, 1644-5, p. 619) of his English auxiliaries, Leslie put into Carlisle castle a Scotch garrison, a proceeding viewed at Westminster with grave dissatisfaction.

⁷¹⁸ Isaac Tullie's Journal, now preserved among the Harleian MSS. at the British Museum.

⁷¹⁹ For the honourable terms of surrender see Todd, *Account of the City of Carlisle*, pp. 23-6.

On the 12th July, therefore, Commissioners of Parliament were appointed to treat and conclude with the Commissioners of the Estates of Scotland, "certain matters concerning the safety and peace of both kingdoms." Among their instructions they were to demand that the Scottish "garrison now in Carlisle be forthwith removed, as likewise the several garrisons in Warkworth, Tynemouth, Newcastle, Hartlepool, Stockton and Thirlwall." On the 16th October the Scots answered with the hope that they might be allowed to retain the garrison in Carlisle, as at Berwick, until the troublous times had ended. To this request the Speakers of both Houses of Parliament replied that they were not satisfied, that the several Scottish garrisons had been put into English castles without their consent, and therefore they demanded "the removal of the Scottish forces out of those cities, towns, castles and places." (*Cal. St. Pap.*, 1644-5, p. 613; 1645-7, pp. 16, 194, 227.) It would seem, however, that Parliament was not in a position to push the matter further.

1645, October. Lord Digby and Sir Marmaduke Langdale [royalists] were defeated by Sir John Brown, the then Scottish Governor of Carlisle, on the Solway sands.

1646, May. By this time the Parliament were thoroughly jealous of having so many Scottish garrisons in English castles, and so they determined to raise a sum of money to pay them off—a course which perhaps the Commissioners of Scotland were only waiting for them to adopt. Half the sum was to be paid when they cleared out and the other half when the whole army had returned to Scotland.

1646, December. After an eighteen months' tenure, Carlisle was at length evacuated by the Scotch.

1647. Bartholomew Noble's *Chronicle* (a MS. *Chronicle*

of Kendal written in 1736), referring to Kendal, says :
 " The Lancashire men [Parliamentary] came again to
 this town."

1647. Toward the end of this year Sir Philip Musgrave
 joined Sir Marmaduke Langdale in Dumfries.
 Together they went forward to Edinburgh and con-
 ferred with the Duke of Hamilton.

1648, March. Sir Philip returned to the Border " and
 some of his Countrymen came secretly to him, and
 by his order . . . they entered Carlisle, and
 presently made y'selves masters of y^e place. Y^e
 chief persons in this bold enterprise were Mr. George
 Denton, Mr. John Eglington, Mr. Oglethorpe and
 others. This was done y^e 29th of April in y^e fatall
 year '48." (*Burton, "Life of Sir Philip Musgrave,"*
 12.) The State Papers, however, place this occur-
 rence in March. " On the Lord's Day night last
 there came about seventy horsemen of the malignants
 with a small number of foot to Carlisle and with
 ladders scaled the walls, entered the castle, broke
 open the gaol and released the moss-troopers and
 other prisoners, wounded the gaoler, took Richard
 Barwis, mayor of Carlisle, prisoner and then all
 marched together to Scotland." (*Cal. St. Pap. Dom.*,
 1648-9, pp. 27, 133.) As a precaution against a
 similar surprise, it was then decided to dismantle the
 castle and hide the guns away on St. Herbert's Isle
 in Derwentwater.

1648, 5 May. " Notwithstanding these orders the
 ordnance are not yet brought thither, but lie by the
 way, liable to be seized on by the malignants, now
 forming up under Sir Philip Musgrave, and used
 against the Parliament." (*Ibid.*, p. 59.) Whether
 the guns ever reached the island we do not know, but
 it would seem that Musgrave and Sir Marmaduke
 Langdale gained possession of Carlisle and " entered

into an obligation to surrender it to the Scots whenever they were called upon to do so." (*Gardiner, "The Great Civil War,"* iv., 123, quoting from *Musgrave's narrative, Clarendon MSS.* 2867.) They then set about raising the two counties. On May 13th Musgrave and Colonel Stradling were at Kendal. "Here is great struggling, for Sir Philip Musgrave, Col. Stradling and the rest of the Cavalry in the parts adjacent, have had severall meetings in Westmereland for the arming and putting themselves in a posture of defence, and have summoned in the Inhabitants to make their appearance at Kendall Heath, upon the 13th of this instant May, which accordingly they did, rudely armed with quarter-staves, pitch-forks, welch-hooks, some few with pikes and muskets, when Sir Philip Musgrave and Col. Stradling propounded severall Propositions unto them, touching their designs and engagement for their dread sovereign the King; which done, the malignant party with a shrill eccho, said they would live and dy with them . . . and es they were drawing off from the Randevouz, Major Sanderson and Major Cholmley, with a party of Horse fell upon them, and after a short conflict . . . took divers prisoners, routing the rest. . . . Col. Stradling was in danger but escaped." (*A Letter sold at the Royal Exchange in Cornhill, 1648.*)

1648, 2 June. From Houghill Castle Sir Marmaduke Langdale addressed a letter to Sir Thomas Sandford, John Lowther, John Dalston and Christopher Dudley, bidding them call up all the men between the ages of sixteen and sixty in the bottom of Westmorland, [i.e. North Westmorland] except from the five parishes belonging to Sir Philip Musgrave, and to take 600 of them, not already enlisted, for the King's service. (*Hist. MSS. Com. Rep., Fleming, xii., App.*

Part vii.) "Then was Sir Philip Musgrave sent to Edinburgh, to give account to Duke Hamilton of these proceedings, and to request y^e advance of y^e Scotch army as was engaged." (*Burton, "Life of Sir Philip Musgrave,"* 13.) At his return he found Sir Marmaduke retreating with his forces towards Carlisle on account of Major-General John Lambert's movement northward.

1648, 12 June. To assist Lambert the Committee of Lancashire ordered four colonels of foot and two of horse, with their regiments, to forthwith join with Lambert's forces in Yorkshire against the enemy in Westmorland and Cumberland. Colonel Ralph Ashton was to lead the expedition, with Lieutenant-Colonel Rigby and Colonel Nicholas Shuttleworth commanding the two troops of horse. (*Chetham Soc., o.s., ii.,* 252.) By the 15th Lambert had taken up his headquarters at Penrith, and on the 16th Ashton passed through Kirkby Lonsdale, occupied Kendal, and then pushed forward to Penrith.

During the month detachments were sent out to attack neighbouring Royalist strongholds, for instance Major Cholmley took and burned Greystoke; Rose, held by one of the Lowthers and Captain Phil Ellis, was captured and turned into a prison. (*Hist. MS. Com. Rep. Hamilton MSS. xi., App. vi.,* 125); and Scaleby Castle, held by Sir Edward Musgrave, was burned.

With the destruction of the Royalist forces in the South of England, King Charles had turned to his subjects in Ireland and Scotland. Ormond held out hopes of bringing over an Irish army to deliver him whilst the Duke of Hamilton prepared to lead a Scotch army into England for the same purpose. A shudder of horror ran through England at the thought of the Irish—who had recently [November 1641]

slaughtered 80,000 Protestants—being brought to the rescue of the Royalist cause. And if the indignation was not so great with the news of Hamilton's coming, the resolution was equally firm that no fortelet or tower should be left tenable in a military sense, where there was any possibility of its being taken and used as a *point d'appui* by the Royalists. This should be clearly borne in mind when we record that such and such a tower house was burned by order of Major Cholmley. Cromwell's inexorable decision was made in no mere wanton or spiteful spirit ; it was a military precaution which, in an age of political upheaval and in the execution of a vast and almost unparalleled task, the great leader felt to be a necessity.

1648, 8 July. Hamilton crossed the border with seventy-two colours of foot and twenty-seven colours of horse, or some 10,500 men, and occupied Carlisle. He placed Sir William Levingston in command, and it is interesting to note that when Sir Philip Musgrave brought the local royalists to the standard, Hamilton would not admit them.

1648, 15 July. Lambert, then at Penrith, forbore to engage with such an unequal force until reinforced by Cromwell. Taking for granted that Hamilton would stick to the main military way over Stainmore, he endeavoured simply to retard the Scotch progress by keeping on their flank. Leaving a garrison in Appleby castle, he quartered his men at Bowes and Barnard Castle. The Scots leisurely advanced to Kirkby Thore and whilst awaiting the arrival of ammunition laid siege to Appleby Castle, which surrendered on the 31st.

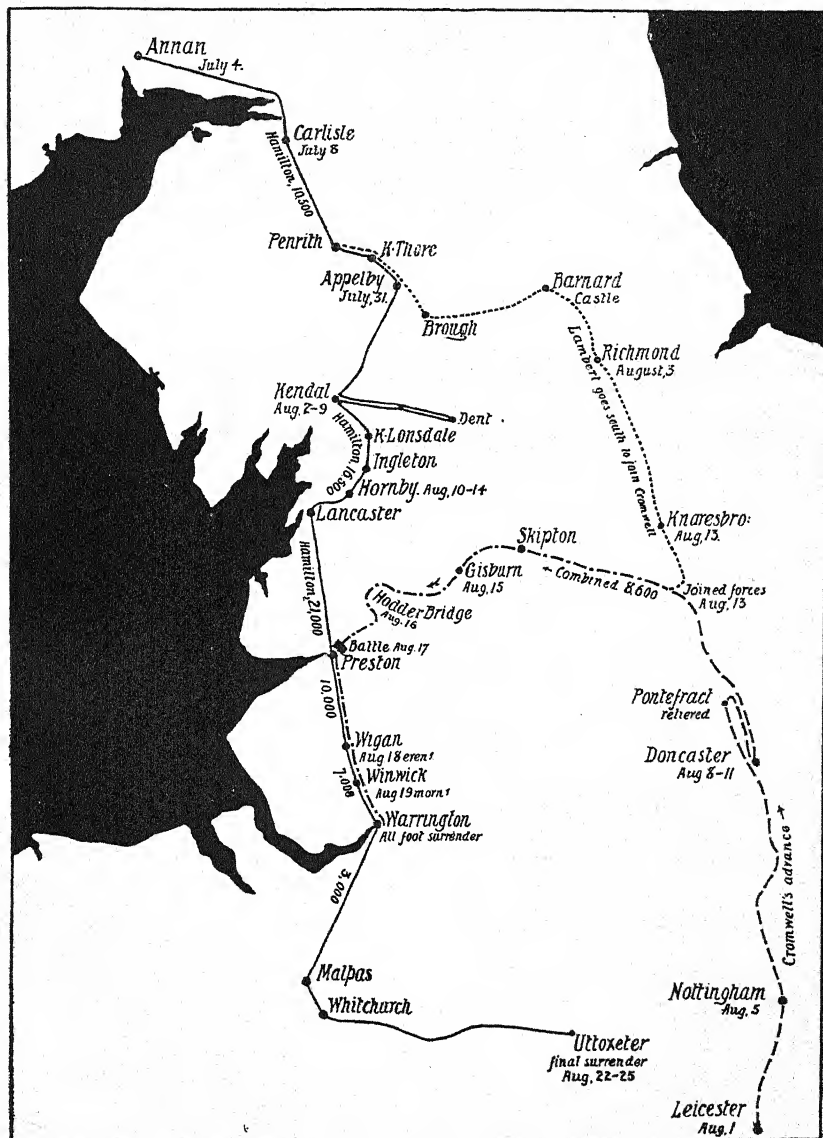
1648, 2 August. Hamilton reached Kendal. From here he sent out detachments to forage through Sedbergh and Dent, which caused Lambert to fall back upon Richmond and Knaresborough. At Kendal Hamilton

was joined by Sir George Monro with 3,000 Irish veterans. On the 9th Hamilton advanced towards Hornby and there he settled down once more.

Meanwhile Cromwell made a rapid sweep northward. After receiving supplies from Hull, he left Doncaster on the 11th and joined forces with Lambert on the 13th. The combined forces only amounted to 8,600 men, whereas Hamilton must have had from 21,000 to 24,000. (*Carlyle*, "*Letters and Speeches of Cromwell*," LXIV., LXV.) It was, however, no time to count heads for the frequent reports of the atrocities committed by Monro's Irish were more than flesh and blood could stand. Beside stripping the cottages on their line of march, the plunderers "seized children as hostages for ransom, and butchered them if the parents were unable to pay the sum demanded." (*Gardiner*, "*The Great Civil War*," iv., 184.)

On the 17th Hamilton arrived at Preston, and, regardless of his danger, directed the infantry to cross the Ribble. When news arrived that Sir Marmaduke Langdale's English force in the rear was being attacked by Cromwell, the Scottish officers refused to return to his aid. Thus Langdale and his Englishmen fought like heroes on Preston Moor for four hours against the best soldiers in the world, until they were broken. Meanwhile the Scotch army fled southward, losing men by thousands each day, until on the 22nd at Uttoxeter, the remnant refused to go further.

1648, 24 August. The Committees of both Houses of Parliament wrote to Cromwell praising him and his soldiers and urging him not to "cease to pursue your victory till you finish and fully complete it with their rendition of those towns of Berwick and Carlisle, which most unjustly and against all obligations and



PLAN OF THE ROUTES TAKEN BY THE ARMIES BEFORE
THE BATTLE OF PRESTON MOOR.

the treaties then in force they surprised and have garrisoned against us." (*Cal. St. Pap.*, 1648-9, pp. 192, 253, 256.) On the 11th September they further write to Cromwell to use his best endeavours for recovering Carlisle, the "regaining of which being a thing of so great concernment to the honour of the kingdom and safety of this northern part." (*Ibid.*, 282, 284.)

1648, 29 September. In the meantime a party of 500 Cumberland Royalists laid siege to Cockermouth castle (August) then held for the Parliament by Lieutenant Bird. It was, however, relieved by Lieutenant-Colonel Ashton on the 29th September, when the besiegers retired to Appleby. (*Whitelock's "Memoirs,"* p. 343.)

1648, 1 October. Carlisle surrendered to Cromwell, who then removed the battlements from the keep so as to adapt the roof to the service of artillery. A garrison of 800 foot and a regiment of horse were left in charge. The garrison was soon after changed to 600 foot and two regiments of horse of 600 each, for the purpose of suppressing the moss-troopers.

1648, 16 October. Appleby Castle under Musgrave, surrendered to Lieutenant-General Ashton; and with its fall, following so quickly after Carlisle, the Royal cause in Cumberland and Westmorland was completely shattered. It now only remained to disband the forces with as little mischief as possible. The Committee of both Houses of Parliament wrote to the Committee of Westmorland desiring them to "take care that upon the disbanding of the forces lately raised in Lancashire, a portion of whom are now at Appleby, that no harm be done to the castle and goods therein, and no spoil made upon the country when they shall march out of it." (*Cal. St. Pap. Dom.*, 1648-9, pp. 331, 332, 335.)

During the Commonwealth, Cumberland was placed under Sir Arthur Haselrigge, and on 3rd July 1649 we find the Parliament instructing him to take special care that the castles of Berwick and Carlisle want nothing necessary for their defence, either in forces or provision. (*Cal. St. Pap. Dom.*, 1649-50, p. 220.)

1649, 23 October. The commanders of the two troops of horse of Colonel Hacker's regiment at Carlisle are commanded to continue there until further notice, and do what they can to repress the mischief daily done to the country by the Moss-troopers.

1650, 15 April. Order to deliver 200 barrels of powder, with match and ball proportionately, 300 firelocks, 500 pikes, 500 matchlock-muskets, 1,500 collars of bandoleers and 300 swords and belts to Colonel Fitch, for the use of the garrison at Carlisle. (*Cal. St. Pap.*, 1650, p. 536.)

1650, 29 April. Order to deliver six iron demi-culverins, now on Tower Wharf to Col. Tho. Fitch, Governor of Carlisle. (*Ibid.*, p. 538.)

1650, 30 April. Order to deliver two iron demi-culverins, lying useless at Lord Brooke's house in Holborn; also 200 shot for each of the four demi-culverins and the two demi-culverin cutts, with ladles and sponge to Col. Tho. Fitch, Governor of Carlisle. (*Ibid.*, p. 538.)

1650, 30 May. Order to deliver 500 shovels, 200 common spades, 3 dozen steel spades and 200 pickaxes to the Governor of Carlisle for the use of the garrison. (*Ibid.*, p. 546.)

1650, 25 July. "Col. Lidcot's regiment to be immediately ordered to march through Lancashire to Carlisle." (*Ibid.*, p. 253.)

1650, 29 July. "Note to write to Sir Arthur Hesilrigge of what has been already sent to him, in order to his drawing a party together for the defence of the

northern parts about Carlisle, and to desire him to use expedition therein ; also to say that Col. Lidcot with 500 men, and Col. Gill's regiment of foot are ordered towards him, as also the regiment lately raised in Lancashire for the Lord General ; with which and the addition of such forces of the militia of the northern counties as he shall think fit, he is to draw towards Carlisle, for the defence of those parts." (*Ibid.*, p. 256.)

1650, 16 August. That 40 tons of cheese be bought and sent to the nearest port to Carlisle. (*Ibid.*, p. 291.)

1650, 23 August. Order in Parliament that £10,000 be forthwith provided for a magazine of victuals and laid in store at Berwick and Carlisle. (*Ibid.*, p. 300.)

1650, December. The Governor sent a detachment of 1,000 men into Scotland who took some small forts there.

1651, June. Upon a party of Scots approaching Carlisle, Major-General Harrison sent 2,000 men in pursuit of them.

1653. The celebrated George Fox was imprisoned in the dungeons and suffered great hardship.

1660, December. " Carlisle Castle is part of the King's revenue. It was leased by the Earls of Cumberland but Col. Charles Howard bought and used it during the usurpation. It should return to the Crown on account of its situation and strength." (*Cal. St. Pap. Dom.*, 1660-61.)

IV.—CONSTABLES OF CARLISLE CASTLE.

1092. WALTER, a Norman.

1174. VAULX, ROBERT DE.

Second Baron of Gilsland. He held the castle against William the Lion. (*Jefferson's Hist. of Carlisle.*)

STUTEVILLE, WILLIAM DE.

Baron of Liddel, temp. K. John. (*Jefferson's Carlisle.*)

VAULX, ROBERT DE.

Temp. K. John. (*Jefferson's Carlisle.*)

1215. ROS, ROBERT DE.

(*Clark's Med. Mil. Arch.*, p. 356.)

1216. VIPONT, ROBERT DE.

First Baron of Appleby. (*Clark's Med. Mil. Arch.*, p. 356.)

1219, August. ROS, ROBERT DE.

Order to give up the equipments of the Castle. (*Roy. Letters of Henry III.*)

1222. RUGEDON, WILLIAM DE,

MALCLERK, WALTER.

Undertook the custody of the castle, on Tuesday in Passover Week, in the presence of Hugh, Bishop of Carlisle, Richard of the Whiskers [Percy] and others. (*Roy. Letters of Henry III.*)

DACRE, WILLIAM DE.

Temp. Henry III. (*Jefferson's Carlisle.*)

1232. MALCLERK, WALTER.

Bishop of Carlisle. (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1232-47, p. 8.)

1233, 27 January. MULTON, THOMAS DE.

Appointment during pleasure. (*Ibid.*)

1236, 6 February. MALCLERK, WALTER.

Bishop of Carlisle. Re-appointment during pleasure. (*Ibid.*, 136.)

1246, 23 April. AER, WILLIAM DE.

Appointment during pleasure. (*Ibid.*, 479.)

1248, 1 May. BALLIOL, JOHN DE.

Mandate to Richard de Levington and others to go to the castle of Carlisle to view in what state John de Balliol to whom the King has committed the keeping of it, has received it. (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1247-58, p. 30.)

1255, 22 August. BRUCE, ROBERT.

Appointment during pleasure to keep the castle of Carlisle with mandate to John de Balliol to deliver. (*Pat. Rolls*, 40 Henry III., m. 22 ; also *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1247-58, p. 422.)

1255, 28 October. FORTIBUS, WILLIAM DE.

Earl of Albemarle. Appointment during pleasure to keep the county of Cumberland with the Castle of Carlisle. Mandate to Robert le Bruce to deliver. (*Pat. Rolls*, 40 Henry III., m. 22 ; also *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1247-58, p. 445.)

POKLINGTON, RALPH DE.

Mandate, as constable of the castle, to deliver it to Eustace de Balliol. (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1258-66, p. 164.)

1261, 17 April. BALLIOL, EUSTACE DE.

Appointment during pleasure to keep the castle of Carlisle. (*Ibid.*, 149.)

1265, 7 January. MULTON, THOMAS DE.

Commitment during pleasure of the castle of Carlisle. Mandate to Eustace de Balliol to deliver. (*Ibid.*, 399.)

BRUCE, ROBERT the younger.

Mandate to deliver the castle to Roger de Leyburne. (*Ibid.*, 507.)

1265. LEYBURNE, ROGER DE.

Commitment of the county of Cumberland and the castle of Carlisle. (*Ibid.*, 507.)

1267, 10 January. BRUCE, ROBERT.

Commitment of the castle of Carlisle, to keep during pleasure, so that he answer for the issues at the

Exchequer. Mandate to Roger de Leyburne to deliver it to him. (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1266-72, 24.)

1268, 8 April. DACRE, WILLIAM.

Commitment during pleasure of the castle of Carlisle, so that he, as sheriff of the county, answer for the issues at the Exchequer, with mandate to the tenants to be intendant to him as keeper of the same. Mandate to Robert Bruce to deliver it to him. (*Ibid.*, 218.)

1268, 26 October. DACRE, RANULPH DE.

Commitment during pleasure of the county of Cumberland and the castle of Carlisle. (*Ibid.*, 269.)

1270, 26 October. CHAUNCY, ROBERT DE.

Edward I. granted the custody of several castles to his son Edward to keep, who sub-granted the castle of Carlisle and the county of Cumberland to Robert, bishop of Carlisle, "to keep for five years, rendering at the Exchequer as much as Randolf de Dacre, late keeper, used to render." "Whereas the king lately commanded Randolph de Dacre to deliver the castle of Carlisle to Robert, bishop of Carlisle, and he refused to deliver it to any but the king, on account of which he came to the king and surrendered it into his hands and promised that he would deliver it to the bishop; mandate to him to deliver it as he has promised." (*Ibid.*, 470, 498.)

1272, 8 May. CREPPINGES, RICHARD DE.

"Whereas the king heretofore committed to Edward his son the castle of Carlisle and the county of Cumberland to keep for five years, and the attorneys of the said Edward afterwards committed these to Robert, bishop of Carlisle, and now think fit to commit them to Richard de Creppinges, the king ratifying the grant commands all those of the country to be intendant to the said Richard as keeper of the castle and sheriff of the county." "Mandate in

pursuance to Robert, bishop of Carlisle." As the bishop had not made delivery on the following 4th August the king issued another command to him "to deliver without further delay, saving however, the bishop's stay to be made in the said castle until Michaelmas." (*Ibid.*, 649, 671.)

1285, 28 July. HARCLA, MICHAEL DE.

Appointment to the custody of the castle during pleasure. (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1281-92, p. 186.)

1295, 6 October. BRUCE, ROBERT.

He was father to Robert le Bruce. Appointment to the custody of the castle of Carlisle, during pleasure. Mandate to Michael de Harcla to deliver the same with its armour and goods. (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1292-1301, p. 151.)

1296, 30 September. HARCLA, MICHAEL DE.

Reappointed to the custody of the castle with the county of Cumberland, during pleasure, so that he answer at the Exchequer for the issues. Robert Bruce was too nearly allied to the enemies in Scotland, so the King issued a mandate to him to deliver the castle with its armour, victuals and other goods to Michael de Harcla. (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1292-1301, p. 204.)

1297. HALTON, JOHN DE.

Bishop of Carlisle. Appointment during pleasure, to guard the castle with all its appurtenances, victuals and arms at his peril. (*Archæological Journal*, Sep. 1859, p. 336.)

Jefferson in his *Hist. of Carlisle*, gives the following five names as Constables during the reign of Edward I., but he quotes no authority for the same. Robert de Hampton; Richard de Holebrook; John de Swinburn; Gilbert de Curwen; William de Boyville; and Peter de Gavaston, the Earl of Cornwall, during Edward II.'s reign.

1312, 1 April. HARCLA, ANDREW DE.

"Mandate to John de Halton as he wishes to avoid the King's displeasure, to deliver the county of Cumberland and town of Carlisle . . . to Andrew de Harcla, to whom on the 15th October 1311, the King by his letters patent and by the ordinance of the Council committed during pleasure the custody of the county and town . . . In ignorance of such commission the King subsequently granted the same custody to John de Halton to hold at will, but wishing that the act of the Council shall be observed, he made a grant of the county and town to Andrew de Harcla to hold from the original date. The King is much astonished on learning from the complaint of Andrew de Harcla that John de Halton has not obeyed the former mandate." (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1307-13, p. 450.)

1314, 6 April. HALTON, JOHN DE.

Reappointment, with mandate to Andrew de Harcla, constable of the castle and keeper of the city, "the King having by his letters patent appointed during his pleasure J. Bp. of Carlisle to the superior custody of the castle and city and having commanded that he with his household and other able men whom he shall wish to bring with him for the custody and safety of the castle, city and adjacent parts, is to enter the castle and remain there, etc." (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1313-17, p. 103.)

FITZ WILLIAM, RALPH.

Baron of Greystoke, temp. Edward II. (*Jefferson's Carlisle*.)

1316, 12 February. LEYBURNE, ROBERT DE.

"Whereas the King is bound to Robert de Leyburne in £350 for the custody of the town and castle of Carlisle, etc." (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1313-17, p. 389.)

1317, 7 March. HALTON, JOHN DE.

Commission to John de Halton, keeper of the town and castle of Carlisle, to enquire into the report that divers men of those parts trade with the Scots and supply them with victuals, etc. (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1313-17, p. 686.)

1318, 20 July. LUCY, ANTHONY DE.

Mandate to keep the castle and city of Carlisle against the attacks of the Scots. (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1317-21, p. 191.)

1319, 8 April. HARCLA, ANDREW DE.

Reappointed. (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1317-21, pp. 325, 608.)

1323, March. LUCY, ANTHONY DE.

Appointed Governor of the castle of Carlisle after the execution of Andrew de Harcla. (*Transactions*, o.s., ii., 84.)

1327, 5 February. LUCY, ANTHONY DE.

Reappointment to the custody of the city and castle of Carlisle "until next Whitsuntide, provided that with the aid of the citizens he keep the city and castle safe for the King's use, at his peril." (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1327-30, p. 6.) On the 2nd March 1328, he received a grant of the manors of Penrith, Sowerby and Oulfsdale and all issues of the castle until he was repaid the sum of £577 due to him and his men for the safe keeping of the castle and town of Carlisle. (*Ibid.*, 246.)

1328, 20 May. LUCY, ANTHONY DE.

Grant of the custody of the castle of Carlisle from Easter last until Michaelmas next. (*Ibid.*, 269.)

1332. DACRE, RANULPH LORD.

When Edward Balliol, after being crowned King of the Scots, fled as a fugitive to Carlisle, Lord Dacre received him as Governor.

1338, 25 February. GLANTON, JOHN DE.

(*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1338-40, p. 19.)

1340. KIRBY, JOHN.

Bishop of Carlisle. (*Jefferson, Hist. of Carlisle*).

1346. MORESBY, SIR HUGH DE.

(*Jefferson, Hist. of Carlisle*.)

1350. DENTON, RICHARD DE.

(*Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1348-50, p. 588.*)

1356. LUCY, THOMAS LORD.

(*Jefferson, Hist. of Carlisle*.)

Jefferson also mentions the names of Roland de Vaulx and Sir Hugh de Lowther as being Constables during the reign of Edward III., but he gives no date or authority.

1369, 4 May. PARVYNG, ADAM.

Sheriff of Cumberland and the keeper of the castle of Carlisle (*Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1367-70, p. 241.*)

1378. CLIFFORD, ROBERT DE.

(*Transactions, O.S., ii., 84.*)

1381, 18 February. SCROPE, RICHARD LE.

"Protection for one year—at the supplication of Richard Lescrope, Keeper of Karlill Castle and the Western Marches of Scotland—for, etc." (*Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1377-81, p. 604.*)

1382, 29 May. CLIFFORD, ROGER DE.

Appointment for one year to the custody of the castle of Carlisle, with such meadows and fishery as Richard Lescrope had during his custody. (*Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1381-5, p. 122.*)

1383. NEVIL, JOHN DE.

(*Ibid., p. 518.*)

1385, 26 January. CLIFFORD, SIR THOMAS DE, the younger.

Appointment for life to the custody of the castle upon the completion of the term for which John de Nevil of Raby was appointed. (*Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1381-5, p. 518; 1385-8, p. 42.*)

Roos, JOHN LORD.

Of Hamlake. Temp. Richard II.

BEAUMONT, LORD.

(*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1388-92, p. 308.)

1390, 16 October. PERCY, HENRY DE, "le fitz."

"Grant to Henry de Percy 'le fitz,' warden of the castle and town of Carlisle, that he may hold the meadows, pastures, and fisheries there in the same way as the Lord Beaumont, the late Warden, and the Lords de Roos and de Nevil, when they were Wardens, held the same." (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1388-92, pp. 305, 308.)

Jefferson in his *History of Carlisle*, gives the names of John Halland, Earl of Huntingdon and Sir Lewis Clifford, as being constables during the reign of Richard II.

1408. NEVIL, RALPH.

Earl of Westmorland. February 17. "Assignment, with the assent of the Council, to the King's brother, Ralph, Warden of the Castle and town of Carlisle and of Roxburgh and of 'la Westmarche' towards Scotland, for the safe keeping of the same, of £1000 from the grant by the clergy of the province of York, in their next convocation." (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1405-8, p. 410; 1429-36, p. 457.)

PERCY, HENRY LORD.

"The Hotspur." (*Jefferson's Carlisle*.)

1442, 24 March. BANASTRE, WILLIAM.

"Grant in survivorship to William, James and Henry Banastre, of the office of constableness of the castle of Carlisle by the Marches of Scotland, to hold themselves or by deputies with the wages of 10 marks yearly out of the issues and profits of Cumberland and all other fees, profits and commodities thereto due and accustomed, in lieu of a grant thereof by letters patent, surrendered." (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1441-6, pp. 57, 167.)

1470, 7 May. PARR, SIR WILLIAM.

Appointment, during pleasure, of William Parre, K^t.,

as lieutenant of the Castle and of the city of Carlisle and the West Marches toward Scotland." (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1467-77, p. 209.)

SALKELD, SIR RICHARD.

Of Corby Castle.

1541. WHARTON, SIR THOMAS.

DACRE, WILLIAM LORD.

Temp. Henry VIII. (*Jefferson's Carlisle*.)

CONYERS, JOHN LORD.

Temp. Edward VI. (*Jefferson's Carlisle*.)

1552, 8 January. CLIFFORD, SIR INGRAM.

1552, November. MUSGRAVE, SIR RICHARD.

He was Constable during the division of the Debatable Lands. (*Bain's Cal. Scottish Pap.*, i., 191.)

1563, 6 April. SCROPE, HENRY LORD.

Of Bolton. He died 1592.

1593, 9 April. SCROPE, THOMAS LORD.

1595, 7 March. CARLETON, THOMAS.

1605, 11 March. LEIGH, SIR HENRY.

As deputy to George Clifford, 3rd Earl of Cumberland. On March 5th Henry, Earl of Northampton, writing to Sir Thomas Lake says that he "understands that the king is reluctant to sign grants during his recreations, but that of the office of Constable of Carlisle castle for Sir Henry Leigh is pressing." (*Cal. St. Pap.*, 1603-10, p. 203). He was appointed on the 11th (*Ibid.*, p. 204), and superseded on 29 April, 1606, on account of ill-health. (*Ibid.*, 313.)

1606. CLIFFORD, FRANCIS.

4th Earl of Cumberland, on the death of his brother the 3rd Earl. (*Cal. St. Pap. Dom.*, 1639, p. 409.)

1640-1641. BYRON, SIR NICHOLAS.

1644, September. GLEMHAM, SIR THOMAS.

Royalist, during the siege of Carlisle.

1645, October. BROWN, SIR JOHN.

1648, 1 May. MUSGRAVE, SIR PHILIP,

STRADLING, COLONEL.

1648, 8 July. LEVINGSTON, SIR WILLIAM.

Placed in command by the Duke of Hamilton.

1649. HASELRIGGE, SIR ARTHUR.

Parliamentarian Governor of the Northern Counties.

1650, 29 April. FITCH, COL. THOMAS.

(Cal. St. Pap., 1650, p. 538.)

1660, December. MUSGRAVE, SIR PHILIP.

Having signalized himself as a zealous royalist during the Civil War, he was rewarded after the Restoration with the government of the town and castle of Carlisle. (Cal. St. Pap., 1660-1, pp. 496, 499.)

1678, 5 March. HOWARD, CHARLES.

Earl of Carlisle "during his Majesty's pleasure, in the place of Sir Philip Musgrave, Bart., deceased. He hath the fee of 10s. p. diem." (Transactions, O.S., xiii., p. 176.)

Jefferson in his *Hist. of Carlisle* continues the list with the names of Sir Christopher Musgrave, temp. Charles II.; Francis Howard of Corby, temp. James II.; Charles Howard, 3rd Earl of Carlisle, temp. William III.; Jeremiah Bubb; Charles Howard, Earl of Carlisle, temp. George I.; Col. Durand, temp. George II.; Gen^l John Stanwix; John Hamilton, during Prince Charlie's raid in 1745; Henry Vane, Earl of Darlington, temp. George III.; Lieut-Gen^l Montgomery Agnew; Lieut-Gen^l Robert Burne; Sir George Adam Wood, temp. George IV.; and Lieut-Gen^l Ramsay, temp. William IV.

LIST OF KEEPERS OF THE GATE AT CARLISLE.

The following were appointed for life:—

1316, 23 December. ISPANNIA, John de. (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1313-17, p. 577.)

1339. BARBER, WILLIAM.

He died in 1343. (*Ibid.*, 1338-40, pp. 404, 443.)

1343, 13 March. ROUTHE, Peter de. (*Ibid.*, 1343-5, p. 19.)

1343, 25 July. KARLIOLO, Thomas de. (*Ibid.*, p. 111.)

1343, 5 October. ROUTHE, Peter de.

Reappointed. (*Ibid.*, p. 127.)

1345, 27 August. EWERI, Thomas del. (*Ibid.*, p. 557.)

1378, 25 September. DENE, John de.

He died in 1392. (*Ibid.*, 1377-81, p. 273.)

1392, 2 May. BELE, Robert. (*Ibid.*, 1391-96, pp. 73, 607.)

1438, 13 January. WORSLEY, Otwell. (*Ibid.*, 1436-41, p. 183.)

1486, 4 April. SANDES, Christopher.

"Grant for life to Christopher Sandes, servant to the King's most dear mother, of the office of porter or keeper of all the gates of the town of Carlisle." (*"Materials illustrating the reign of Henry VII."* i., 410.)

V.—CARLISLE CITADEL.

1594, 12 May.:—"Grant to John Scott of Mungo Smith's gunners room in the New Fort." (*Cal. St. Pap. Dom.*, 1591-4, p. 506.)

1633, 1 August.:—Sir George Dalston, Captain of the Citadel. (*Cal. St. Pap. Dom. Add.*, 1625-49, 456.)

1660, September:—Petition of Sir William Dalston, seconded by Charles Lord Howard, for the custody of the Citadel which has been in the family for three generations. Grant to Sir William Dalston of the office of Governor of the Citadel of Carlisle and of the garrison of six gunners, eight foot soldiers and one porter." (*Cal. St. Pap. Dom.*, 1660-61, p. 259.)

VI.—COCKERMOUTH CASTLE.

Waltheof, the second son of Earl Gospatric, married Sigrida (*Guisborough Chartulary, Surtees Socy., ii., 318-319*) and succeeded his father in the barony of Allerdale. He received also from William Meschin the whole territory in "Kokyr et Derwynt" along with five viles which completed his command of the whole valley of the Derwent.

1221. The furious order related on p. 127 is explained by the fact that immediately after Henry III. came to the throne, he made a progress to ascertain who held the various royal castles in their custody. The only noble from whom he met with any opposition was William de Fortibus, who declined to surrender Rockingham Castle. He subsequently broke out into open rebellion, so that Henry was obliged to order as he did.

1298, 14 October. An inquisition p.m. taken after the death of Berton de Ughtrethessat finds that he held of the King, by Knight's service, the manor of Cokermue. (*Close Rolls, 1296-1302, 180.*)

1300. Thomas de Richmond, whose valour during the siege of Caerlaverock has been signalized in an ancient poem, was rewarded for his exploits by a grant of the Castle and Honour of Cockermouth for life:—

"Thomas de Richmond comes once more,
One gallant charge he led before;
Vermilion clad; on vermeil field
Gold chief with twice twin bars, his shield."

1300, 26 September. Grant for life, to John de Sancto Johanne in satisfaction of 1,000 marks of lands, farms and rents which he was to have had in England until he could obtain seisin of 1,000 marks of land in

- Galloway from which he was excluded by the Scotch war, of the Castle of Cockermouth with its members for £110, etc. (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1292-1301, 537.)
- 1303, 20 January. Confirmation of patent to John de Kirkeby, King's Clerk, to the custody of the Castle and honour of Cockermouth . . . with the proviso that he is to pay the Exors of the will of John de Sancto Johanne, who held the premises for life, the issues thereof. (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1301-1307, 110.)
- 1309, July. Edward II. grants the castle to his favourite Piers de Gavestone for life but in the following month there is an enrolment of surrender. (*Close Rolls*, 1307-13, 225.)
- 1309, 26 November. King Edward II. commanded Gilbert de Culwenne, keeper of the castle and honour of Cockermouth, to pay David, Earl of Athol, 50 mearks in aid of his expenses on the march to Scotland.
- 1314, 7 April. Grant for life to Edmund de Malo Lacu, in consideration of his good service, of the castle and honour of Kokermuthe together with its Knight's fees, advowsons of churches, etc. Mandate to Robert de Leyburne to deliver the castle and honour to the said Edmund, together with the King's armour and all dead stock (*tota mortua garnistura*), which are in the castle. Mandate to the Sheriff of the Co. of Cumberland that if Robert de Leyburne is unwilling to deliver, then he shall without delay retake into the king's hands the castle and manor with its armour and entire dead stock and deliver the same immediately to the said Edmund, taking with him, if necessary, a sufficient posse of the county. (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1313-17, p. 102.)
- 1314, 16 September. Grant to Robert de Leybourne of all issues of the King's manors of Penrith and Sourby, to be received by him at the hands of the bailiffs of

those manors until he shall have received a sum of £599 15s. 3¼d., being the balance of a sum of £1,096 16s. 8¾d., in which the King was bound to him, when he was constable of the castle of Are in Scotland. . .

The castle and manor of Cockermuthe to thē value of £130 a year had been granted to him to hold until he should be fully satisfied in the said sum of £1,096 16s. 8¾d., but subsequently the King committed that castle and manor to Edmund de Malo Lacu to hold for life, and by his letter patent promised to repay the said Robert de Leyburne before Midsummer day last past the sum of £733 11s. 9¼d. which still remained due as well on account of arrears of the said sum of £1,096 16s. 8¾d. as for the costs and expenses incurred by him, at the King's command, in the repair and improvements of faults in the castle, etc. (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1313-17, p. 177.)

1316, 19 June. Mandate to Thomas de Richmond to deliver the King's castle of Cockermuthe, which is in his custody of the King's gift, together with its armament, victuals to Robert de Cliderhow, King's Escheator beyond Trent. (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1313-17, p. 479.)

1323. The castle was regranted to Anthony Lucy.

1461. The Earl of Wiltshire and Dr. John Morton, chancellor to the young Prince of Wales, were taken prisoners at Cockermouth Castle (*Paston Papers*, ii., p. 7) in 1461, the Earl being beheaded at Newcastle shortly after by the victorious Edward IV. (*Wars of the Roses*.)

1465, 11 April. The Earl of Warwick, the King Maker, was granted the castle and honour of Cockermouth. (*Rot. Pat. 5 Edw. IV.*, pt. i., m. 14.)

1569, 26 February. "Cockermouth castle being void of a keeper, I committed it to Lamplugh for the time, and he substantially and with good numbers caused

it to be safely kept." (*Cal. St. Pap. Dom. Add.*, 1566-69, 167-8.)

- 1571, 13 June. The Acts of the Privy Council give a letter to George Lamplugh signifying the Queen's pleasure that he should be restored and thenceforth enjoy the office of deputy Lieutenant to Lord Wharton and of the castle and honour of Cockermouth.
- 1574, 16 August. Acts of Privy Council. A letter to George Lamplugh to deliver the castle of Cockermouth, which was for a certain time committed to his keeping, unto such and in such order as he shall be appointed and required by the guardians of Lord Wharton.
1591. Sir Wilfred Lawson made Lieutenant of the Honor of Cockermouth by the Earl of Northumberland with the custody of the castle and a fee of £10.
1605. The State Papers for 1605 contain a warrant to Sir Henry Widderington to seize Tynemouth, Alnwick, Prudhoe and Cockermouth, all castles of the Earl of Northumberland, concerned in the Gunpowder Plot. (*Cal. St. Papers*, 1603-10, p. 254.) Following upon this we find amongst the *Muncaster Papers* a letter dated Nov. 14 1605, from Sir Wilfred Lawson to Lord Salisbury, disclaiming all connection with Earl Percy and begging that Cockermouth Castle should not be seized into the King's hands. "The castle itself is for the most part ruinous. My wife's son dwells in the gatehouse by my direction. . . . The dispossessing me of this castle . . . will breed in the heads of the people an opinion that some suspicion is held of my loyalty and disgrace me in the government of these parts." Having no favourable response Sir Wilfred seems to have become despondent and prepared for the worst. Writing to his bailiff, two days later, he says, "You will do well to send your wife and children away, and to remain

at Cockermouth Castle until the coming of Sir Henry Widderington, who will put you forth and put others in. We must obey the warrant from the lords of the Privy Council." Probably Sir Wilfred's close association with Lord Cumberland, the favourite, worked to his advantage, for soon he had the satisfaction of hearing from Sir Henry, who wrote from Bothel on November 24th, 1605, "I have received letters from the Council desiring that I should forbear to seize or enter Cockermouth Castle, and that it should continue in your keeping."

The crosses of the Umfreville shield on the gate-house are *flory* and seem to be only *four* in number. It is curious that in each of the three undoubted examples of the Umfreville arms that are found carved in stone in Northumberland, the form of the crosses composing the Orle is different, while there are sometimes six and sometimes eight crosses. The shield on the effigy of Gilbert de Umfreville in Hexham Church, who died in 1307, has had *eight crosses patonce*; that on the battlements of the gateway of the inner ward at Alnwick Castle, circa 1350, has *six plain crosses croslet*; while that on Elsdon Tower, probably 1421-1436, has *eight crosses croslet patty*.

VII.—EGREMONT CASTLE.

1246, 17 October. Mandate to the constable of the castle of "Egremund" to deliver that castle to Robert de Creppinges. (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1232-47, 489.)

1405, 9 August. Grant for life to William Clifford "chevaler" of the castle of "Egermond" with all lands late of the lord Fitz Wauter, which castle and lands were of Henry, Earl of Northumberland and have come into the King's hands by his forfeiture. (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1405-08, p. 47.)

VIII.—BEWCASTLE.

“ Antiently it was the seat of Beweth then Lord of Gilsland, or a great part thereof but he being banished for taking part with the Scots in King Stephen’s time, seated himself in Scotland as did his son Gillesbueth after him, and this dale together with all the rest of his lands were given by Hen. 2nd to Hubert de Vallibus, [totam terram quam Gilbertus filius Boet tenuit, die quo fuit vivus et mortuus] but whether or no he enjoyed it does not appear. . . . It would seem that Gillesbueth being dispossessed himself and he and his posterity forced to settle in Scotland, he made the place too hot for any of Hubert Vaulx’s posterity, wasting all that part of the country in revenge by frequent inroads upon the same . . . none durst inhabit there till the barons of Burgh [the de Multons of Burgh became by marriage lords of Gilsland] took upon them to summer their cattle there and made them shields and cabbins for their people, dwelling themselves in tents and booths for defence, at which time it was a waste forest ground.”
(John Denton, Accompt, p. 146.)

1478. “ King Richard’s Commissioners let all the lands of Bewcastle to Cuthbert and John Routledge, Robert Elwald and Gerard Nixon, and before that the castle and all the lands belonging to the same, of long time lay waste. The said four men paid no rent but were to maintain the King’s wars and pertained to the office of captains of the castle under the King.”
(Cal. St. Pap., Henry VIII., xiii., pt. 2, p. 553.)

1514. A grant, in survivorship, to Sir John Musgrave and his son Thomas, of the offices of constable of Bewcastle and chief forester of Nichol Forest; and a grant, for the repair of the castle, of certain lands in

- Bewcastledale, and the park of Plumpton in Inglewood Forest. The tenants of Plumpton complained in 1565 that they had to carry all the Captain of Bewcastle's hay and corn a distance of 15 miles. (*Cal. St. Papers, Dom. Add., Elizth., p. 566.*) Also an annuity of £40 payable as to one half out of the manor of Sowerby, and as to the other half out of the manors of Randollinton, Arthuret and Liddel in Nichol Forest. (*Cal. Letters and Pap. Henry VIII., 1509-1514, vol. i., p. 746.*)
1515. Thomas Musgrave was appointed to the same offices and was granted the same lands and annuity. (*Cal. Letters and Pap. Henry VIII., vol. ii., pt. 1, p. 285.*)
- 1527, December. William Lord Dacre appointed Constable and chief forester of Nichol Forest, on the vacation of these offices by Thomas Musgrave. (*Cal. Letters and Pap., Henry VIII., vol. iv., pt. 2, p. 1672.*)
- 1531, April. Sir William Musgrave appointed Constable and chief forester. (*Cal. Letters and Pap., Henry VIII., vol. v., p. 106.*)
- 1531, October. The three sons of John Musgrave had an affray with the Armstrongs in which one of the latter was killed. The Musgraves fled to Bewcastle pursued by the Armstrongs, and John, the elder son, would have been taken if the drawbridge had not been raised in the nick of time. (*Ibid., p. 225.*)
1537. The Duke of Norfolk wrote to Cromwell that Sir Wm. Musgrave who had the captaincy of Bewcastle, lived in London, and that Jack Musgrave, a bastard, was his deputy, a tall hardy man but not meet to have the rule of so many ill men. (*Ibid., vol. 12, pt. 2, p. 86.*)
1543. Sir Wm. Musgrave obtained licence to settle certain lands upon John Musgrave of Bewcastle for

life with remainder to Adam, John and Ingram, sons of the said John respectively. (*Ibid.*, vol. 18, pt. 1, 366.) In the following year John, as "the King's servant," was appointed Constable of the castle. (*Ibid.*, vol. 19, pt. 2, p. 418.)

1567. Leonard Musgrave of Cumcatch near Brampton, describes himself in 1567 as deputy captain. (*Cal. St. Pap. Dom. Add. Eliz.*, p. 429.)

1570. Sir Simon Musgrave, a younger brother of Sir Wm., succeeded "Jack" and had his own son Thomas as deputy. The latter was styled "Capt. Musgrave" when he entertained Bothwell at Bewcastle in 1592. (*Cal. St. Pap. Scotland*, 1569-71, p. 610.)

1607, 4 June. Thomas Musgrave reappointed for life as Constable by James I. (*Cal. St. Pap.*, 1603-10, p. 360.)

1614, 9 July. James I. leased to Francis Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, the castle and lands of Bewcastle, "formerly kept by an officer," with a fee of £20 per annum. (*Cal. St. Pap.*, 1611-18, p. 242.)

IX.—PENRITH CASTLE.

1348, 6 August. Commission to William de Dacre, Alexander de Mowbray, Hugh de Louthre, Richard de Salkelde and others to inform themselves of the metes and bounds of the town of Penrith, for the crenellation of which the King has granted licence, which need such defence and in what places of the town it is expedient that a wall be made. (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1348-50, p. 175.)

1348, 10 December. Commission to Ralph de Nevill, Thomas de Fencotes, Hugh de Louthre and Clement de Skelton—reciting that the King's tenants of the town of Penreth built on purprestures there have made petition before him and the Council that inasmuch as they have caused their town to be enclosed in part to defend it and the vicinage against attacks of the Scots and purpose to enclose the remainder he will grant them the following liberties towards completing the work, to wit that the town may be a free borough and the men there free burgesses and hold their town at farm . . . etc., appointing them to find by inquisition on the oath of good men . . . whether he may grant this petition without damage to himself. (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1348-50, p. 248.)

X.—ROSE CASTLE.

1405. John de Dokura was appointed Constable of the castle of La Rose, by Bishop William Strickland. (*Pat. an. 10 Henry IV., part i., m. 22.*)
1662. "Certificate of Sir Philip Musgrave and others that Captⁿ Phil Ellis of Rose Castle, Cumberland, is zealous and orthodox; he raised troops at his own expense for the late King, was at the siege of Carlisle, stood a siege in his own castle which was taken, lost more than £3,000, was imprisoned twenty-six weeks, etc." (*Cal. St. Pap. Dom., 1661-62, p. 622.*)
- 1671, 16 June. A commission issued to inquire into the state of Rose Castle and the repairs which may be needed. The commissioners think that the overcharging roof laid upon the old walls of the Chapel is much too heavy, it should be taken down at once or the walls will give way. The making of an East window to the Chapel will interfere with any plan for rebuilding the house on the old foundations. Repairs and additions are needed, the rooms and offices are few, narrow and inconvenient. Much stone had been carried away during the rebellion but enough stone remains among the ruins for any additions that may be needed. (*Hist. MS. Com. Rep., Fleming, xii., App. Part vii., p. 79.*)
- 1671, 6 July. Letter from Edward Rainbow, Bp. of Carlisle to Dan^l Fleming. "I have ventured to put your name upon a Commission to view Rose Castle, which I have been trying to procure for the last six years." (*Ibid., p. 80.*)
- 1672, 23 January. Letter from Edward Rainbow, Bp. of Carlisle to Daniel Fleming, giving some details of a suit in which he is engaged about Rose Castle. (*Ibid., p. 87.*)

1672, 16 February. Letter from Dan^l Fleming to W^m Brownsword, vicar of Kendal, saying that he has lately been engaged against the Archbishop of York in a commission about Rose Castle. (*Ibid.*, p. 88.)

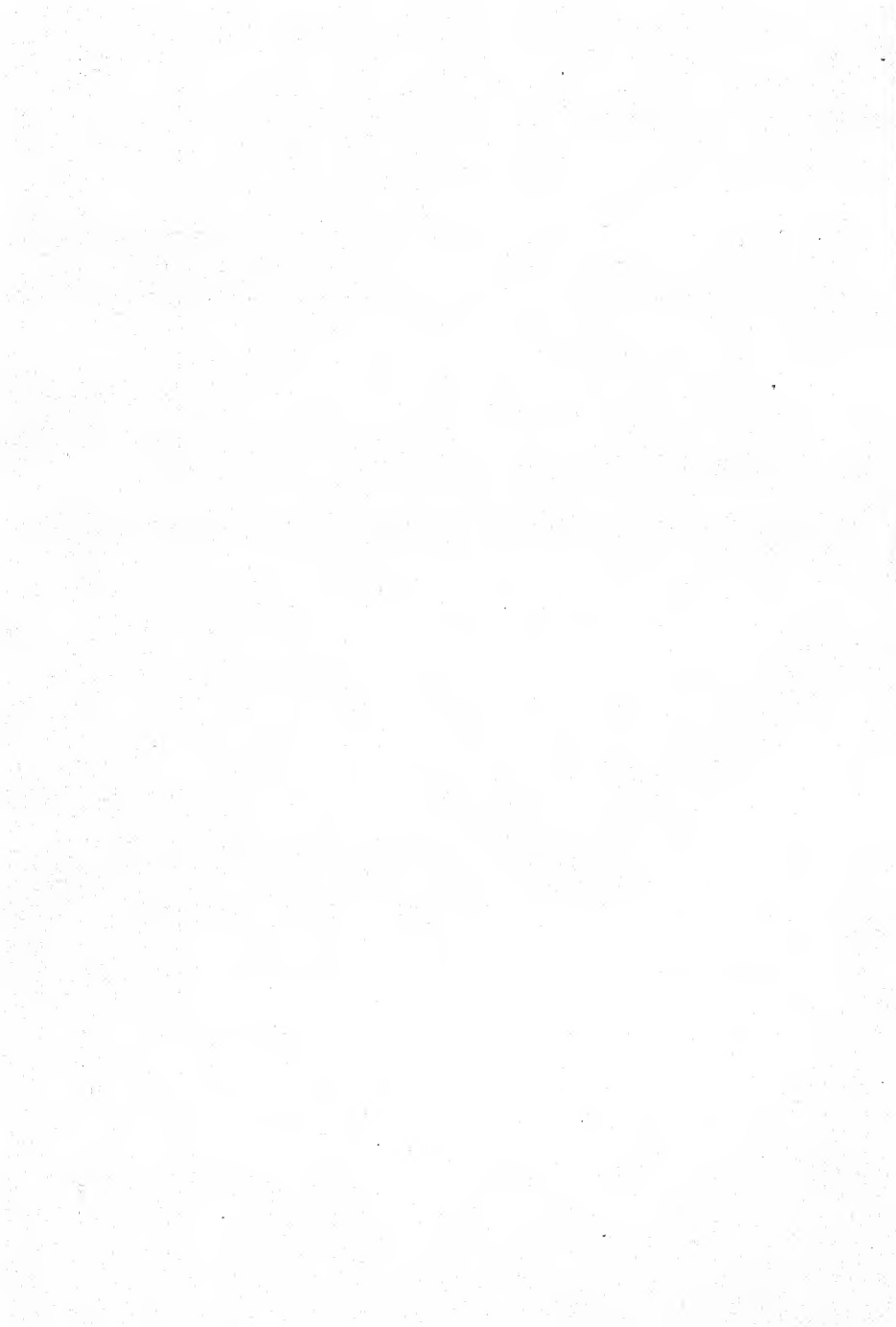
1672, 24 April. Letter from Daniel Fleming to Sir W^m Wilde, Justice of the Common Pleas. "I hope soon to hear your lordship's decision in the case about Rose Castle. I wish that the Bishop and Archbishop might come to an accommodation, those prelates having opposers enough without contending with one another. People are anxious to see Rose Castle restored in order that the Bishop *may become resident.*" (*Ibid.*, 91.)

XI.—TRIERMAIN CASTLE.

1341, 12 May. Pardon, in consideration of his losses in his lands on the Marches, to Roland de Vaux, for not having taken the order of knighthood according to the King's proclamation. (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1340-43, 186.)

XII.—NAWORTH CASTLE.

1622. The roof of the chapel at Kirkoswald was taken down and put up at Naworth, a work which occupied several men for twenty-two days. (*Ld. William Howard, "Household Books," p. 194.*)
1624. Some further work was done at the chapel, and the building of the park wall was carried on. (*Ibid.*, 215.)
- 1625, 10 September. "The plague is gotten into my Lord William Howarde's house, and the first that dyed of it was Sr Francis Howarde's lady, whoe took the infection from a new gowne she had from London, soe as she dyed the same day she took it, wherupon they are all dispersed most miserably, with the greatest terror in the worlde, since they had all beene with the lady, and all in danger by that meanes. God knowes it is a moste lamentable accident, and worthy of the tenderest pytty, to have all his children and grandchildren in this apparent danger." (*Henry Lord Clifford, to Secretary Conway, State Pap. Charles I. Dom.*, vi., p. 46.)
1628. The upper end of the hall was divided off by a partition, and termed the "Great Chamber," over which was a bedroom, and we read that new windows were inserted in the Great Chamber, and in the chamber above and a great window in the gallery. (*Ld. William Howard, "Household Books," p. 247.*)
1633. "Plastering the New Gallery."
- 1644, 8 October. Sir William Armyne informed Mr. Speaker Lenthall that the castles of Scaleby, Naworth, and Millom were holding out against the Parliament as obstinately as Carlisle. (*Hist. MSS. Com. Rep., Portland*, xiii., *App. i.*, pp. 185-6.)
1845. Anthony Salvin removed the partition across the hall and the chamber over, and thus brought the hall back to its original proportions.



INDEX.

- A
- ABERNETHY, treaty of, 7.
Adulterine castles, 184, 184 *n*.
 Aer, William de, 481.
 Æthelfled, 10.
 Æthelfrith, 2.
 Æthelred II., 4, 6.
 Æthelstan, 3, 204, 263.
 Agard the antiquary, 125.
 AGINCOURT, battle of, 245.
 Aglionby, family of, 368.
 —, Edward, 445.
 —, John, 158 *n*., 203, 368, 472.
 Agnes, Black, 69 *n*.
 Agnew, Lt. Genl. Montgomery, 490.
 Agricola, Julius, 1.
 AINSTABLE, dyke at, 192.
 AKETGATE, 263.
 Alan son of Roland, 62.
 Alanby, Thomas de, 100.
 Albany, Duke of, [1513], 412, 461.
 ALCLYDE, 2.
 ALDINGHAM, moated grange at, 47.
 —, motte, 35 :— 34, 47, 142, 361 *n*.
 Alexander I., 52.
 — II., 58, 59, 60, 61 *n*., 62, 96, 219.
 — III., 61, 62.
 —, son of Alex. III., 6.
 ALLERDALE, barony of, 160, 169,
 245, 492.
 ALNWICK castle, 57, 59, 171, 431, 495,
 496.
 ALSTON, 312.
 Anderton, Sir Charles, 147.
 —, Sir Francis, 147.
 —, Francis, 148.
 —, Sir James, 147, 148.
 —, Lawrence, 148.
Andirons, 430.
 Andover, Mary Viscountess, 294.
 ANNAN, barony of, 53.
 —, motte, 53.
 ANNANDALE, 156.
 Anstruther, Sir William, 150.
 ANTIOCH, city walls of, 72.
 Antoninus, 2nd Iter of, 24.
 APPLEBY, barony of, 61 *n*.
 —, castle, 75 :— 57, 66, 67, 84,
 123, 123 *n*., 454, 475, 478.
 —, grammar school, 240 *n*.
 —, town of, 4, 75, 77, 78, 160, 469.
 Appleby, John de, 449.
 —, Robert de, 268, 303.
 —, Bp. Thomas de, 101, 448, 449.
Arbalest, 73.
Archery, 157, 168 *n*.
 ARDRES, tower at, 15.
 ARE castle, 494.
 ARMATHWAITE Bank, 343.
 —, derivation of name, 343 *n*.
 —, castle, 343.
 Armitage, Mrs., 9, 11, 12, 18, 52.
Armour, 73, 74.
 Armstrong, family of, 381, 408, 409,
 415, 418, 498.
 —, Johnnie, 415.
 —, Sandy, 416.
 —, Simon, 415.
 —, William, 424.
 —, "Ill-Will," 415.
 Armyne, Sir William, 467, 503.
 ARNSIDE Tower, 249 :— 191, 273.
 Arthur, King, 263.
 ARTHURET, 169, 498.
 —, battle of, 2.
 ASBY, tower at, 250 :— 191.
 Ashton, Col. Ralph, 78, 131, 474, 478.
Aske's Rebellion, 412 :— 230.
 ASKERTON castle, 344 :— 235, 238,
 421.

ASKHAM Hall, 347 :— 174, 433, 439, 442.
 ASPATRIA, beacon at, 335.
 —, Vicarage, Pigeons at, 181.
 Athol, Earl of, 98.
 AYKHURST, 188.
 AYTON, treaty of, 338.

B

Badlesmere, Bartholomew de, 454.
 Bainbrigg, Reginald, 240 n.
 Balliol, family of, 52, 157.
 —, Edward, 87, 486.
 —, Eustace de, 97, 456, 482.
 —, John de, 62, 63, 98, 121, 154, 155, 156, 444, 482.
Ballista, 69 n.
 BAMPTON PATRICK, 390.
 Banastre, Henry, 488.
 —, James, 488.
 —, William, 488.
 BANNISDALE, 199.
 BANNOCKBURN, battle of, 121, 160, 412.
 Barber, William, 490.
Barbican, 70, 132.
 BARBON, beacon at, 336.
 BARDEN Tower, 123 n.
 BARDSEA Hall, 465.
 BARNARD Castle, 52, 475.
 Barnes, Bp. Richard, 230.
Baron's war, 59, 60.
 BARRAS, east and west, 193.
 BARROCK fell, beacon at, 335.
 — park, pigeon-house, 181.
 Barton, family of, 310.
 —, Robert de, 129.
 BARTON KIRKE, 433, 438.
 Barwise, family of, 369, 466.
 —, Richard, 369, 472.
Basco Dyke, 192.
Battle-axe, 6.
Bay window, 429.
 Bayar, Capt'n., 231 n.
 BAYEUX, motte at, 13.
 — tapestry, 13.
Beacon system, 332, 334.
Beacons, list of in 1468, 334.
 —, *plan of*, 333.
 Beauchamp, Guy de, 121.

BEAUMONT-on-Eden, 163.
 —, Castle Green, 38.
 Beaumont, Lord, 488.
 —, Monsieur, 294.
 BECKERMET, motte near, 38.
 Becket, Thomas à, 303.
Bedsteads and Bedding, 341, 431.
 Beecher, Lt.-Col., 469.
 BEETHAM Hall, 251 :— 187, 191, 249, 433.
 Beetham, family of, 251.
 —, Sir Ralph de, 251.
 —, Thomas de, 251.
Beffroy, 71, 161.
 Bele, Robert, 491.
 Bell, Bp. Richard, 229, 234.
 BELLE ISLE, Windermere, 470.
 Bellingham, family of, 294.
 —, Sir Henry, 467.
 —, Sir James, 294, 437.
 —, Richard de, 260.
 —, Sir Robert, 260.
 Bello, Henry de Monte, 447.
 BELLUS LOCUS REGIS, 253.
 Bentinck, Lady Henry, 149.
Bere or Bigg, 371 n.
 Bernard, Bp. of Carlisle, 253.
 BERWICK, 59.
 — castle, 419, 471, 476, 479, 480.
 —, Marshal of, 104.
 —, Sack of, 155.
 Berwise, Alan de, 227.
 Bethoc, 7.
 BEWCASTLE, 138 :— 68, 126, 239, 335.
 344, 345, 420, 421, 445, 465 n., 497.
 —, beacon at, 334.
 — mcses, 195.
 —, Roman Station at, 140.
 BEWLEY castle, 253.
 Bird, Lieut., 478.
Bishop's Dyke, Dalston, 193.
 —, *Linstock*, 195 :— 298, 299.
 BISPHAM, 54.
 BLACKCOMB, beacon on, 336.
 —, view from, 336.
Black Rood, 166.
 BLAWITH, beacon at, 336.
 Blaykeston, Roger de, 459.
 BLEATARN, 195.
 —, Stone House, 410 :— 408.

- BLEAZE Hall, 438.
 BLENCOW Hall, 351 :— 181, 371, 433, 439.
 Blencow, family of, 371, 372, 440.
 —, Adam de, 351.
 —, Anthony de, 439.
 —, Henry de, 351, 439.
 —, Winifred, 439.
 BLENNERHASSET, Lord of, 405.
 Bolton, Abbot John de, 224.
 BOLTON, castle, 429.
 BOOTLE, beacon at, 336.
 Bore, 69.
 Border Laws, 444 n.
 — *warfare, sufferings of*, 172.
 BORROWDALE dyke, 199.
 BORWANS, 201.
 BORWICK Hall, 315.
 BOSWORTH, battle of, 258.
 Botelton, Ucthred de, 253.
 BOTHELL, beacon at, 335.
 Bothwell, Lord, 140, 417, 499.
 Bow, *Cross*, 69 n., 73.
 —, *Long*, 73, 74, 180, 420.
 —, *Short*, 73.
 —, —, *first mention of*, 6 n.
 BOWES castle, 475.
 BOWNESS, Cumberland, 20.
 — Tower, 255 :— 241, 335.
 Boynton, family of, 314.
 Boyville, William de, 484.
 BRACKENHILL Tower, 352 :— 381.
 Braddyll, family of, 260.
 —, Edward, 220.
 Bradley, Roger, 365.
 Braithestanes, Adam de, 39.
 —, Luke de, 39.
 —, Reginald de, 39.
 —, Richard de, 39.
 —, William de, 39.
 Braithwaite, Richard, 260.
 —, Robert, 260.
 BRAMBER castle, 52 n.
 BRAMPTON motte, 39.
 —, beacon on, 335.
 BRANTHWAITE Hall, 257 :— 191, 256, 442.
 Brattice, 69, 71.
 —, *weakness of*, 69.
 BRAYSTONES, Brough Hill, 39.
 BRAYSTONES Tower, 39.
 Brayton, William, 373.
 Brickwell, Capt'n., 104.
 Briggs, Col. Edward, 470.
 BRINKLOW motte, 16.
 Briscasard, Ranulph de, 53.
 Brittany, John of, 157 n.
 BROADFIELD COMMON, 412.
 BROCAVUM, 87.
 BROMFIELD, curiæ at, 42.
 BROUGH-UNDER-STAINMORE, 83, 160, 162.
 — castle, 82 :— 57, 66, 67, 79, 81, 88, 123 n., 181, 454.
 BROUGHAM castle, 87 :— 57, 66, 67, 78, 79, 123 n., 258, 413, 454, 455, 465 n.
 — Hall, 258 :— 433.
 Brougham, Henry Richmond, 209.
 —, John, 209, 258.
 BROUGHTON, manor of, 259.
 — Tower, 258 :— xv., 191.
 Broughton, Sir Thomas, 258.
 Brown, Sir John, 471, 489.
 Brownsword, Rev. Willm., 502.
 Bruce, family of, 53.
 —, Alexander, 458.
 —, David, 166.
 —, Edward, 62, 150, 159, 160, 219, 228, 298.
 —, Marjory, 62.
 —, Peris de, 62.
 —, Robert the Competitor, 62, 63, 154.
 —, Robert the Constable, 62, 96, 154, 157, 482, 483, 484.
 —, Robert the, 62, 99, 157, 157 n., 158, 159, 160, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 168, 224, 228, 258, 281, 414.
 —, Thomas, 458.
 Brun, Elyn le, 38.
 —, Matilda le, 38.
 —, Sir Richard le, 38, 188, 202, 203.
 Brunanburh, battle of, 3.
 Brunskill, John, 260.
 Bubb, Jeremiah, 490.
 Buchan, Earl of, 98.
 BUCKHAM LODGE, Lowther, 318.
 Bueth, 55, 138, 497.

Bueth, Gilles, 497.
 BUTTLE, motte, 53.
 BUNKER'S HILL Pigeon-house, 181.
 BURGH-BY-SANDS, 158, 391, 392.
 —, Roman camp at, 325.
 —, Church at, 325:— 175, 178, 323.
 —, Marsh, 158 n.
 —, motte at, 20.
 Burghley, Lord, 27, 445, 462.
 Burgo, Hubert de, 75, 83.
 Burgundy, Duchess of, 258.
Burh, 8, 10, 12, 15.
 Burn, Richard, 370.
 Burne, Lt. Genl. Robert, 490.
 Burneshead, Gilbert de, 260.
 —, Margaret, 260.
 BURNESIDE Hall, 260:—179, 187, 191, 256, 363, 433.
 BURNSWARK, 3 n.
 BURROW WALLS, 244.
 Burton, Rev. Gilbert, 467 n.
 BURTON-in-Lonsdale, motte, 49.
 Buskell, family of, 280, 355.
 —, Jasper, 280.
 BYLAND Abbey, 199.
 Byron, Sir Nicholas, 489.
 BYWELL-on-Tweed, tower, 175.

C

CAERLAVEROCK, siege of, 492.
 CAERNARVON castle, Cumberland, 21:—361.
 CALAIS, siege of, 170.
 CALGARTH Hall, 438.
 CAMBER castle, 103.
 Camberton, Alan de, 262.
Camden related to Curwen, 246 n.
 CAMMERTON Hall, 262.
Cannon, first appearance of, 165.
 CANONBIE, 198.
 CANNY castle, 245.
 CAPPLESIDE Hall, 355:—433.
 CARLETON, manor of, 5, 61, 155, 219.
 Carleton, family of, 215, 239, 276.
 —, Lancelot, 215, 276.
 —, Thomas, 221, 239, 344, 345, 424, 489.
 CARLISLE, Annetwell Street built on castle dyke, 460.

CARLISLE, Botcherby Mount, 469.
 —, castle, 95:—52, 53, 54, 57, 60, 66, 67, 140, 154, 160, 162, 227, 228, 285, 337, 412, 413, 424, 425, 445, 456, 466, 467, 470, 471, 472, 475, 476, 478, 479, 480, 503.
 —, —, beacon at, 335.
 —, —, constables of, 481.
 —, —, pot-guns at, 461.
 —, —, siege of 1315, 71, 161.
 —, —, siege of 1644, 335, 366, 368, 467, 468, 469, 470, 470 n., 501.
 —, Cathedral, 105, 111, 118, 157 n., 158, 180.
 —, Citadel, 115:—114, 491.
 —, City, 111:—1, 2, 3, 52, 53, 54, 55, 60, 71, 106, 155, 156, 159, 160, 162, 163, 168, 169, 172, 242, 337.
 —, —, English gate, 118.
 —, —, Irish gate, 119:—161, 161 n.
 —, —, Scotch gate, 118.
 —, —, Towers in, 114, 115.
 —, conquest of, 24, 51, 199.
 —, county of, 61 n.
 —, Deanery, 356:—437.
 —, derivation of name, 95.
 —, gaol, 405.
 —, Honor of, 54, 61 n.
 —, Land of, 4, 52, 53, 54.
 —, motte, 54 n.
 —, Prior of, 100, 101.
 —, Saucerries, 107 n.
Carlovingian Empire, break up of, 12.
Carnarvon arch, 183.
 —, *a narrow specimen*, 277.
 CARTMEL, 142, 465.
 —, beacon at, 336.
 —, Priory, 163, 336.
Castell, the word introduced, 11, 12.
Castellum and Castrum used indifferently for town and camp, 10.
 CASTLE CARROCK Stone House, 411:—408.
 CASTLE DYKE, 192.
 CASTLE HEWIN, 263.
 CASTLE LUEN, 263.
Castles, interior arrangements of, 67.
 CASTLESTEAD, 213.
Cat, the, 69 n.

- CATTERLEN Hall, 359:— 182, 358.
 433, 439, 442.
Cattle driven into Yorkshir fore protection, 163.
Cavalry, 157.
 Cecil, Lord Robert, 419, 426.
 —, Sir William, 103, 114.
Cement floors on laths, 305.
Cereals, high prices of in 1550, 371, 371 n.
Chairs, 431.
 Challoner, Sir Thomas, 416.
 Chamber, Richard, 242.
 —, Robert, 242.
 —, Thomas, 242.
 —, William, 242.
 CHAPPELS, the, 308.
 Charles I., 88, 462, 463, 464, 468, 474.
 Charles IV. of France, 166, 167.
 Charles, Count of Valois, 167.
 Chauncy, Bp. Robert de, 227, 483, 484.
 CHESTER, battle of, 2.
Chimney, 429.
 Chisenhale, Robert de, 458.
 Cholmley, Major, 205, 231, 351, 473, 474, 475.
 Christian, Ewan, 369.
 Christison, Dr., 13, 179.
Churches fortified, 323.
Civil War, 465:—78, 88, 105, 140, 205, 230, 254, 269, 315, 327, 351, 355, 373, 442, 465 n., 490.
 CLARGHYLL Hall, 411.
 Clavering, Col., 466.
 CLIBURN Hall, 265:— 191.
 Cliburn, Richard de, 265.
 —, Robert de, 265.
 Cliderhow, Robert de, 494.
 Clifford, arms of, 77.
 —, family of, 88.
 —, Anne, Countess of Pembroke, 77, 78, 79, 83, 88, 122, 123, 125, 232, 250, 303.
 —, —, Pillar erected by, 455.
 —, Francis, 4th Earl, 88, 352, 489, 499.
 —, George, 3rd Earl, 395, 455, 489.
 —, Henry, 1st Earl, 451.
 —, Henry, 2nd Earl, 88.
 Clifford, Sir Ingram, 489.
 —, John Lord, 77.
 —, Sir Lewis, 488.
 —, Margaret, 455.
 —, Robert de [d. 1314], 98, 156, 281, 446, 454.
 —, Robert de [1378], 487.
 —, Roger de [d. 1283], 87, 207, 454.
 —, Roger de [1310-1327], 87, 121.
 —, Roger de [1360-1383], 77, 83, 87, 122, 171, 448, 449, 487.
 —, Thomas de [1386], 449, 487.
 —, Thomas Lord [1454], 77.
 —, Sir Thomas [1536], 260, 412, 413.
 —, William, 496.
 CLIFTON Hall, 360:— 186.
 CLOSEBURN Tower, 174 n.
 Cnut, 4, 7.
Coal, prejudice against, 436.
 Cockerham, Abbot John, 224.
 COCKERMOUTH castle, 127:— 57, 70, 78, 125, 126, 134, 135, 182, 205, 377, 478, 492.
 —, Honor of, 492.
 —, town of, 39, 46, 130.
 COLCHESTER castle, 52 n., 65.
 COLLIN BANK, Stone House, 408 — 407.
Collop Monday, derivation of, 180.
 Colmieu, Archdeacon of, 14.
 Colville, family of, 373.
 —, Bartholomew, 373.
 —, Margaret, 373.
 —, Philip, 373.
 Comber, Dean, 356.
 Comyn, family of, 53.
 —, John, 155, 157.
 Conan, 14.
Concentric castles, 72.
 CONEY GARTH Cop, 22.
 CONISHEAD Priory, 273, 383.
 CONISTON Hall, 361:—21, 433.
 CONISTON OLD MAN, beacon on, 336.
 Constantine II., 3, 204.
 CONSTANTINOPLE, 72.
 CONWAY castle, 429.
 Conyers, John Lord, 451, 489.
 Cookson, Sawrey, 259.

COPELAND, barony of, 4, 52, 54, 134,
160, 163, 169.
Copley, Adam, 276.
—, Isabel, 276.
—, John, 276.
—, Richard, 276.
CORBRIDGE, 155.
CORBY castle, 266 — 181.
Cornage, 8 n., 9 n.
Cornwall, Earl of, 168.
Coucy, Maria de, 62.
CRACKENTHORPE Hall, 336.
Crackenthorpe, Christopher, 386, 439.
—, Henry, 386.
—, John, 373.
—, Montagu, 387.
—, Robert de, 386.
—, William, 387.
CRAKEPLACE Hall, 441.
Crakeplace, Christopher, 441.
Cranmer, Archbishop, 114.
CRECY, battle of, 165 n., 169, 170.
Creighton, Bishop, 216.
Crenelle, derivation of, 97 n.
Crenellation Licences, 184.
Creppings, Richard de, 483.
—, Robert de, 496.
Cressingham, Hugh de, 211.
Crests on helmets, first appearance of,
Crew Castle, 364. [165.
Crinan, 7.
CRINDLEDYKE, 192.
CROGLIN, 364.
Cromwell, Sir John de, 446.
—, Oliver, 105, 475, 476, 478.
—, Thomas, 230, 498.
CROOKDALE Hall, 181.
Cropper, J. W., 260.
CROSBY, manor of, 195, 299.
CROSBY LODGE, 201.
CROSBY RAVENSWORTH, dyke, 201.
—, Hall, 268 — 303.
—, —, moated Grange at, 46.
Cross-bow, 69 n., 73.
Crowle, George, 365.
—, Thomas, 365, 396.
Culwen, family of, *see* Curwen.
CULWEN, manor in Galloway, 244.
Cumberland, formation of county of,
61 n.

Cumberland, Duke of, 106, 109.
—, Earls of, *see* Clifford.
Cumbria, derivation of name, 2 n.
CUMCATCH Stone House, 409 — 408.
CUMMERDALE, 193.
Cunedda, 1.
CUNSWICK Hall, 365.
Curtain wall, 51, 61, 70, 186, 187,
443.
—, *advantages of the triple*, 72.
—, *mural towers on*, 72.
—, *ramparts on*, 71.
Curwen, family of, 246, 262, 390.
—, Sir Christopher, 245, 332, 390.
—, Ellyn, 390.
—, Sir Gilbert [d. 1325], 390, 484,
493.
—, Sir Gilbert [d. 1370], 190, 244,
246, 305.
—, Sir Gilbert [1403], 171, 244.
—, Guychard de, 61.
—, Sir Henry, 245, 421.
—, John Christian, 246.
—, Sir Nicholas, 245.
—, Patric de, 99, 244, 262, 390.
—, Sir Thomas, 245, 246.
—, Sir William, 38.

D

DACRE castle, 269 — 180, 182, 184,
191, 204, 339.
—, manor of, 204, 269.
Dacre, family of, 3, 391, 393, 412.
—, Sir Christopher [1536], 412, 413.
—, Sir Christopher [1586], 293.
—, Christopher, 203, 206, 235, 419,
420, 421.
—, George Lord, 418 n.
—, Hugh de, 171.
—, Humphrey Lord, 150, 204, 213,
240, 269, 373, 450.
—, John, 293.
—, Leonard, 150, 202, 205, 214,
239, 239 n., 344, 366, 391, 409, 418,
418 n., 419.
—, Margaret de, 269.
—, Ranulph de, [1268] 483.
—, Ranulph de [1335], 188, 204,
209, 213, 217, 486.
—, Ranulph de [1367], 448 449.

- Dacre, Thomas Lord [d. 1525], 150,
 202, 214, 344, 432, 451.
 —, Thomas [1543], 293, 414, 451.
 —, Sir Thomas [1580], 293, 352.
 —, Sir Thomas [1645], 470.
 —, William de [1268], 481, 483.
 —, William de [1307], 188, 204,
 459, 500.
 —, William Lord [1527], 139, 392,
 415, 418 *n.*, 451, 489, 498.
Dagsastan, battle of, 2.
 DAFFENSIDE, beacon at, 335.
 DALE RAUGHTON, beacon at, 335, 336.
 DALLAM TOWER, 273 :— 249, 385.
Dalriad Scots, 2.
 DALSTON, Bishop's dyke, 193.
 — Hall, 366 :— 175, 176, 179, 193,
 194, 335, 433, 442, 467.
 —, manor of, 227, 229, 231.
 Dalston, Sir George, 366, 491.
 —, John [1498], 366.
 —, Sir John [1556], 366.
 —, John, [1648], 473.
 —, Sir William, 491.
 DALTON castle, 274 :— 191.
Danish settlements, 11.
Dapper Dick, 260 *n.*
 Darcy, John, 224.
 Darnley, Lord, 417.
 David I., 5, 52, 53, 54, 55, 62, 95,
 95 *n.*, 134.
 David II., 25, 62, 166, 167, 169, 170,
 171.
 David, son of Alexander III., 62.
 David, Earl of Athol, 493.
 David, Earl of Huntingdon, 62.
Debatable Lands, 198, 381.
 —, *division of*, 414 :— 451, 489.
 —, *plan of*, 416.
 Delamore, family of, 359.
 Dene, John de, 491.
Denmark, motes in, 12.
 DENT, 475.
 DENTON FOOT tower, 278 :— 191,
 407.
 DENTON Hall, 276 :— 191.
 —, motte at, 22.
 —, Nether, 276.
 —, Over, motte at, 28.
 Denton, Adam, 276.
 Denton, Anketin de, 276.
 —, George, 472.
 —, John de, 276.
 —, Margaret de, 276.
 —, Sir Richard, 276, 487.
 —, Robert de, 276.
 —, Thomas, 276.
 Denum, John de, 307.
 Derby, Earl of, see Stanley.
 Derwentwater, John de, 171.
 Devorguilla, 62.
 Digby, Lord, 471.
 DIMMISDALE, 198, 417.
 DINAN, motte at, 13.
 Dissington, family of, 279.
 DISTINGTON, 279.
Ditch, the strength of the, 18, 71.
 DIXMUDE, 14.
 Dokura, John de, 501.
 Dol, motte at, 13.
 Dolin, son of E. Gospatric, 51.
Domesday Survey, 35, 37.
Domestic buildings of wood, 160.
 DONCASTER, 476.
 Doors, iron barred, 175, 217, 324,
 325, 327.
 —, —, in France, 175 *n.*
 —, —, in Scotland, 179.
 Dorset, Marquis of, 142.
 —, Henry Lord, 451.
 Douglas, Earl of, 129.
 —, Lord Archibald, 168, 170.
 —, Sir James [1315], 135, 160, 162,
 165, 219.
 —, Sir James [1552], 416.
 —, Sir William, 169, 170, 219, 229.
 DOVER castle, 60, 66.
 Dowker, James, 148.
 DOWN HALL, moated Grange at,
 44 :— 43.
 DRAWDYKES castle, 368.
 DRAX, Thomas Prior of, 101.
 DRUMBURGH castle, 202 :— 38, 188,
 255.
 Dudley, Christopher, 319, 473.
 —, Edmund, 319.
 —, Lord Guilford, 440.
 —, John, Duke of Northumber-
 land [d. 1553], 451.
 —, Richard, 221.

Dudley, Thomas Lord, 319, 440.
 —, Winitred, 439.
 DUFFUS, motte at, 53.
 DUMFRIES, 2 n.
 —, castle, 173.
 DUMFRIESSHIRE, 13, 53.
Dunbar, Earldom of, 7.
 DUNBRETTAN, 2.
 Duncan I., 4.
 Dundraw, Gilbert de, 279.
 DUNKELD, 2 n., 7 n.
 Dunmail, 3.
 DUNMALLOCHT castle, 204 :— 188.
Dupplin Moor, battle of, 160, 168.
 Durand, Col., 106, 490.
 DURHAM castle, plan of, 50.
Dyke, confusion with ditch, 9 n.
 —, *defence against the Scots*, 192.
 —, *Bishop's at Dalston*, 193.
 —, *Bishop's at Linstock*, 195, 298, 299.
 —, *Borrowdale*, 199.
 —, *Crosby Ravensworth*, 201.
 —, *Great Orton*, 196.
 —, *Penrith*, 196.
 —, *Salkeld*, 197.
 —, *Scot's*, 198.

E

Eadgar Ætheling, 7, 51.
 —, K. of Scots, 52.
 —, the Peaceable, 3.
 Eadulf, Earl, 4.
 Edward the Confessor, 6, 11.
 — the Elder, 10.
 Ecgrith, 2.
 EDENHALL, 181, 207, 208.
 EDINBURGH, 171, 172, 472, 474.
 Edmund the Magnificent, 3.
 Edward I., 5, 20, 61, 62, 63, 72, 73, 83, 98, 108, 139, 154, 155, 156, 157, 157 n., 158, 167, 173, 211, 227, 298, 444, 456, 483.
 —, monument to, 158 n.
 Edward II., 63, 121, 158, 160, 162, 163, 164, 165, 167, 188, 207, 266, 457, 483, 493.
 Edward III., 63, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 188.
 Edward IV., 213, 337, 494.

Edward VI., 414, 416, 417.
Egremond, Boy of, 134.
 EGREMONT, barons of, 23.
 —, barony of, 245, 292.
 —, castle, 134 :— 23, 57, 125, 127, 496.
 —, motte, 23 :— 134, 136.
 —, town of, 39.
 —, quarry, 135, 135 n.
 Eldred, 31.
 ELGIN, 53, 155, 444.
 Elizabeth, Queen, 51 n., 103, 106, 205, 220, 417, 418, 418 n., 419, 423, 426, 436, 453.
 ELLENBOROUGH, 369.
 Ellis, Capt. Phil, 474, 501.
 ELSDON Tower, 496.
 Elwald, Robert, 497.
Embatlements, origin of design, 184.
 EMBLETON, moated Grange at, 45.
 —, vicarage, 45.
 Emma, wife of Æthelred II., 6.
Enceinte castles, 126.
Enfilading position, 72.
 Engaine, family of, 360.
 —, Eleanor, 360.
 —, Ranulph 150.,
 English, Idonea, 347.
 —, Sir Thomas, 347.
 Eric II. of Norway, 62.
 Ermengarde, Queen, 58, 62.
 Ernulf or Orulf, 35.
 ESKMEOL, 308.
 Eugenius of Strathclyde, 3, 204.
 Everdon, Bp. Sylvester de, 253.
 Ewaine, King, 263.
 EWANRIGG Hall, 369.
 EWE Locks, 201.
 Eweri, Thomas del, 491.

F

Fairfax, Lord, 468.
Falaise, treaty of, 57, 58.
Falkirk, battle of, 157, 160.
 Fantosme, Jordan, 16 n.
 FARLAM Stone House, 410 :— 408.
 FARLETON KNOTT, beacon on, 336.
 Fawcett, Roland, 236.
 Fencotes, Thomas de, 459, 500.
 Ferete, Robert de la, 38.

- FERNIEHIRST castle, 418.
 Fetherstonhaugh, Sir Timothy, 151.
Feudal system, 8, 12, 52.
 Fife, Earl of, 129. [339.
Fire, in centre of floor, advantages of,
 —, *the chief weapon used by raiders*,
 173, 175.
Firearms, 74.
Firebacks, 430, 430 n.
Firecats, 430.
Firedogs, 430.
Fireplaces, 126.
Fireplaces in Church towers, 324.
Fireplaces recessed into wall, 429.
Fishponds, need for, 181.
 Fisser, Henry, 145.
 Fitch, Col. Thomas, 242, 479, 490.
 FITHNENIN, 253.
 Fitz-Wauter, Lord, 496.
 Fitz-William, Ralph, 485.
 Fleming, family of, 361, 361 n.
 —, Sir Daniel, 269, 362, 501, 502.
 —, Dorothy, 376.
 —, Bp. Sir George, 232.
 —, Sir Michael le, 21, 35, 47, 142,
 361, 361 n.
 —, Sir Richard le, 21, 361.
 —, Sir Thomas le, 361.
 —, William, 362.
Flemish influence on woodwork, 436.
 Fletcher, family of, 279.
 —, Sir George, 284, 285.
 —, Sir Henry, 284, 467, 470.
 —, Sir Richard, 248, 284, 285.
Flockbeds, 341.
Flodden, battle of, 412.
 Forbes, Alexander, 296.
 Fordun, John de, 95 n.
Forks, introduction of, 432.
 Fortibus, William de [d. 1241], 492.
 —, William de [d. 1259], 97, 127,
 129, 131, 482.
 FOTHERAY in Furness, 188, 224, 225.
 Fox, George, 480.
 Francis II. of France, 417.
Franco-Scottish League, 154, 155, 165,
 168, 170, 171, 419.
 Fraunceys, variations of name, 303 n.
 —, John le, 268, 303.
 —, Richard le, 268, 303.
 FRIZINGTON motte, 39.
 Fulke, Earl of Anjou, 341 n.
 — Nerra, 12.
 FURNESS ABBEY, 163, 188, 224, 245,
 258, 275, 336.
 —, Abbot of, 37, 163, 274, 275.
 —, Coucher Book, 258.
 G
 GALLOWAY, 53.
 GARETHORN, 201.
Gatehouse, 70, 187.
 —, *barbican to*, 70.
 —, *drawbridge to*, 70.
 —, *portcullis to*, 70.
 Gatehouse, Sir Thomas, 148.
 Gaveston, Piers de, 158, 484, 493.
 Gham, Capt., 104.
 Gilbert, son of Roger fitz Reinfred,
 145.
 Gilemore, son of Gilander, 238.
 Gill, Col., 480.
 GILLALEES, Beacon, 334.
 —, Stone House, 408.
 GILNOCKIE Tower, 352.
 Gilpin, family of, 289.
 —, Bernard, 289.
 —, Capt., 106.
 —, Richard, 236, 289, 290.
 —, William, 236, 289.
 GILSLAND, barony of, 5, 23, 52, 54,
 55, 159, 162, 168, 195, 345.
 Girlington, Sir John, 465.
 Glanton, John de, 486.
Glass, scarcity of, 431.
 GLEASTON castle, 142 :— 36, 47,
 407.
 —, beacon at, 337.
 Glemham, Sir Thomas, 105, 466, 467,
 470, 489.
 Gloucester, *see* Richard Duke of.
 GODMOND Hall, 370.
 Godmond, family of, 370.
 Godwine, Earl, 11.
 Goodwin, Bp. Harvey, 233.
 Goring, Col. George, 466.
 Gospatric, Earl, 4, 6, 7, 51, 213, 214,
 244, 246, 492.
 Gospatric, son of Orme, 75, 75 n., 83,
 244.

- GOWER, fortified churches in the district of, 323 *n*.
- Graham, family of, 25, 53, 140, 352, 392, 424.
- , Fergus, 27, 416.
- , Hutchin, 424 *n*.
- , Col. James, 294.
- , John, 424 *n*.
- , Richard, 345, 352, 424 *n*.
- , Richies, 424 *n*.
- , Tom, 416.
- , Walter, 424 *n*.
- , William of the Motte, 424 *n*.
- , William of Rosetrees, 424 *n*.
- GRAINS, High, Stone House, 408 :— 407.
- , Low, Stone House, 408 :— 407.
- GREAT ORION Dyke, 196.
- GREAT SALKELD, 467.
- , Church, 327 :— 175, 323.
- , Dyke, 197.
- Greek fire*, 71, 71 *n*.
- GREENHOLME, Castle Howe, 29.
- GREENTHWAITE Hall, 433, 441.
- GREENWICH Hospital, 113.
- GRESSINGHAM Motte, 17.
- Grey, Lady Catherine, 440.
- , Lady Jane, 440.
- GREYSTOKE, barony of, 214.
- , castle, 205 :— 190, 217 *n*., 221, 413, 418 *n*., 474.
- Greystoke, William baron of, 190, 205, 206, 351.
- Gualo, Papal legate, 253.
- Gunilda, dau. of E. Gospatric, 244.
- Gunnarson, Thored, 4.
- Gunpowder, introduction of*, 72, 165 *n*.
- Gwenddolew, 2.
- H
- Hacker, Col., 479.
- Hadrian's Wall*, 422.
- Halfdan, 3.
- Hall, the*, 42, 67.
- , of 15th Centy., 339 :— 428.
- , of 16th Centy., 429.
- , sizes of, 433.
- Halland, John, 488.
- Halton, Bp. John de, 98, 115, 159, 227, 228, 298, 329, 457, 458, 460, 484, 485, 486.
- Halton, Miles, 442.
- HALTWHISTLE, 159.
- Hamilton, Duke of, 231, 472, 474, 475, 476, 490.
- , John, 490.
- Hampton, Robert de, 456, 484.
- HARBY BROW, 371.
- Harcla, Sir Andrew de, 99, 121, 129, 162, 163, 164, 207, 446, 447, 458, 485, 486.
- , Sir James de, 99.
- , John de, 99, 458.
- , Michael de, 457, 484.
- , William de, 268, 303.
- HARDKNOTT, beacon on, 336.
- HARESCUEGH fell, beacon on, 335.
- Harold, 6.
- Harrington, family of, 142, 399, 407.
- , John de [1379], 171.
- , Sir John, 431.
- Harrison, Maj.-Genl., 480.
- , the Historian, 430.
- , Richard, 468.
- HARTLEPOOL, 471.
- HARLEY Castle, 207 :— 189, 467.
- Haselrige, Sir Arthur, 479, 490.
- HASTINGS, motte at, 13.
- Hastings, Alice de, 304.
- , Henry de [1230], 62.
- , Henry, Earl of Huntingdon, [1584], 421.
- , Nicholas de, 268, 304.
- , Philip, 364.
- , Thomas de, 268, 304.
- Hatfield, Thomas, Bp. of Durham, 50, 449.
- Haverbrac, family of, 273.
- Haverington, John de, 459.
- HAWKSHEAD Hall, 363.
- HAY castle, 279.
- HAYTON castle, 373 :— 442, 465 *n*.
- , castle hill, 40.
- , Stone House, 410 :— 408.
- HAZLESLACK Tower, 375 :— 182, 249, 273.
- HEADSWOOD, Newton, 40.
- Hellbeck, Sir Thomas de, 347.
- HELTON, beacon at, 336.
- Helton, John de, 281.
- Henry I., 53, 54, 55 *n*., 95, 111, 298.

- Henry II., 5, 8 n., 55, 55 n., 82, 95, 184.
 Henry III., 24, 59, 60, 61, 96, 127, 138, 184, 241, 253, 492.
 Henry V., 245.
 Henry VI., 308.
 Henry VII., 259, 338.
 Henry VIII., 103, 113, 115, 245, 293, 323, 413.
 Henry fitz Hugh, 459.
 Henry, Prince of Scotland, 54, 62.
 Herbert, William, Viscount Montgomery, 147, 385.
 Herd, Hugh, 289.
 Hereford, Earl of, 168, 446.
Hericio, 16, 16 n.
 Heroun, William, 459.
Herring-bone work, 135, 135 n.
 HERMITAGE castle, 25.
 Hetherington, family of, 410.
 Heton, Alan de, 449.
 Heveningham, William, 232.
 HEVERSHAM Hall, 280 :— 433.
Heybote, 61, 61 n.
 Heyheved, Sir Stephen de, 209.
 HEXHAM Abbey Church, 155, 496.
 —, battle of, 308.
 HIGHHEAD castle, 209 :—181, 189, 442.
 Highmoor, Alexander, 371.
 HILTON, Appleby, 240 n.
 Hilton, Cyprian, 310.
 —, George, 355.
 Holebrook, Richard de, 484.
 HOLLOWS, the, 415.
 HOLM CULTRAM Abbey, 40, 59, 163, 189, 241, 244, 323.
 —, Abbot of, 243, 329.
 —, manor of, 241, 323.
 —, motte at, 40.
 Honorius III., Pope, 253.
 HORNBY, Lancashire, 163, 476.
 —, Westmorland, 433, 438.
Horngeld, 8 n.
Horsemen, mailed, 73.
Housebote, 61, 61 n.
 HOUSESTEADS, 240 n.
 Howard, Col. Charles [1650], 480.
 —, Charles, 1st Earl Carlisle, 491.
 —, Charles, 3rd Earl Carlisle, 216, 490.
 Howard, Charles, 11th Duke of Norfolk [d. 1815], 205.
 —, Sir Francis, 266, 503.
 —, Francis, 490.
 —, Fulk Greville, 296.
 —, George, 6th Earl, 217.
 —, Henry, 6th Duke of Norfolk [d. 1684], 203, 393.
 —, Henry, 7th Duke of Norfolk, [d. 1701], 158 n.
 —, Henry Charles, 205.
 —, Henry [1840], 206.
 —, Philip [d. 1645], 470.
 —, Philip [1756], 180.
 —, Thomas, 4th Duke of Norfolk [d. 1572], 266, 418 n.
 —, Lord William, 150, 151, 215, 216, 266, 300, 345, 503.
 HOWGILL castle, 281 :— 180, 191, 319, 374, 433, 473.
 Hudleston, family of, 400.
 —, Andrew, 376.
 —, Dorothy, 376.
 —, Ferdinand, 211, 212.
 —, John de, 189, 211, 212.
 —, Richard de, 99.
 —, Col. Sir William, 466.
Hue and Cry, 304 n.
 Huggins, John, 148.
 —, William, 148.
 Hugh, Bp. of Carlisle, 56, 253, 456, 481.
 Hunsdon, Lord, 205, 391, 419, 423.
 Hutton, family of, 284, 376.
 —, Lancelot, 284, 285.
 —, Mary, 376.
 —, Thomas, de 284, 376, 377, 439.
 —, William de [1393], 284.
 —, Sir William [1618], 395.
 HUTTON-IN-THE-FOREST Hall, 284 :— 181, 191, 442.
 HUTTON JOHN Hall, 376 :— 181, 438, 439.

I

- Ida, 2.
 INGLEWOOD Forest, 5, 61, 98, 99, 100, 101, 155, 160, 174, 263, 457, 498.
"Inskonce", 422.
 Ireby, Christiana de, 62.

Ireby, William de, 62, 97, 110.
Irish rebellion [1641], 474.
 IRTHINGTON motte, 23.
 IRON Hall, 286 :— 191.
 Irton, Adam de, 286.
 —, Edmund Lamplugh, 286.
 —, Bp. Ralph, 298.
 —, Samuel, 286.
 Isabella, Queen, 164, 166, 167.
 —, daughter of David, Earl of
 Huntingdon, 62.
 ISEL Hall, 377 :— 183, 433.
 Ispannia, John de, 490.

J

Jack, the, 420.
 James I., 88, 175, 215, 418, 499.
 James II., 294.
 James III., K. of Scots, 337.
 James IV., K. of Scots, 338.
 Jamse V., K. of Scots, 413.
 JEDBURGH, 417.
 Joan, Queen to Alexander II., 61 n.
 —, dau. of Edward II., 166.
 John, King, 58, 59, 60, 75, 83, 95,
 97, 145.
 John II., of France, 170.
 John IV., of Brittany, 169.
 JOHNBV Hall, 182.
 Jolliffe, family of, 374.
 Jones, Inigo, 442.
Juliet, the, 125.
 Julius Cæsar, 125.

K

Karliolo, Thomas de, 491.
 Keblethwaite, family of, 379.
Keep, a term of late origin, 51 n.
 —, *rectangular*, 51, 65.
 —, *how constructed*, 66.
 —, *size of*, 65, 66.
 —, *thickness of walls of*, 66.
 —, *angle pilasters to*, 66, 67.
 —, *forebuilding to*, 70.
 —, *strength of*, 69.
 —, *flat roof to carry catapults*, 71.
 —, *battlements lowered for cannon*,
 72.
 —, *relegated to secondary import-
 ance*, 70.

Keep, abandoned, 67.
 —, *the "Shell,"* 49.
 KELSO, motte at, 53.
 KENDAL, barony of, 4, 31, 61, n. 390.
 — castle, 145 :— 31, 58, 126, 181,
 251.
 —, Corporation of, 149.
 — Heath, 473.
 —, motte, 31 :— 30, 58, 145.
 —, town, 199, 465, 472, 474, 475.
 KENILWORTH castle, 66, 213, 429.
 KENMURE motte, 53.
 Kenneth II., 4.
 Kent, Edmund, Earl of, 447.
 KENTMERE HALL, 289 :— 175, 182,
 191, 433.
 —, Cork lad of, 289.
 Ker, Sir Thomas, 418.
 Ketel, son of Eldred, 31, 244, 245.
 —, son of Uchtred, 385.
 KILLINGTON Hall, 379.
 King, Alexander, 239.
 Kinmont Willie, 424, 425.
 Kirby, Bp. John, 128, 168, 189, 228,
 233, 448, 487.
 KIRKANDREWS-on-Esk Tower, 381 :—
 186.
 Kirkbride, Elizabeth, 366.
 Kirkby, Robert de, 269.
 KIRKBY LONSDALE, 466, 474.
 —, motte, 35.
 KIRKBY STEPHEN, 123, 162, 412,
 454, 468.
 KIRKBY THORE, 475.
 — Hall, 433.
 KIRKCUDBRIGHT, 13, 53.
 Kirkcudbright, Thomas Lord, 368,
 469.
 Kirkeby, John de, 493.
 Kirketon, Gilbert, 454.
 KIRKHAM, 54.
 KIRKLINTON Hall, 297.
 KIRKOSWALD castle, 150 :— 58, 126,
 214, 215, 217, 300, 418 n., 503.
 —, town of, 160.
 Kite, Bp. John, 229, 230.
 KNARESBOROUGH, 475.
 Knight, John, 410.
 KNIPE PATRICK, 390.
 Knollys, 103.

KNOWSLY Hall, 249.

L

Lacu, Edmund de Malo, 493, 494.

Lake, Sir Thomas, 489.

Lambert of Ardres, 15.

Lambert, Maj.-Genl. John, 205, 221,
230, 236, 474, 475, 476.

LAMMERSIDE castle, 291 :— 191.

LAMPLEY, *see* Lamplugh.

LAMPLUGH, 155.

— Hall, 292.

Lamplugh, family of, 103, 114, 292,
494.

—, arms of, 292.

—, George, 421, 495.

—, Sir Robert de, 292.

LANCASTER castle, 163.

—, Honor of, 54.

—, town of, 99, 163.

Lancaster, family of, 319.

—, Christiana de, 317.

—, Christopher de, 317.

—, Earl of, 168, 207.

—, Gilbert de, 58, 317.

—, Helewise de, 317.

—, Henry de, 448.

—, Isabel de, 362.

—, John de, 281.

—, Sir John de, 361.

—, Roger de, 281, 317.

—, William de [d. 1184], 199.

—, William de [d. 1246], 145.

LANERCOST Priory, 102, 155, 156, 159,
170, 217 *n.*, 240, 293, 458.

—, Tower at, 293.

Langdale, Sir Marmaduke, 466, 471,
472, 473, 474, 476.

LANGWATHBY, manor of, 5, 61, 155,
219.

Larder, derivation of, 180.

Law, Bp. Edmund, 28, 233.

Lawson, Sir Wilfred, 466, 468, 469,
470, 495, 496.

LAYKEBRAYT, 98 *n.*

LAZONBY, Church of, 227.

Lead flat roofs, introduction of, 71.

Leigh, family of, 377.

—, Edward, 259.

—, Sir Henry, 489.

LEIGHTON Hall, 465.

Lemanton, John, 461.

L'Engleys, John, 209.

—, William, 189, 200, 209, 210.

Lennox, Earl of, 98.

Lenthall, Mr. Speaker, 466, 467, 503.

Leofric, Earl, 11.

Lermouth, Alexander, 101, 461.

Leslie, Genl. Alexander, 78, 463, 464,
468, 470.

—, Lieut.-Genl. David, 105, 235,
366, 368, 467, 470.

LEVENS, manor of, 385.

—, Hall, 294 :— 191, 429, 433, 437,
438.

Levingston, Sir William, 475, 490.

LEVINGTON Hall, 297.

Levington, family of, 297.

—, Richard de, 482.

Leyburne, family of, 365, 396.

—, Elyn, 365.

—, George, 365.

—, James, 365.

—, Sir James, 365.

—, John, 365.

—, Nicholas, 396.

—, Robert de, 128, 129, 188, 399,
485, 493, 494.

—, Sir Roger de, 454, 482.

—, Thomas, 365.

Lewyn, John, 101.

Licences for Crenellation, 188.

Lidcot, Col., 479, 480.

LIDDEL, manor of, 498.

—, motte, 24 :— 16, 19, 53, 57,
169, 421.

LIDDESDALE, 53.

LINCOLN, 58, 60.

—, Earl of, 168.

LINDAL CLOSE, battle of, 466.

Lindesey, family of, 45.

—, Alexander de, 228, 298.

—, David de, 298.

—, Reynold de, 228, 298.

—, Sir Simon, 25.

Lindow, J. Burns, 286.

LINGEY-CLOSE-HEAD, beacon on, 194,
335.

LINSTOCK, manor of, 231, 298.

—, Bishop's dyke at, 195.

LINSTOCK castle, 298 :—179, 191, 228.
 LINTON RODERICK motte, 53.
Lion, as armorial bearing of Scotland, 57 n.
 LOCHMABEN, 164, 413.
 —, motte, 53.
 LONDON, Treaty of, 464.
 —, Tower of, 51 n., 52 n., 65, 145, 251, 258.
Long Gallery, the, 434.
 LONGLEAT, 442.
 LONGTOWN, 198.
 Lonsdale, Earl of, 158 n., 212, 404.
Lord Paramount of Scotland, 63.
Lord Wardens of the March, 444.
 Lorraine, princes of, 417.
 LOTHIAN, 53.
Louden Hill, battle of, 158.
 Louis VIII. of France, 59, 60.
 Louis X. of France, 167.
 Lovel, Lord, 258.
 Lowick, beacon at, 336.
 LOWTHER Hall, 300 :—151.
 Lowther, family of, 230, 300, 424, 425, 474.
 —, Gerard, 426, 438.
 —, Hugh de, 188, 248, 334, 459, 487, 500.
 —, Sir James, 301, 365.
 —, Jane, 362.
 —, Sir John [d. 1637], 151, 300, 305.
 —, Sir John [1648], 319, 455, 473.
 —, Sir John [1681], 203.
 —, Richard [1485], 373.
 —, Sir Richard [1606], 248, 425, 426, 452.
 —, Richard [1693], 306.
 —, Robert, 404.
 —, Sir William, 301.
Luck of Muncaster, 308.
 Lucy, arms of, 133.
 —, Amabil de, 134.
 —, Anthony de, 99, 112, 447, 448, 486, 494.
 —, Christiana, 248.
 —, John, 248.
 —, Reginald de, 134.
 —, Richard de, 135.
 —, Thomas de, 129, 448, 487.

Luguballium, 95.
 Lyttelton, Bp. Charles, 233, 234.

M

Machecoude, derivation of, 69.
 Machel, the antiquary, 207, 232, 318, 319, 367, 367 n., 401.
 Machell of Kendal, 260.
Maiden Way, 344, 407.
 Maitland, Richard, 417.
 Malclerk, Bp. Walter, 227, 481.
 Malcolm I., 3.
 Malcolm II., 7.
 Malcolm III., 4, 7, 51.
 Malcolm IV., 5, 55, 62, 95.
Mallerstang, forest of, 121, 122.
 Manduit, Roger de, 174.
Mangel-wurzels first introduced, 180.
Mangon, the, 69 n.
 Mar, Earl of, 98, 165, 232.
 Margaret, Queen to Edw. I., 228, 298.
 —, Queen to Henry VI., 337.
 —, Queen to James IV., 338, 417.
 —, Queen to Malcolm III., 7.
 —, dau. of Alexander III., 62.
 —, dau. of David Earl of Huntingdon, 62.
 —, dau. of Eric II. of Norway, 61, 62, 63.
 —, dau. of Henry III., 62.
 —, dau. of Philip III., 167.
 —, dau. of William the Lion, 58.
Marston Moor, battle of, 78, 466.
 Martindale, Robert, 373.
 —, Roland, 373.
 Mary, Queen, 103, 106.
 —, Queen of Scots, 245, 417, 418, 444, 452.
 MARYPORT, 335.
 —, Castle Hill, 41.
Masonry, early, 51.
 Mathyng, Robert, 373.
 MATTERDALE, 270.
 Maud, Empress, 53, 54, 134.
 MAULD'S MEABURN, manor of, 303, 304.
 —, Hall, 303 :—433, 442.
 Maxwell, family of, 53, 452.
 —, Lord, 413.
 MELMERBY Tower, 307.

- Menteith, Earl of, 98.
 MERCHEM, motte at, 14.
 Meschin, Alice le, 134.
 —, Matilda, 62.
 —, Ranulph I., 24, 53, 54.
 —, Ranulph II., 54, 55, 134.
 —, William, 21, 134, 492.
 METHVEN, Perth, 158.
 Meye, Bp. John, 421.
 MIDDLETON Hall, 383 :— 187, 433.
 Middleton, family of, 355.
 —, George [1560], 383.
 —, Sir George [1643], 465.
 —, John de [1401], 139.
 —, John [1542], 383.
 —, John [1580], 421.
 —, Thomas de, 383.
 MILBURNE, manor of, 281.
Military Service, 8 n., 9 n., 12, 172.
 MILLOM castle, 211 :— 68, 174, 189,
 191, 433, 465 n., 466, 467, 503.
Moated Grange, 42.
 Molineux, Lord, 465.
Monasteries, dissolution of, 427.
 Monro, Sir George, 476.
 MONT-GLONNE, tower of, 12.
 Montgomery, Viscount, 385.
 —, *see* Herbert.
 Moore, George, 405.
 MOOTHAY, beacon at, 335.
 Moray, Earl of, 165, 168, 418, 418 n.
 Moresby, family of, 279.
 —, Christopher, 373.
 —, Sir Hugh de, 487.
 MORLAND church, pigeons at, 181.
 MORPETH, 59, 463.
Mortar, liquid, 51.
 Mortimer, Edmund, 449.
 Morville, family of, 82.
 —, Sir Hugh de, 20, 44, 58, 121,
 150, 303.
 —, Joan de, 44.
 —, Maud de, 303.
 MOSSTHORN Stone House, 409 :— 407.
Mosstroopers, 283.
Motte, order to erect, 8.
 —, *not military strongholds*, 9.
 —, *not of Teutonic origin*, 9, 12.
 —, *derivation of*, 9 n. [9 n.
 —, *confusion with moot and moat*,
Motte, could not protect a town, 10.
 —, *first historical mention of*, 12.
 —, *of Norman introduction*, 13.
 —, *depicted on Bayeux tapestry*, 13.
 —, *description of at Merchem*, 14.
 —, *how erected*, 15.
 —, *citadel on*, 15.
 —, *timber palisade around*, 15.
 —, *entrance to*, 15.
 —, *varieties of*, 16.
 —, *isolating ditch at foot of*, 18.
 —, *strength of*, 18.
 —, *weakness of*, 19, 49.
 —, *bailey to*, 16.
 —, —, *sometimes divided*, 16.
 —, —, *strength of*, 18.
 —, *without the bailey*, 38.
Mouse, the, 69 n.
Mouton d'Or, 170, 170 n.
 Mowbray, Alexander de, 500.
 —, John, 305.
 Mulcastre, *see* Muncaster.
 Müller, Dr. Sophus, 12.
 Multon, family of, 150, 377, 497.
 —, arms of, 133.
 —, Margaret de, 213, 369.
 —, Thomas de [1222], 96, 456, 481.
 —, Thomas [1265], 482.
 MUNCASTER castle, 308 :— 217 n.
 Muncaster, John, 1st Baron, 309.
 —, Robert de, 308.
 —, Walter de, 308.
Murderer, or cannon, 116 n.
 Murray, family of, 53.
 Musgrave, family of, 140.
 —, Adam, 499.
 —, Anne, 374.
 —, Sir Christopher [1660], 490.
 —, Sir Christopher [d. 1735], 208,
 270.
 —, Dorothy, 374.
 —, Sir Edward, 235, 236, 373, 474.
 —, Ingram, 499.
 —, Rev. Dr. James, 148.
 —, Sir John [1514], 139, 497.
 —, Jack [1531], 414, 498.
 —, John [1598], 345.
 —, Leonard of Cumcatch, 499.
 —, Nicholas [d. 1434], 373.
 —, Nicholas [1536], 412.

- Musgrave, Sir Philip, 78, 105, 455,
466, 467, 467 *n.*, 470, 472, 473, 474,
475, 478, 489, 490, 501.
—, Richard [1485], 373.
—, Sir Richard [1552], 489.
—, Sir Richard [d. 1615], 207, 462.
—, Sir Richard [1665], 373.
—, Sir Simon, 421, 499.
—, Sir Thomas [1353], 189, 207,
208, 305, 448, 449.
—, Thomas [1430], 373.
—, Thomas [1514], 139, 497, 498.
—, Thomas [1596], 27, 140, 352,
423, 499.
—, William [1485], 373.
—, Sir William [1532], 139, 498.
—, William [1580], 421.

N

- Navarre, Henry of, 167.
Naworth Castle, 213 :— 151, 174,
175, 175 *n.*, 177, 185, 188, 191, 234,
239, 276, 278, 384, 418, 418 *n.*, 419,
429, 432, 467, 503.
—, plague at, 503.
—, Stone House, 384 :— 407.
NEIDPATH Tower, 174 *n.*
Neketon, Henry de, 127.
NETHERBY, 415, 421.
NETHERHALL, 42.
NETHER LEVENS Hall, 385 :— 187,
390, 433.
Nevil, arms of, 133.
—, Charles, 9th Baron [1570], 418.
—, Geoffrey de [1274], 61.
—, John, 3rd Baron [d. 1388], 449,
487, 488.
—, Ralph, 2nd Baron [d. 1367],
100, 207, 447, 500.
—, Ralph, 4th Baron [d. 1425], 219,
449, 488.
—, Richard, Earl of Warwick, 332,
450.
NEWBIGGIN Hall, 386 :— 174.
Newbiggin, Emma de, 386.
NEWBY, 195.
— Hall, 433.
—, manor of, 304.
NEWCASTLE, 54, 463, 464, 471.
Newel stair, advantages of, 181.

- NEWTON ARLOSH Church, 329 :—
323, 324.
Newton Knott, beacon on, 336.
NICHOL FOREST, 497, 498.
Nicholson, Bp. William, 232.
Nixon, Gerard, 497.
Noble, Bartholomew, 465, 471.
—, "Hobbie," 364.
—, Will, 364.
Norfolk, Duke of, see Howard.
NORHAM, 58.
—, Treaty of, 416.
Norman conquest, first step, 6.
Normans, immigration of, 6.
—, *received by David I.*, 52.
Normanville, Thomas de, 456.
Northampton, Marquis of, 145.
—, treaty of, 166, 168.
Northumbria, 2, 3 *n.*, 4.
NORWAY, 12.
Noutgeld, 8 *n.*
NUNCLOSE, upper, 264.
NUNNERY, the, 203.
NUNWICK Hall, 197.

O

- Odard, Lord of Wigton, 307.
Odo, Bp. of Bayeux, 8.
Oglethorpe, Mr., 472.
Orbell, Nicholas, 355.
Ordericus, 12.
Orfeur, Captn., 468.
Orme son of Ketel, 244.
Ormesheved, Robert, 305.
Ormond, Duke of, 474.
ORMSIDE Hall, 310 :— 191.
Orreton, John de, 459.
ORTON, 162.
—, Old Hall, 433.
— Scar, beacon on, 336.
Otto of Saxony, 58.
OULFSDALE, manor of, 486.

P

- Padua, John of, 442.
Palisade, defence at battle of Hastings,
6.
—, *first meaning of the word "pele,"*
19.
—, *strength of*, 18.

- Palisade, substitution of masonry for*, 49.
 —, *weakness of*, 19, 49.
Park, Licences for enclosing, 314 n.
 Parr, Sir William [d. 1512], 450, 488.
 —, William, Marquis of Northampton, 145.
 Parving, Adam, 307, 460, 487.
 —, Sir Robert, 307.
 Patric, Earl of Dunbar, 281.
 Peacock, Adam, 307.
 —, John, 307.
 PEEL, moated Grange at, 45.
 PEEL O'HILL, 389:— 406, 407.
Pele, derivation of word, 19, 173.
 —, 1st meaning of, 19.
 —, 2nd meaning of, 186.
 —, 3rd meaning of, 443.
Pele Tower, modelled as a keep, 173.
 —, *characteristics of*, 174, 175.
 —, *Scottish characteristics*, 381.
 —, *iron barred doors to*, 175.
 —, *internal arrangement of*, 180-183.
 —, *basement a store room*, 180.
 —, *crenellated roof of*, 184.
 —, *watch-turrets*, 186.
 —, *beacon fires on*, 337.
 —, *transformation of*, 427, 434.
 —, *glory of*, 443.
Pele Towers in Scotland, 174 n.
 PENDRAGON castle, 121:— 66, 67, 120, 454.
 PENNINGTON, castle-hill, 37:— 308.
 Pennington, family of, 308, 309.
 —, Alan de, 368.
 —, Sir John, 308, 332.
 —, Sir William, 37.
 PENRITH, beacon at, 335, 336.
 — castle, 219:— 150, 174, 190, 337, 500.
 — dyke, 196.
 —, manor of, 5, 61, 155, 219, 486, 493.
 —, town of, 89, 160, 169, 171, 189, 412, 413, 474, 475, 500.
 —, —, rebuilt in wood, 160.
 Penrith, John de, 454.
 Percy, arms of, 77, 133.
 —, Lady Anne, 418.
 Percy, Henry de, 1st Lord [d. 1315], 457.
 —, Henry, 2nd Lord [d. 1352], 447.
 —, Henry 3rd Lord [d. 1368], 448.
 —, Henry, 1st Earl [d. 1407], 101, 129, 496.
 —, Henry, 2nd Earl [d. 1455], 113, 449, 488.
 —, Henry, 3rd Earl [d. 1461], 450.
 —, Henry, 9th Earl [d. 1632], 495.
 —, Bp. Hugh, 230, 233.
 —, Ralph de, 449.
 —, Richard de [1222], 481.
 —, Thomas, 7th Earl, 418.
 PEVENSEY castle, 52 n.
 Philip II. of France, 59.
 Philip III., 167.
 Philip IV., 154, 157, 167.
 Philip V., 167.
 Philip VI., 167, 168, 169, 170.
 Philippa, Queen, 170.
 Philipson, Sir Christopher, 289.
 —, Captn. Hudleston, 470.
 —, Maj. Robert, 470.
 Pickering, family of, 268, 379.
 —, Sir Christopher, 310, 379.
 —, James, 46.
 PIEL castle, 224:— 68, 188, 191.
 —, beacon at, 337.
Pigeon houses, 181, 284, 386.
Pigeons, in churches, 181.
 —, *right of keeping*, 181.
 —, *a scourge*, 181.
Pikemen, 157.
Pilgrimage of Grace, see Aske's Rebellion.
Pipe Rolls, 55 n., 111.
Plantagenet, derivation of, 341 n.
Plaster ceilings, 437.
 PLUMBLAND Vicarage, pigeons at, 181.
 PLUMPTON Park, 61, 284, 498.
Poitiers, battle of, 170.
 Poklington, Ralph de, 482.
Portcullis, derivation of, 70 n.
 Potter, Bp. Barnaby, 230.
Premonstratensian Canons, 390.
 Preston, John, 274, 390.
 —, Mary, 385.
 —, Richard, 385.

Preston, Thomas, 225, 365 *n.*, 385.
Preston Moor, battle of, 476.
 —, —, *plan of*, 477.
 PRESTON PATRICK Hall, 390 :— 342.
Pretender, the, 148.
Private castle, introduction of, 8.
 —, *not adopted by Teutons*, 10, 11, 12.
 —, *not owned by pre-Norman English*, 11.
 —, *victory of the*, 12.
 PRUDHOE castle, 174, 495.

R

Radcliff, Nicholas, 332.
Ragman Roll, 155, 166.
 Rainbow, Bp. Edward, 230, 232, 356, 501.
Ram, the, 66, 69.
Rampside, beacon at, 337.
 Ramsay, Lt.-Genl., 490.
 Randal, family of, 313.
 —, William, 313.
 RANDALHOLME Tower, 312 :— 191, 311, 442.
 RANDOLINTON, manor of, 498.
 Ratcliffe, Edward, 373.
 —, Richard, 373.
 —, Thomas, 373.
Raughton, beacon at, 335.
 RAVENGLASS, 21.
 RAVENSTONEDALE, 468.
 Redeman, family of, 294.
 —, Henry de, 294, 385.
 —, Sir Matthew de, 171, 294.
Reformation in Scotland, 413.
 Reinfred, Gilbert fitz, 317.
 —, Roger fitz, 145.
Renaissance, pure, 442.
 RENNES, motte at, 13.
Rey Cross, 54.
 Rhydderch Hael, 2.
 RICCARDTON, motte 53.
 Richard I., 58, 73.
 Richard II., 170, 190.
 Richard III., 373.
 Richard, Duke of Gloucester, 102, 108, 115, 139, 220, 337, 450.
 Richardson, Christopher, 312.
 —, Mrs. Thomasin, 148.
 Richardson, William, 312.
 RICHMOND, 162, 475.
 Richmond, family of, origin, 209 *n.*
 —, Christopher, 359.
 —, John, 209.
 —, Peter de, 459.
 —, Thomas de, 492, 494.
 Rickman, Thomas, 233.
 Rigby, Col. Alexander, 465, 474.
"Rising of the North," 418 :—77, 130, 136, 205, 270, 291, 344, 345, 418 *n.*
 Robert II., 62, 170.
 Robert of Ulm, 174.
 ROCHESTER castle, 65.
 ROCKCLIFF castle, 391 :— 104, 418 *n.*, 421, 445.
 — Hall, 393.
 ROCKINGHAM castle, 492.
 Rokeby, Thomas de, 459.
 Roland, Lord of Galloway, 62, 244.
 Rolf, the Northman, 11 *n.*
Roman tower, 125.
 — *Wall, Camden's first account of*, 423 *n.*, *see* Hadrian.
 Romara, William de, 54.
 Romeyn, Archbp. John le, 298.
 Romili, Alice de, 134.
 —, Robert de, 134.
Roofs, introduction of lead, 71.
 Roos, John, Lord, 487, 488.
 —, Thomas de, 145, 305.
 —, Sir Thomas, 251.
 Ros, Robert de, 481.
 ROSE castle, 227 :— 28, 160, 163, 169, 174, 175, 181, 189, 190, 191, 298, 474, 501.
 —, motte, 28.
 Ross, Earl of, 98.
 —, Bp. John, 228.
 ROUNTHWAITE, 268.
 Routhe, Peter de, 491.
 Routledge, Cuthbert, 497.
 —, John, 497.
Rowton Heath, battle of, 284, 470.
 ROXBURGH, 59, 157 *n.*
 — castle, 488.
 RUCKCROFT, 192.
 Ruggedon, William de, 481.
 Rupert, Prince, 455.
Rushes on floors, 341, 341 *n.*, 429.

RYDAL, 319.

— Hall, 361, 468.

—, manor of, 362.

S

Sadelyngstanes, Hugh de, 459.

Saint Albans, Earl of, 463.

— *Bees Head, beacon on*, 336.

— *Bees Priory*, 134.

— *Florent le Vieil Chronicle*, 12.

— *Herbert's Isle*, 472.

— John of Warneton, 14.

— John, John de, 128, 492, 493.

— *Leonard's Hospital*, 201.

— *Mary's, Cariisle*, 244, 253, 298, 356.

— —, *York*, 129, 244, 280.

— *Michael's Mount*, 335.

— *Nicholas Hospital*, 169.

— *Peter's, Rome*, 367 n.

Salisbury, Lord [1605], 495.

SALKELD, 61.

Salkeld, family of, 405, 425.

—, Sir Francis, 405.

—, George, 421.

—, Dr. Henry, 405.

—, Hugh de, 266.

—, Joseph, 312.

—, Lancelot, 356, 405.

—, Sir Richard of Corby [1323], 266, 489.

—, Richard de [1348], 500.

—, Richard [1467], 373, 461.

—, Thomas, 266, 405.

Sallyport, 70.

Salvin, Anthony, 217 n. :— 206, 217, 285, 309, 387, 503.

SAMLESBURY, 163.

Sandale Top, beacon at, 335.

Sanderson, Major, 473.

—, William, 343.

Sandes, Christopher, 461, 491.

—, William, 274, 275.

Sandford, Edmund de, 347.

—, Sir Richard, 281.

—, Thomas [1574], 348, 439.

—, Sir Thomas [1648], 473.

SANDGATE castle, 103.

Sawrey, Roger, 259.

SCALEBY castle, 235 :— 188, 191, 297, 433, 467, 468, 474, 503.

Schiltrens of Pikemen, 157, 168 n.

SCOTBY, manor of, 5, 61, 155, 219.

Scots dyke, 198 :— 417.

Scots Rake, 289.

Scott, John, 491.

—, Sir Walter [1570], 418.

Scottish Baronial Architecture, 427.

— *Covenanters*, 78, 462, 464.

— *garrisons in English castles*, 470, 471.

— *raids*, 159.

Scrope, Henry le [1374], 449.

—, Henry, 9th Lord, 103, 220, 230, 419, 421, 426, 452, 489.

—, Richard le, 487.

—, Thomas, 10th Lord, 423, 424, 425, 426, 453, 489.

SEATON, manor of, 244, 245.

SEDBERGH, 475.

Selby, Sir Walter, 25.

Selsed, family of, 394.

SELSIDE Hall, 394 :— 342.

Senhouse, Prior, 356, 437.

—, William, 373.

Seton, Thomas de, 459.

SHANK castle, 395.

SHAP, 162.

— Abbey, 244, 390.

Shell Keep, 49.

Shepherd, Thomas, 148, 260.

Shuttleworth, Col. Nicholas, 474.

Simnel, Lambert, 258.

Simpson, Sir James, vii.

SIZERGH Hall, 314 :— 179, 182, 191, 429, 433, 437, 438, 442.

Siward, Earl, 4, 11.

SKELSMERGH Hall, 396.

SKELTON Church, pigeons at, 181.

Skelton, family of, 343.

—, Adam de, 162.

—, Clement de, 100, 459, 500.

—, John, 343.

—, Lancelot, 343.

—, Richard, 343.

—, Thomas de, 257.

Skiddaw, beacons on, 335.

SKINBURNES, 158, 162.

SKIPSE castle, 127.

- SKIPTON castle, 122, 123, 123 n., 127.
 Skipton, John, 113.
 SMARDALE Hall, 366.
 Smirke, Sir Robert, 117, 301, 310 n., 302.
 Smith, Mungo, 491.
 —, Bp. Thomas, 232, 357.
 Smithe, John, 462.
 SNITTELEGARTH, moated Grange at, 45.
 SOCKBRIDGE Hall, 317 :— 191, 433.
Solar, the term, 68.
Solway Moss, battle of, 413, 414.
 Somerset, Duke of, 113.
 Soulis, family of, 53.
 —, Ranulph de, 24.
 SOUTHAMPTON, 169.
Sow, the, 69 n., 161.
 SOWERBY, manor of, 5, 61, 155, 219, 486, 493, 498.
 Sowerby, John, 367.
Spade Adam Top, beacon on, 334.
Spanish Armada, 225.
 Spence, Daniel, 462.
 Stafford, Richard de, 449.
 STAINMORE pass, 57, 160, 412, 475.
 —, beacon on, 336.
 Stanley, Charles, 8th Earl of Derby, [d. 1672], 259.
 —, Edward, 3rd Earl [d. 1593], 251.
 —, Edward, 12th Earl [d. 1834], 249.
 —, James, 7th Earl, [d. 1651], 465.
 —, Thomas, 1st Earl [d. 1504], 259.
 Stanwix, Genl. John, 490.
 Stapleton, William de, 101, 304, 334.
 Steel, family of, 372.
 Steenstrup, Herr, 11.
 Stephen, King, 5, 53, 54, 55, 95, 134, 224.
 Stephenson, Roland, 352.
 Sterne, Bp. Richard, 232.
 Stewart, Walter, 62.
 Stirkland, *see* Strickland.
Stirling Bridge, battle of, 156.
"Stob and stak," 415 n.
 STOCKTON, 471.
Stoke, battle of, 259.
Stone built houses, the need for, 163.
 STONEHAUGH, 397.
Stone Houses, 384, 407.
Stone lintel inscriptions, 438.
Stone masonry, revival of, 49.
 —, *at first of small stones*, 49.
 —, *dressed with the axe*, 51.
 —, *wide joints of*, 51.
 —, *tenacity of*, 51, 51 n.
 —, *improvement in*, 51.
 Stradling, Col., 473, 490.
 Strathclyde, kingdom of, 2, 3, 75 n.
 Strathern, Earl of, 98.
 Strickland, Alice, 314.
 —, Sir Gerald, 316.
 —, Thomas Peter, 315.
 —, Sir Walter [1362], 314.
 —, Sir Walter, [1558], 314.
 —, Sir Walter, [1688], 315.
 —, Walter C. [1854], 315.
 —, Bp. William de, 190, 219, 222, 223, 229, 254, 501.
 Strickland, Little, Hall, 433.
 Strong, Mr., 393.
 Stuart, Prince Charlie, 106, 266, 490,
 —, Esmé, 419.
 Stuteville, William de, 58, 481.
 Surrey, Earl of [1327], 447.
 —, Thomas, Earl of [1500], 451.
 Sussex, Earl of, 269, 270.
 Sutton, John de, 319.
 Swartz, Martin, 224.
 Sweden, 12.
 Swinburn, family of, 347.
 —, John de, 484.
 —, Robert de, 347.
- T
- Tail-bois, Ivo de, 4.
Talkin Stone House, 410 :— 408.
Tapestry, 431.
Tarn Wadling, 98 n., 263.
 TEBAY, 268.
 —, Castle How, 33 :— 32.
 —, the dyke, 200.
Temon Stone House, 409 :— 407.
Terebra, the, 69 n.
 Terouenne, Bp. of, 14.
 Thanet, Thomas Earl, 79, 88, 124.
 THIRWALL, 471.
 Thornborough, family of, 394.

Thornborough, Roland, 304.
 —, William, 273.
 THORNTHWAITE, 390.
 —, Hall, 433.
 THRELKELD, 268.
 —, Hall, 46.
 Threlkeld, family of, 319.
 —, Elizabeth de, 46.
 —, Grace, 319.
 —, Henry de, 46, 307.
 —, Lancelot de, 46, 268, 307.
 —, William de, 46, 100, 268, 305.
 THURLAND Castle, 383, 465, 466.
 Thwaites, family of, 369.
 —, Joseph, 369.
 Thweng, Thomas de, 249, 273, 375.
 Tibbay, Herbert de, 33.
 —, Robert de, 33, 459.
 —, Thomas, 412.
 Tilson, Christopher, 148.
Timber towers, description of, 15.
 —, *late use of*, 49 *m.*
 —, *at Carlisle*, 52.
Timber houses, 15th Centy., 339, 339 *n.*
 TINDALE, 334.
 — Tarn Stone House, 410 :— 408.
 Tosti Godwinsson, 4.
Tournay, siege of, 169.
Trebuchet, the, 71.
 TRIERMAIN castle, 238 :— 189, 344,
 448, 502.
 TROSTERMONT, moated Grange at,
 47 :—48.
 Troughton, family of, 371.
 TOWER TYE, 213, 213 *n.*
Towton, battle of, 213, 270.
Tudor Architecture, 428.
 Tullie, Isaac, 470 *n.*
 Tunstal, family of, 383.
 Turgis Brundis, 24.
 Tylliol, family of, 373.
 —, Peter, 459.
 —, Robert de, 100, 188, 235, 236.
 TYNEMOUTH castle, 463, 471, 495.

U

UBARROW Hall, 399 :— 398.
 Uchtred, 385.
 Ughtrethessat, Berton de, 492.
 Ulff, son of Evard, 400.

ULPHA Old Hall, 400.
 ULVERSTON, 465.
 Umfraville, arms of, 133, 496.
 —, Gilbert de, 126, 129, 131, 496.
 Upton, family of, 379.
 Urswick, Adam de, 21, 361.
 —, Elizabeth de, 21, 361.
 Usher, Rev. Charles, 393.
Uttergate, 293.
 UTTOXETER, 476.

V

Valence, Aymer de, 158.
 Vallibus, *see* Vaulx.
 Vanburgh, 216.
 Vane, Sir Fredk. Fletcher, 285.
 —, Henry, 490.
Varaville, battle of, 6 *n.*
Vaulting, limit of, 67, 179.
 Vaulx, family of, 214.
 —, Alexander de, 238.
 —, Anne, 359, 439.
 —, Hubert de, 55, 497.
 —, John, 359.
 —, Ranulph de [1273], 238.
 —, Robert de [1173], 238, 456, 481.
 —, Robert de [1295], 238.
 —, Robert de [1340], 189, 238, 240.
 —, Roland de [1212], 238.
 —, Roland de [1341], 487, 502.
 —, Roland [1577], 359, 439.
 —, William de, 359.
 Vernon, Bp. Edward, 233, 234.
 —, Richard, 304, 305.
Verteræ, 81, 82.
 Vesey, William de, 98.
 Veteriponte, *see* Vipont.
 Vipont, family of, 55 *n.*, 88.
 —, arms of, 77.
 —, *variations of name*, 303 *n.*
 —, Idonea de, 121, 122, 454.
 —, Isabella de, 87, 454.
 —, Ivo de, 201, 303.
 —, Joan de, 303.
 —, John de, 75, 83.
 —, Maud de, 306.
 —, Nicholas de, 312.
 —, Robert de [d. 1231], 60, 75, 83,
 87, 481.
 —, Robert son of Ivo [1240], 303.

Vipont, Robert de [d. 1261], 77, 83, 87.
 —, Robert de [1268], 454.
 —, Robert de [1370], 312.
 —, Bp. Thomas, 227.
 —, William de, 303.
 Victoria, Queen, Diamond Jubilee, 149.
 Vienne, John de, 101, 171, 172.

W

Wainscoting, 436.
 Wake, Archbp., 232.
 —, Baldwin, 24.
 —, Sir Thomas, 25, 169.
 Walker, Edward, 464.
 Wallace, Richard, 53, 156.
 —, William, 98, 156, 157, 227.
 WALLS castle, 308.
 WALNEY Island, *beacon on*, 337.
 Walter, a Norman, 481.
 —, prior of Carlisle, 83, 298.
 Waltheof, first Lord of Allerdale, 244, 492.
 Warbeck, Perkin, 332, 338.
 Warcop, family of, 291, 366.
 —, Henry de, 454.
 —, Richard, 334.
 WARK, 59.
 —, siege of, 16 n.
 WARKWORTH castle, 213, 471.
 Warrenne, Earl of, 156, 211 n.
Wars of the Roses, 332, 337.
 Warwick, Earl of, 168, 169, 229, 450, 494.
 WARWICK Church, pigeons at, 181.
Weardale, battle of, 165.
 WEARY Hall, moated Grange at, 45.
Weather-vanes, 186, 186 n.
 Welton, Bp. Gilbert, 190, 229, 233, 269, 448.
Westmorland, formation of County, 61 n.
 Weston, Sir Henry, 235.
 —, John, 307.
 WETHERHAL Priory, 53, 101.
 WHARTON Hall, 401 :— 187, 291, 432, 451.
 Wharton, family of, 364.
 —, Philip, Duke of, 404.

Wharton, Richard, 401.
 —, Thomas, Lord, 401, 413, 416, 432, 451, 489, 495.
Whelpdale Holme Stone House, 409.
Whinfell, beacon on, 336.
 WHITBARROW Scar, 273.
 WHITEHALL, 405 :— 217 n., 245, 396.
 —, *moated Grange at*, 46.
 Whitfield, Nathaniel, 411.
 —, Ralph, 312.
 —, Reynold, 312.
 WHITHAUGH, 364.
 Widderington, Sir Henry, 495, 496.
 WIGTON, town of, 46, 301 n.
 Wigton, John de, 307.
 —, Margaret de, 307.
 —, Walter de, 307.
 Wilde, Sir William, 502.
Willeava Stone House, 409.
 William I., 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 12, 13, 51, 82.
 William II., 4, 13, 35, 51, 52, 54 n., 95, 111, 361 n.
 William the Lion, 24, 57, 58, 59, 62, 75, 82, 95, 481.
 William fitz Duncan, 75 n., 134.
 William son of Erenbold, 456.
 William fitz Osborn, 8.
 Willoughby, Sir Francis, 463.
 Wilson, Christopher, 260.
 —, Daniel, 249, 273.
 —, Edward, 280, 385.
 Wiltshire, James, Earl of, 461.
 Wimund, Bp. of the Isles, 199.
 Windebank, Secretary, 464.
 WINDSOR Castle, 135 n.
 Wolridge, Christopher, 122.
 Wolsey, Cardinal, 139.
 WOLSTY Castle, 241 :— 130, 189, 420.
 Wood, Sir George Adam, 490.
 WOODHEAD, 406 :— 388, 407.
Woollen trade, 428.
 Worcester, Henry, Marquis of, 147.
 WORKINGTON Hall, 244 :— 190, 191, 335, 396, 433.
 Workington, Thomas de, 75, 83, 244, 390. See Curwen family of.
 Worsley, Otwell, 491.
 WRAYSHOLME Tower, 407 :— 399, 433.
 WREAY Hall, 181.

Wren, Sir Christopher, 442, 442 n.

—, Col., 467.

Writs of "quo warranto," 211.

Wulfricas, 95.

Wybergh, Thomas, 360.

—, William, 360.

Wyndesore, William de, 280.

WYTHOP Hall, 248 :— 188.

Y

YANWATH, 268.

— Hall, 319 :— 46, 174, 182, 185,
187, 191, 433, 440.

Yoleta, Queen, 62.

York, Archbp. of, 502.

—, Edward, Duke of, 450.

—, Henry, Duke of, 450.

YORK, plains of, 57.

